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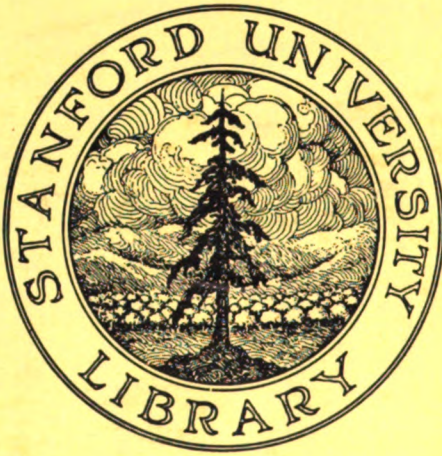
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AENEIDEA,

OR

CRITICAL, EXEGETICAL, AND AESTHETICAL

REMARKS

ON THE

AENEIS,

WITH A PERSONAL COLLATION OF ALL THE FIRST CLASS MSS.,
UPWARDS OF ONE HUNDRED SECOND CLASS MSS., AND ALL THE
PRINCIPAL EDITIONS.

BY

JAMES HENRY,

AUTHOR OF

*NOTES OF A TWELVE YEARS VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY
IN THE FIRST SIX BOOKS OF THE AENEIS.*

VOL. I.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,

14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON;
AND 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

1873.

(5)

**"Haec nos de intimo fonte libavimus, non opinionum
rivulos persequentes, neque errorum, quibus totus mundus
repletus est, varietate perterriti, sed cupientes et scire et
docere quae vera sunt."**

D. Hieronymus, *Epist. 138, ad Marcellam.*

Star Inauston House

Glasnevin Co Dublin
Ireland

13 July 1893

Col. G. Allen Esq

28 Henrietta Street

Bowent Garden London

Sir

In another parcel con-
-taining Henry's *Admiral* which
I send with this for Leland
Stanford Junior's University,
you will find a card directed
for me to acknowledge both.
Kindly let me know if you
receive them safely & in good
condition & when you
think you can forward them

nicht philologischen kreisen ein gewisses aufsehen erregt. Die Vergilianer sind

Dear Sir
Yours very truly
Emily Malone

Edw Allen Esq
28 Henrietta Street
Covent Garden
London W.C.

PREFACE.

§ I.

Dresden, Nov. 16, 1865.

It is now about four-and-twenty years since I first, being then somewhat over forty years of age, began the study of the *Aeneis*. The first fruit of my labors was a translation into English blank verse of the two first Books, published in Dublin in 1845, whilst I was still a practising physician in that city. Little satisfied with that first essay of my prentice hand, I threw it aside and, having in the meantime left my profession and being more at leisure, began a new translation in the same measure, only to be as little satisfied with it as with its predecessor, and to throw it too aside, even unpublished, when it had been already printed as far as the end of the sixth Book. Still I was not deterred, and began anew, and, convinced by my repeated failures that it was in vain for me to attempt to preserve both form and substance, and at the same time warned, by the ill success of all who had preceded me, not to sacrifice substance to form, adopted the sole remaining course, viz. that of sacrificing the Virgilian *

* Not in ignorance of the new fashion — how could I be ignorant of a fashion so ostentatiously paraded before my eyes at every turning? — but in conformity with the opinion of the best authority I know on the subject, do I adhere to the long established practice of writing Virgil and Virgilian, not Vergil and Vergilian. The opinion, as probably true as it is rational, which not only leaves me at liberty to do, but assigns a good reason for my doing, that which I was of myself previously determined to do, is thus modestly put forward by Schuchardt, *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, vol. 2, p. 58: "Die frage, ob der dichter der Aeneide Virgilius oder Vergilius zu schreiben sei, hat auch in nicht philologischen kreisen ein gewisses aufsehen erregt. Die Vergilianer sind

form on the altar of the Virgilian meaning, and so at last succeeded — as I was then, and even yet am, fain to believe — in representing in English verse — errors excepted — the sense of the Aeneis as far as the end of the sixth Book. That translation, under the title of *Six photographs of the heroic times* (on account of its diversity of form I did not honor it with the title of translation, did not even so much as connect it in any way with the name either of Virgil or the Aeneis), forms part of a volume printed and published in Dresden in 1853 under the title of *My Book*. Out of the critical and analytical investigations necessary for the due execution of that work, arose another, printed and published in Dresden in the same year entitled *Notes of a twelve years' voyage of discovery in the first six books of the Aeneis*, a work which in its turn gave rise to another, viz. a résumé or abbreviation of itself, which, adapted to a periodical and translated into German and containing much new matter and many corrections of the old, was published in the Göttingen *Philologus* in 1857, under the title of *Adversaria Virgiliana*. My love for the subject, instead of diminishing, encreased with years, how much owing to the mere influence of habit, how much to the approbation with which my labors, imperfect as they were, had been received by competent judges both in England and on the continent of Europe and especially in Germany, how much owing to a consciousness of the daily increasing facility with which I brushed away, or imagined I brushed away, from my author's golden letters some of the dust accumulated on them during the lapse of nearly twenty centuries, I shall not take upon me to say, but certain it is, that it is only with increasing love and zeal I have since 1857 not merely rewrought the whole of the old ground, altering, correcting, introducing and eliminating, according as it seemed expedient, but taken in the entirely new ground of the last six Books, and,

u. a. von F. Schultz, Progr. von Braunsberg 1855 (*Quaestionum orthographicarum decas*) S. 23 fg. und Conrads, Progr. v. Trier 1863 (*Quaestiones Virgilianae*) S. III. Anm., bekämpft worden. Letzterer betont mit recht, dass *Vergilius* eine rustikform sei. Doch ist zuzugestehen, dass auch ein ursprünglich rustiktes *Vergilius* zum einzig rechtmässigen namen einer familie werden konnte."

that nothing might be wanting to the completeness of the work, increased the previously very imperfect collection of *variae lectiones*, by the insertion in their proper places of those of all the first-class MSS. carefully collated by myself and daughter in two journeys made to Italy for the express purpose, and of ten, being all that were of any importance, of the Paris MSS.

Neither on my part nor on that of the publisher, has commercial speculation had anything whatever to do with the work. ¿How could it? or where are the crowds ready to give gold and silver in exchange for a work which is as little political, religious, or romantic, as it is little useful either to competitive examiner or competitive examinee? Still less has the work been accommodated in any respect to reigning literary fashion or dogma, or one word of it written to suit the taste of powerful patron. If I have kept clear of all such, rather gilt than golden, trammels, I have yet not felt myself free to gallop immissis habenis. On the contrary, the less the control from without, the stronger has always been the impulse from within, (a) never to speak until I had examined all that had been already said on the subject, nor even then unless I had, or thought I had, something new to say; (b) never to leave my meaning liable to be misunderstood so long as I saw a possibility of making it clear by further explanation, but always to prefer laborious, old-fashioned, and even, as I fear it may sometimes be found, tedious prolixity, to the safe and easy brevity of the modern professorial cortina; (c) never either to take or quote my authorities at second hand, but always directly ex ipso fonte, always from the best editions available to me, always at full, and never putting-off the reader or student hungry for the living bread of the author's own words, with the indigestible stone of signs and ciphers sometimes wholly unintelligible except to the party employing them, sometimes rewarding the pains of the decipherer with cold and dry, too often careless and incorrect, references to works, or editions of works, which, in order to be consulted, must either be brought from distant countries at a great expense of time, trouble, and money, or visited in those countries at a still greater. Let not, then, the reader complain of the length

of the work I have laid before him. It is in his own interest and his author's it is long. Whatever any individual reader — for there will be a difference of opinion on the subject among readers — may happen to find too long, he can at pleasure curtail for himself. He would, perhaps, have found it less easy to lengthen anything I had curtailed.

§ II.

The omission, from my Greek quotations, both of accents and breathings, will, of course, be remarked. It cannot consistently be complained-of by those who do not complain of the so frequent and even usual omission, no less by my more immediate and modern than by my more remote and ancient compeers, not of the accents and breathings only, but of the very words themselves. Those who cannot or will not read my Greek quotations because they are without accents and breathings, have in these quotations what they never have in the quotations of any ancient commentator, and seldom have in those of any modern one anterior to La Cerda, or even in those of La Cerda himself, full and particular references to the places where they will find the words garnished-round with all those schoolboy scratchings, all those grotesque and disfiguring additamenta of the grammarians. I wish I could refer them to places where either inscriptions or papyri or first-class codices are to be found so bolstered-up. Alas! of these helps, so superfluous to the real scholar, not one, except the aspirate, has found admittance even into the Herculanæan Academicians' exposé in Greek minuscule of the Herculanæan papyri. Readers who are still dissatisfied, may e'en remain so. I decline both the trouble and the responsibility.

ΛΕΓΟΥCIN
 ΑΘΕΛΟΥCIN
 ΛΕΓΕΤΩCΑΝ
 ΟΥΜΕΛΕΙΜΟΙ

§ III.

I have no apology to make for errors; all those which, with the advance of years, increasing power of discrimination, and fresh-accruing helps, I have myself been able to detect — and their name is legion — I have corrected. The legion which, with still fresh-accruing helps, and still increasing knowledge, remains to be detected, I leave for correction to my successors. The work is, in its very nature, incapable of perfection, never can be anything more than an approximation, the contribution of an individual to a general fund. ¿ Who shall ever define not merely the precise sense of all the debated or debatable words of a great poem in a dead language, but the precise connexion in which each stands with all the other words, near or remote, and the precise allusion which it may make to then present, or then past, or then expected, political, religious, philosophical, opinions or circumstances? ¿ Who shall ever say in which of its hundred meanings literal and metaphorical, prosaic and poetical, each debated or debatable word, in a poem of ten thousand verses, is used — in a poem, too, written nearly two thousand years ago by a man living under a different régime, a different religion, a different philosophy, and of whose circumstances, habits of life, and modes of thinking, little more is known than can be scantily gleaned from poems in which he seldom breaks an almost bashful silence respecting himself? ¿ Who, in the conflicting testimony of MSS., shall even so much as say whether the very word itself concerning whose meaning we are debating, is, actually and bona fide, Virgil's own word, and not the bastard changeling of some copyist, grammarian, or critic? ¿ Even in the rare case of agreement of MSS., who, in these days, can be sure that he is reading Virgil, that he has not in his hand a manufactured, supposititious text? ¿ who, reading Virgil at the present moment in a modern edition — that of Heyne, suppose, or Wagner, of Thiel or Forbiger, of Jahn or Ladewig, of Haupt or Ribbeck — has the least suspicion that the "Paris" he finds at 10,705, which makes so perfect and easy sense, which fits so pat into its place, and which he is informed

by Pottier is the reading of no less than six of the Paris MSS. (viz. Nos. 7925, 7926, 7927, 7930, 7931 and 8069, as they stand numbered in the Imperial library), is not from the hand of Virgil, does not exhibit either the Virgilian structure or the Virgilian sense? yet this word which has so unceremoniously ousted the old "creat", I have been unable to find in even so much as one of the six Paris MSS. cited by Pottier as authority for it, in even so much as one of the nineteen other MSS. in which I have made special search for it (nine of those others being in the same collection with the six cited by Pottier), in even so much as one single edition previous to the appearance, in 1711, of Bentley's "praeclara facillimaque emendatio", in the arch-conjecturer's notes to his edition of Horace, published in that year.

Let not then my reader lean with too heavy a hand on the errors he may, notwithstanding all my care, find, or think he finds, either in these *Remarks*, or my previous *Voyage* or *Adversaria* or *Photographs*. Let him not point with too scornful a finger at striking discrepancies in the accounts I have given, in these several works, of one and the same passage. Those accounts were written at different periods of my life separated by long intervals during which my means of information no less than my modes of thought were undergoing continual change. There never yet was, there never can be writer, who, treating the same subject for a long series of years, is always consistent with himself, continues always to take the same view of the same thing. It is a moral impossibility, to which my case constitutes no exception. Let my reader bear in mind this impossibility, when he finds me in my *Voyage* and *Adversaria* reading, defending and explaining "nixae" (1,452) and in my *Aeneidea* reading, defending and explaining "nexae". A long interval of time, many years elapsed between the two contradictory views and accounts. At the time of the earlier, I had not yet seen the Vatican fragment, was obliged to take for the basis of my argument, the account of the reading of that MS. as given (p.170) by Bottari, who had had the MS. in his hand. At the time of the latter, I had had the MS. in my own hand, and had satisfied myself that Bottari had been de-

ceived, had not examined with sufficient accuracy, and had taken E for I, and that, consequently, my earlier view and argument rested on an unsure foundation, and must be renounced in favor of an argument built on the testimony of my own senses. Let no one, however, understand me to mean that I regard such errors as trivial or venial. They are derogatory of my author, deceptive of my reader, doubly deceptive of my brother commentator, who, influenced by my example and my arguments, adopts, disseminates, and perpetuates them, and humiliating of myself; but they are unavoidable, and all I can do, and I do it with the greatest cheerfulness, is candidly to acknowledge them, as soon as I discover them myself, or am made aware of them by another, and publish my acknowledgment and recantation as widely as I had previously published my mistake.

§ IV.

The *variae lectiones* of this no less than of the previous work (*Twelve Years' Voyage*) of which this is an amplification, correction, and completion, have been all taken personally by myself and daughter. In all the important MSS., one of us has read the reading aloud and the other taken it down in writing, which writing has then been compared by both of us with the MS., and only after such comparison marked with a sign that it was correct. In most cases the reading so taken down and marked with a sign as correct, has after a number of years been again compared with the MS. and, any discoverable error having been rectified, again marked as correct. The readings of all the important MSS. have also been compared both by my daughter and myself with the quotations of them by Ribbeck, and the discrepancies, rather numerous in the case of the Medicean, rarer in that of the other MSS., noted, on the spot.

I divide the sources of my *variae lectiones* into three categories: (I) MSS. written in Roman capitals; and on account of the now extinct MSS. cited by him, Pierius; (II) MSS. not written in Roman capitals; (III) commentators and editors.

The following is a specification of the MSS. constituting the first category.

(a) The **St. Gallen fragment**; in the Stiftsbibliothek in St. Gallen; discovered by Ildefonso ab Arx, and minutely described by Car. G. Müller in his treatise *de codd. Virgilii, qui in Helvetiae bibliothecis asservantur*, prefixed to the Programme of the University of Bern, 1841; described also by Ribbeck, *Prolegom.* p. 219. This fragment consists of but eleven folios, of which seven only are of the Aeneis. It is partly palimpsest and its capitals bear a close resemblance, both in size and shape, to those of the Vatican folios of the so-called Augustan MS. The two characters may be compared in the Ribbeckian copies (*Proleg.* Tab. 2.) of the specimens given of them by Müller and Pertz.

(b) The **Verona palimpsest**, No. 40 (formerly 38) in the capitular library in Verona; being the palimpsest "e quo Angelus Card. Mai in lucem dedit *Interpretes veteres Virgilii*;" described by Keil (*M. V. Probi in Vergil. bucol. et georgic. commentarius. accedunt scholiorum Veronens. et Aspri quaest. Verg. Fragmenta*, Halis, 1848); by Ribbeck, who gives a specimen* of the character, *Proleg.* p. 226 and Tab. 4, and, in the

* In this specimen methinks I recognize an old acquaintance. In July 1865, the year previous to its publication by Ribbeck in his *Prolegomena*, being every day in the capitular library in Verona, engaged in the collation of the palimpsest, I was one day requested by the librarian, Monsignor Giuliani, to look at and ascertain for him, if possible, to what part of Virgil's works belonged a passage which he had just had copied in facsimile by an artist for a person whom he did not name. Having, and not without some difficulty, deciphered a few words of the passage, and informed Monsignor Giuliani that it was in the Eclogues, and the copy full of errors, I was further requested by him to correct the copy, a request to which, having, in my own collation of the palimpsest, received from Monsignor Giuliani the greatest and most polite attention, I acceded at once, and, in the course of a day or two, returned him the corrected — still, no doubt, on account of the almost inextricable complexity of the double writing on the very much stained and discolored parchment, far from correct — copy, the unrevised and therefore still less correct lithograph of which I think I recognize in the fourth plate of Ribbeck's *Prolegomena* published in the following year. Incorrect however as under the circumstances the lithograph must necessarily

“Commentarium criticum” of his edition of Virgil, a careful collation of the text; and by Arnold Herrmann, who also gives the scholia and a specimen of the character both of the text and scholia (Donaueschingen, 1869); see *var. lect.* ad ILLE → MARTIS, *Aen.* 1, 1—4. To the refusal of the chapter to allow me to apply reagents to several not yet deciphered folios of this MS. I could make no objection, the MS. having been in many places irretrievably injured, even rendered permanently illegible, by the manipulations of the cardinal. I should not have bestowed so much labor on this MS. if I had not been compelled by circumstances to remain in Verona, and so had time at my disposal.

(c) The **Vatican fragment**, commonly so called; in the Vatican library; marked on the back, 3225; described and published by Bottari (*Antiquissimi Virgiliani Codicis Fragmenta et Picturae ex Bibliotheca Vaticana ad priscas imaginum formas a Petro Sancte Bartholi incisae*. Romae, 1741); described also by Ribbeck (*Prolegom.* p. 218); bears the following inscription on fly-leaf: VIRGILII FRAGMENTA QUAE PRIMO IO. IOVIANI PONTANI FUERANT, POSTEA PETRI BEMBI CARDINALIS, DEINDE FULVII URSINI.

(d) The **Roman**; in the Vatican library; ‘antiquissimus Romanus’ of Pierius; marked on the back, 3867; described by Bottari (*ubi supra*) and Ribbeck (*Bericht der Kön. Preuss. Akad. der Wissensch.* 1854. p. 36 and *Prolegom.* p. 226). In this MS. there is a point after every word, except the final word of the verse, from the beginning as far as the 90th verse of the fifth Book, inclusive:

OBSTIPVITVISVAENEAS·ILLE·AGMINELONGO

be, and as Arnold Herrmann (*ubi supra*) informs us it actually is, it may serve to afford the reader, who is at the pains, first to write over the letters a nearly equal number of Latin letters of the ninth century of about the same size, and then when these letters have become dry and thoroughly seasoned, to sponge and let dry, and sponge and let dry, the whole specimen thrice over with a strong infusion of coffee previously shaken up in an inkbottle along with the dregs of the ink, a sufficiently vivid notion both of the uninviting aspect of the palimpsest, and of the difficulties to be surmounted by those who are hardy enough to undertake the exploration of this literary north-west passage.

After this verse the points are discontinued and never occur again except in the editorial verses prefixed to each Book. The only points which are used after the above mentioned verse, are the point in place of VE in the word QVE (thus: Q·), and the point in place of VS in the syllable BVS (thus: B·) The points which occur after every word regularly from the beginning of the Aeneis and even from the beginning of the volume as far as the 90th verse of the fifth Book, have, I think, been added by some student of the MS. for the purpose of establishing a separation between adjoining words. Two arguments in favor of this supposition, besides the argument of their sudden cessation and their non-recurrence, are, first, the different color of the ink, generally darker than that of the rest of the MS., and, secondly, the circumstance of their never occurring after the last word of the line, plainly for the reason that there the separation from the next word is evident without such help. To which may be added that these points are placed so unskilfully as to intervene between the QVE and the word to which it is appended, and not unfrequently to divide a word so as to form a word with a different sense out of one part, and a new, and, of course, wholly unsuitable word, out of the remaining part and the following word compounded together; ex. gr., at verse 675 of the first Book the words, as distinguished by the pointing, are IVNONI·AVERTANT and at v. 248, SVPERARE·TIMA·VI

(e) The **Palatine**: in the Vatican library; marked on the back, 1631; described by Bottari; also by Ribbeck (ubi supra); bears the following printed inscription on fly-leaf:

SUM DE BIBLIOTHECA QUAM HEIDELBERGA

CAPTA, SPOLIUM FECIT, ET

P. M.

GREGORIO XV

TROPHAEUM MISIT

MAXIMILIANUS UTRIUSQUE BAVARIAE DUX ETC.

S. R. I. ARCHIDAPIFER ET PRINCEPS ELECTOR.

[coat of arms]

ANNO CHRISTI MDCCXXIII.

(f) The **Medicean**; in the Laurentian library, Florence, except the folio containing from IAMQUE·ADEO verse 585,

to QUADRIGAE v. 642 (inclusive) of the eighth Book, which folio is in the Vatican, appended to the Vatican fragment. Concerning this codex, Mabillon (*de re diplomatica*, ed. 2da, p. 352) thus observes: "Fuit olim iste codex Rodulphi Pii Cardinalis Carpensis sub Paulo III. Pont. Max. Deinde ab ipso legatus Bibliothecae Vat., attestante Aldo juniore in pagina 22 orthographiae suae in haec verba: . . . 'Qui liber quidem asseruabatur a Rodulpho Pio Cardinale Carpense; nunc Bibliothecae Vaticanae ab eodem testamento legatus, ubi sit plane ignoro; nec enim eum video in Bibliotheca Vaticana custodiri, et opinor ab aliquo furto surreptum'." Foggini's admirable facsimile of this MS. (Florence, 1741), a stupendous monument of painstaking industry, and which should render its author's name dear to all who take an interest in Virgilian criticism, is not, however, so absolutely perfect that it may be implicitly relied-on as everywhere exactly representing the prototype, and those critics who have put forward the readings of this facsimile as the readings of the Medicean MS., have not infrequently, as I shall have occasion to show in the course of these *Remarks*, both been deceived themselves and deceived their readers. Among the critics who have extensively quoted after this easy fashion not the Medicean only but the other first-class MSS. also, a conspicuous place is occupied by Heyne, Wagner, and Conington, not one of whom ever, even so much as once, saw either the Medicean or any other first-class MS. of Virgil. Except with respect to the Medicean MS., Ribbeck is not to be placed in the same category with these easy-going critics. He has visited Italy, and applied both skill and labor to the examination of the archives, and all that is required to render the "Commentarium criticum" of his edition of Virgil an invaluable **repertory** of the readings of the Vatican, Roman, Palatine, and St. Gallen MSS.; **of** as much of the Verona MS. as he was able to 'fish out' without the help of reagents, and within the narrow limits of time prescribed by the chapter;

[*Prolegom.* p. 227: "quantum nullis adhibitis medicamentis temporis a canonicis permissi angustiis coercitus expiscari potui." (nescio quid tetrum exsibilavit, quod postea Latinum esse affirmabat.)

of one hundred and thirty-two readings of the Augustan, quoted confessedly from the wholly unreliable Pertz ("cui tamen nec de textu meo nec de ceteris libris testanti fides habenda est" *Prolegom.* p. 265, n.); **of** somewhat more than one hundred readings of the Medicean, taken directly from that MS.,

Bericht der Kön. Preuss. Akad. der Wissensch. 1854. p. 36: "Der mühe einer durchgängigen revision des Mediceus wurde ich unfreiwillig durch die ängstlichkeit des bibliothecars überhoben, der nur gestatten wollte unter seinen augen und mit seinen händen einzelne seiten . . aufzuschlagen. Doch habe ich den codex an mehr als 100 ausgewählten stellen genau geprüft und überall die zeugnisse von Foggini bestätigt gefunden." *Prolegom.* p. 220: "cum enim integrum codicem conferre mihi non fuerit permissum, inspectis aliquot locis debui contentus esse."

and of a residue of five thousand nine hundred readings of the same MS., taken at second hand from Foggini, **is** the addition to five thousand nine hundred *Ms* of an equal number of *Fogg.s*, thus: *M (Fogg.)*; or, which would answer the same purpose, the elimination of five thousand nine hundred *Ms* and substitution of as many *Fogg.s*. Not that the copy from which these quotations have been taken is not, very generally, correct — having myself compared it with the original in four hundred and forty-two places, I have found it to vary in no more than twenty-seven — or that the Virgilian text itself is likely to be very injuriously affected by the publication even of five thousand nine hundred quotations of the Fogginian copy, as so many quotations of the Medicean MS., or that the cracked and rotten reed relied on by Conington, Schuchardt, Ellis, and so many others, to whom the Ribbeckian collation of Foggini is the Medicean MS itself,

Conington, ad 6, 452: "With Ribbeck I have recalled 'umbras', the reading of Heyne, supported by Rom., Pal., etc., for 'umbram' Med., etc." Id. ad 7, 211: "It now appears from Ribbeck that all the uncial[s] [*sic*] (fragm. Vat., Med., Pal., Rom.) read 'auget', and all 'numerus', except perhaps Pal., which has 'numerus' altered into 'numero'." Id. ad 7, 257: "all Ribbeck's MSS. give 'huic'." Id. ad 9, 51: "'O iuvenes', the reading before Heins., is found in none of Ribbeck's MSS." Id. ad 9, 109: "'Sacris ratibus', the order before Heins., is found in none of Ribbeck's MSS." Id. ad 9, 122: "This line is omitted in all Ribbeck's MSS." Id. ad 9, 126: "'Turno fiducia cessit' is the order of all

Ribbeck's MSS." Id. ad 9, 132: "In manibus nostris', the order before Heins., is found in none of Ribbeck's MSS.", and so Conington ad infinitum, always quoting, as his ultimate authority, Ribbeck's MSS., the principal one of which is, as we have seen, except in respect of one hundred readings, no MS. at all, but only a printed edition.

Schuchardt, *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, vol. 1, p. 12: "Nachfolgendes verzeichniss enthält die von mir gebrauchten* ältesten handschriften, vollständige und fragmentarische:

Vaticanus,	} des Virgil,
Sangallensis (Palimpsest),	
Mediceus,	
Palatinus,	
Romanus,	
Veronensis (Palimpsest),	

in der Ribbeck'schen ausgabe."

Ellis, *Excurs. ad Catull.* (Oxford, 1867. p. 344): "Ex Vergili Ribbeckianis haec constant . . . ex his locis, quorum sex priores flagrare pro *uri* ponunt, duo posteriores pro *redolere*, fragrare duplici r scriptum exhibet *M* [Mediceus] bis, *Aen.* 9, 72, *Aen.* 1, 436 [440] . . . fragrantia Mediceus et Schedae Vaticanae *G.* 4, 169, fragrantia *Aen.* 1, 436 [440] Mediceus Romanus Schedae Vaticanae omnes habent a. m. pr."

does not, in the vast majority of cases help through the slough as effectually as if it had been sound and without flaw, but that

* Nothing is farther from Schuchardt's mind than any intention of deceiving his readers, of leading his readers to think that he has ever had in his hands, or even so much as seen, any one of the Virgilian MSS. which he here states in so express terms he has used: "die von mir gebrauchten ältesten handschriften." Had he had any such intention he would not have subjoined: "In der Ribbeck'schen ausgabe," The addition of these words, less explanatory, indeed, than pointblank contradictory, of his immediately preceding: "die von mir gebrauchten ältesten handschriften," exonerates the highly respected philologist from all blame except that of confusion of style, exactly as the expressions of Conington: "Ribbeck's cursives," and "Ribbeck's uncials" (expressions, by the way, which show that Conington did not always know the meaning of the technical terms he was using) exonerate that critic, — satisfactorily prove that that critic did not intend his readers to understand his quotations of the Medicean and other MSS. of Virgil, to be quotations made by himself personally and directly from those MSS., but only to be quotations made by others, and accepted by him and republished as readings of the respective MSS. Neither critic practises deception; both critics confound, in words at least, if not in thought also, actual readings of MSS. with readings which — found, or asserted to be found, in MSS. by certain original collators — have, in their transmission from critic to critic, suffered so much by various accidents as sometimes to be no more recognizable than was, in old times, the Flery Cross of a Scandinavian or Gaelic rising, when it arrived charred and semi-extinguished at some remote John o' Groat's, or than is at present the telegram which has left behind something or taken-up something, or both left-behind something and taken-up something at every station from which it has been re-forwarded.

to publish five thousand nine hundred quotations of a mere copy, no matter how correct, as quotations of an original — especially of an original with which, on account of the jealousy with which it is guarded, it has become according to our critic's own testimony (see above), all but impossible to confront either copy or quotations — is to undermine the foundations not only of all criticism but of testimony itself. Nor is it only in the interest of Virgil, in the interest of Virgilian criticism, in the interest of all criticism and even of truth itself, these five thousand nine hundred quotations should be acknowledged to be, not of the so inaccessible MS. but of the printed and published Foggian copy, — such acknowledgment is due scarcely less to the zealous and indefatigable copyist himself, whose ignored labors have furnished Ribbeck with his whole Medicean collation save of one hundred places, and, through Ribbeck, poured, not on Conington, Ellis and Schuchardt only, but on the whole literary world, such a flood of ostensibly no more than once, in reality twice refracted light.

This is the first indispensable step. The second, scarcely less required in the interest of Virgilian, than this in the interest both of Virgilian and general criticism, is to remove from the collation not merely of the Medicean but of all the other MSS. all that vast syrtis of orthographical varieties by which a sufficiently scanty gleanings of varieties affecting the sense, has been swamped and overwhelmed almost as effectually as the memorable half-pennyworth of bread by the whole two gallons and more, of sack. Not that these orthographical varieties have not their own proper value, but that, not affecting the Virgilian sense, they are a mere incumbrance in an edition of Virgil, and should be relegated to their own proper place: a disquisition on the practice and principles of Latin orthography. Let the editor and critic of Virgil study the practice and principles of that art in inscriptions and manuscripts, if he have access to them, or, if he have not, in the treatises of Curtius, or Corssen, or Fleck-eisen, or Schuchardt, or wherever else there is information to be found concerning them, and, having made himself master of the subject, adopt for his edition of Virgil that system which

seems to him most suitable, either that popular system hallowed by the use of the Alduses, Stephenses, Heinsiuses, and Elzevirs; or, following the example of Philip Wagner, an eclectic system of his own; or, if he prefer it, let his Virgil like Foggini's, represent the precise orthography of the scrivener of one selected MS. (happy for him if its scrivenery be all by one hand, not by two or three hands, each of which follows a different system!), but let not the editor and critic of Virgil, forgetting both Virgil and criticism, and turning himself into a teacher of Latin orthography, and his edition of Virgil, into a Latin '*Universal Spelling-book*', distract and offend the more sedate of his readers, and set the more volatile a-laughing, by the nota-bene at every recurrence of the thousand-and-one-times recurring 'haud', 'sed', and 'atque', that in such and such manuscripts the 'haud' is spelled 'haut', the 'sed' 'set', and the 'atque' 'adque'. The omission of this huge mass of paltry orthographical farrago, will, on the one hand, set the reader at liberty to turn his attention from the orthography — observe, not of Virgil, but for what editor or what MS. has ever pretended to give Virgil's own orthography of even so much as one single word? but from the orthography of scriveners and editors, to the structure, meaning, and relation not only to each other but to the whole poem, of Virgil's sentences spelled no matter on what system; while it will, on the other hand, leave the vast space at present occupied by extraneous matter, open for that equal bulk of various readings (as opposed to various spellings) the absence of which from Ribbeck's Virgil is so much to be deplored by all who are desirous of arriving at a right understanding of Virgil's meaning; and should few or none of the lacking various readings (as opposed to various spellings) be forthcoming, will at least, by reducing four large-paper octavo volumes to three, diminish, by one fourth, not alone the labyrinthine intricacy but the clumsiness and cost of the work. So, here with the pitchfork, and out with the whole mass to the dunghill, though the ejectment move Virgilian jobbers and new-edition mongers even to tears. The vile commercial crew! I'll — No; I'll not exhibit you clinging about your critic's knees, crying aloud to

him for help, and kissing the well known, much trusted hand. Ah! if he would only spurn you like curs out of his way, and never again be your cat's-paw to degrade the 'divinum opus', the 'Iliade maius opus', not, even in the cradle and swaddling clothes of the Renaissance, degraded below a puerile study of words and phrases,

[Heyne, vol. 4, p. 670 (de Virg. edd.): "Inter haec per familiare Commentum Herm. Torrentini, subinde repetitum, depressa est Virgilii lectio ad puerile verborum et phrasium studium."

into the more than puerile, the infantile study, how words and phrases are to be spelled. Diis aliter visum.

But what's this? The vast, waste and barren syrtis of Ribbeck's orthographical varieties is passed, and yonder before us opens the splendid mirage of his conjectural emendations. Verily, as it is written,

In the wilderness shall burst forth waters,
and torrents in the desert,
and the glowing sand shall become a pool.

I see island-dotted seas and lakes, sailed-on by lateen-rigged vessels and reflecting, in their calm bosoms, bordering woods, mountains, temples, castles, and rosy overhanging skies; I see rosy overhanging skies reflecting clear waters and lateen-rigged vessels and bordering woods, mountains, temples, and castles; and Ribbeck, gigantic in the midst, building — no, not temples, not castles, but 'capsi' for those twelve wild swans you see wheeling round and round, high above him in the air, and not minding either him or his 'capsi'. What a pity so much well meant labor should be lost! Is he deaf and doesn't hear their singing? or is it possible he doesn't know that singing swans never live in 'capsi'? And now the 'capsi' are finished and the swans have flown away, no one knows whither, and Ribbeck, nothing daunted, is as intent on a search for Aeneas's twentieth ship, as he was just now on building 'capsi' for twelve wild swans; and success at last — at long and last, for we must go to his *Epilegomena* (published four years after the last volume of his work and per anachronismum entitled *Prolegomena*) p. 68 for it — crowns his indomitable courage, perseverance, and energy: It is not

Orontes's ship — that is to say, the nineteenth ship of Aeneas — which the wave whirls round thrice, and the rapid sea-vortex devours, but Orontes's ship gets the polite go-by and is left to swim or sink as it likes, while it is another — that is to say, the twentieth ship of Aeneas — which the wave whirls round thrice and the rapid sea-vortex devours; and no matter how the MSS. cry out *uno ore*, “you lie, you lie”, and “shame! shame!” it is the twentieth, not the nineteenth ship of Aeneas which is devoured by the vortex, and Virgil wrote not ‘*illam*’ but ‘*alian*’. Heed them not, Ribbeck. Nobody knows better than you what rude, spoil-sport, impertinent minxes, what downright *mænads*, those same MSS. are, and how the malicious pleasure they take in pulling down is in the direct ratio of the pains it has cost to build up. Heed them not, Ribbeck. Your conjectural emendations defy them; are, none of them, least of all this ‘*alian*’, of that gross, substantial nature which alone is subject to dissolution:

the cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
the solemn temples, the great globe itself,
yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
the very codices themselves dissolve,
and, like an insubstantial pageant faded,
leave not a wreck behind,

but your conjectural emendations shall not dissolve. Intellectual spiritual, ethereal, imaginary, irresolvable into elements, it is absolutely impossible for them either to go to pieces or dissolve or decay. There they stand — no, not *stand*, there they *are*, an imperishable essence, *OM*, and *AMEN*, for ever and ever. Happy, happy Ribbeck! sole finder of Aeneas's twentieth ship, after it had been lost for nearly two thousand years.

Anon — there being no view of the works of art contained in a large building at all comparable to that which strikes you just as you are going in — behold Ribbeck coming out of the great temple in which he and Aeneas have been viewing, one after another, so many *chefs-d'oeuvre*, “*ingenti lustrat dum singula templo*,” and turning and going in again immediately, in order to enjoy the *coup-d'oeil* of them ‘*intrans*’, not, of course, letting slip the opportunity thus afforded him of obser-

ving more at leisure any remarkable objects immediately on his right and left as he enters, which he might before have passed cursorily over, or even not seen at all, especially if his and Aeneas's first entrance had been by the back-door, an hypothesis not so very improbable, if we take into account, on the one hand, Aeneas's present incognito, and, on the other, the predilection evinced elsewhere by the same hero for that sometimes very convenient entrance into a building:

"limen erat coecaeque fores et pervius usus
tectorum inter se Priami, postesque relict
a tergo, ...
.
evado ad summi fastigia culminis" . . .

Let us now, setting the knowledge of perspective exhibited by 'intrans' against the ignorance of natural history manifest in 'capsos', and, counting the 'aliam' of the shipwreck as neither pro nor con, neither plus nor minus, but rather as an alpha, an A per se, proceed with the so characteristic 'monte remittam' of the fourth Book. Here indeed our critic stands preëminent among critics, a Dido among her iuvenes, a Diana among her oreads, an Ajax overtopping the Argive host by head and broad shoulders. Virgil is no more Virgil if he wrote 'morte remittam'. ¿ Whose blood does not curdle with horror at the mere thought that noble no less than tender-hearted Dido ever proffered her own mors — nay, was not deterred by the mere omen of the word from ever proffering her own mors — as reward for the petty service she implored at the hands of her so unanima soror? Virgil wrote not 'morte' but 'monte'; Dido proffered her sister not her own death, but a mountain. "What kind of a mountain? of granite or dolomite?" It could not have been of the least use to her. "¿ An airy, unsubstantial mountain of the mirage?" Of less use still. "¿ A bona-fide astronomical mountain in sun, moon, or planet?" Pshaw! pshaw! "Well then, ¿ a Venus mountain, a Hörselberg with temple and statue in the middle of it, — on the clenched fourth finger of the Goddess's left hand a spell-bound sponsal ring, not to be got off except at a soul's price?" Hardly, Dido and her sister being both

Phoenicians, and no Venus mountain, no Hörselberg nearer than Ysenacha in the remotest depths of the vast Hercynian saltus. "¿What other mountain then?" Why, plainly one of those mountains of solid silver and gold, which it was so usual in old times to promise, so rare to have the least intention of paying, so much rarer ever to pay; and, if it must be admitted that there is no similar promise either in Homer or any of the Greek tragedians, either in Lucretius or any other grave and staid poet, or in Virgil himself elsewhere, let us never forget, *e contra*, the generosity and munificence of Dido, the great wealth of her deceased husband (wealth in solid gold too, for, the Phoenicians having been a commercial, not an agricultural people, "*ditissimus agri Phoenicum*" can never stand, even with all the backing of "*ditissimus agri qui fuit Ausonidum*", against "*ditissimus auri Phoenicum*"), and the mountain of silver and gold, "*ignotum argenti pondus et auri*" (where weight so happily surrogates magnitude) placed at her disposal by the ghost, for the manifest purpose of enabling her to make this truly magnificent, royal, never-to-be-fulfilled promise; least of all let us forget the *aurei montes Persarum* and the *aurei montes Picorum*, and how common such mountains must have been everywhere, before the invention of banks and paper money enabled us to do almost without gold and silver at all; and if it should be objected by any one, not sufficiently aware of the panoply-of-proof in which our critic always enters the field, that it is as little likely that Dido should quote a vulgar proverb fit only to be used by some swaggering Palaestrio or Geta, and wholly unbecoming royal lips, as that, condescending to use such proverb, she should use it diluted to less than half strength, and, instead of promising mountains of silver and gold, promise only one single mountain (thus allowing her liberality, great and noble as it was, to be eclipsed and thrown into the shade by that of the most beggarly knave and swashbuckler of the comic stage), I answer triumphantly on the part of our veteran critic, that in nothing is the discretion of his and our author more to be admired than in the care thus taken to hide from all eyes except those of some prying, profound, and rare as profound, critic, the

unseemly use made by royal lips of a low proverb, and, at the same time, to protect that royalty which it is certain had no more than one mountain to give — we are yet but in the renaissance of criticism and shall scarcely before its re-adolescence see the singular “*ignotum argenti pondus et auri*” turned into the plural — from promising more than it was able to perform. From all which considerations it appears clearer than moonshine, *luce lunae lucidius*, that the Ribbeckian ‘*monte*’ exhibits Virgil’s *ipsam manum* no less surely than the Ribbeckian ‘*capsos*’, the Ribbeckian ‘*aliam*’, and the Ribbeckian ‘*intrans*’.

And now, while the salutary horror of *mors* and everything mortal, almost of everything which has even so much of *mors* as an *R* in it, is fresh and lively within us, let us turn to the ‘*moritura Amata*’ of the twelfth Book, and see whether it may not be metamorphosed by a similarly facile critical sleight-of-hand into ‘*monitura Amata*’. *Amata* is not thinking of dying, has no more notion of dying in case *Turnus* dies, than either *I* or Ribbeck himself has at this moment, and her own statement, six verses later, that the fate of *Turnus*, whom she regards as sure to fall if he venture to meet *Aeneas* in single combat, shall determine her fate,

“*qui te cunque manent isto certamine casus,
et me, Turne, manent: simul haec invisa relinquam
lumina, nec generum Aenean captiva videbo.*”

is a mere pleasant little joke. It is with a lecture, not a suicide, *Amata* threatens *Turnus*. Put two straight strokes meeting at an angle (thus: *N*), in place of one crooked stroke with a curlycue in the middle of it (*Œ*), and the thing is done, and we are rid of as malapropos a mention of the king of terrors as *Dido*’s own, q. b. v. p. if I may, for this once, take a hint from modern criticism, and impose on my only too kind and indulgent reader not merely the labor of converting, but the risk of incorrectly converting, into language, one little one of those innumerable sigla by means of which the fashionable critic so ingeniously shifts to the shoulders of his unsuspecting disciple and worshipper, a not inconsiderable share of his own proper burthen.

The very singular regulation of the Laurentian library, prohibitory of all collation of the Medicean MS. unless made not merely in the chief librarian's presence, but the chief librarian himself holding the MS. in his hand, had, I doubt not, rendered all effectual collation of that MS. as impossible to me as Ribbeck informs us it was to him (see above), had the chief librarian happened to be any other than Cavaliere Ferrucci. The patient courtesy no less than the unparalleled facility with which, during a séance of several hours, repeated daily for several weeks together, that accomplished scholar and gentleman first found in the MS. and then pointed out to myself and daughter every passage I had the least desire to see, not only did not impede but, on the contrary, very much lightened the labor, while it assured the correctness of my collation. Having in the course of my collation of this MS. (of the first six Books in the autumn of 1857, of the second six in the spring of 1861, and of the whole twelve in July 1865) compared the Foggian ext with the MS. in four hundred and forty-two places taken at random, I have found it to vary only in the inconsiderable number of twenty-seven. The fact which I have ascertained by actual examination of the Ribbeckian collation, viz. that in not one of these twenty-seven places thus erroneously quoted by Foggini, has the Foggian error been corrected by Ribbeck, but, on the contrary, in twenty of them the Foggian error been repeated (repeated too with the almost microscopic minuteness characteristic of Ribbeck), while the remaining seven places have not been quoted at all, is on the one hand itself explained by Ribbeck's own acknowledgment (quoted above) that he had examined the MS. in no more than about one hundred places (probably, therefore, in none of the twenty-seven) and, on the other hand, establishes the conclusion I have above drawn from that acknowledgment, that Ribbeck had no other authority for his remaining five thousand nine hundred Medicean readings than the copyist Foggini, a conclusion for which there is besides the independent warrant of the library record to the effect that Ribbeck's visits, fourteen in all, between November 1826, when

the record commences, and July 12, 1865, when I examined it, were devoted to the collation of Tacitus.

My confrontation of the Fogginian copy with the Medicean original in four hundred and forty-two places, having detected twenty-seven variations of the former from the latter, of which twenty-seven variations no less than twenty are repeated, seven omitted, not even so much as one corrected, by Ribbeck, it may be fairly presumed that had I extended my confrontation to six thousand places, the sum total of the Ribbeckian quotations, I should have found three hundred and sixty-six Fogginian aberrations, and of these three hundred and sixty-six Fogginian aberrations two hundred and seventy-one repeated, ninety-five omitted, and not even so much as one corrected, by Ribbeck. And why, I am asked, have I not done so? why, it being open to me to deal with thousands of cases, have I chosen to deal with hundreds only? Simply because, on the one hand, it was not my object to produce sensation, but conviction, and for all purposes of argument the proportion of cases answered as well as the actual numbers no matter how large and startling; and, on the other hand, I had neither leisure nor inclination to make a larger collation either of the Fogginian copy or the alleged Ribbeckian collation than might be sufficient to convince my reader of the two facts of which even a much less extensive comparison had, at a very early period of my investigation, convinced myself, viz. (1) that the errors of the Fogginian copy are mainly of that kind which 'humana incuria fundit', and (2) that the alleged Ribbeckian collation is, in point of fact, not a collation of the Medicean MS. at all, but only (as the reader is, not indeed informed in plain terms but, left to infer for himself, if he be able, either from the statement in the Report of the Berlin Academy five years anterior to the appearance of the first volume of Ribbeck's work, or from the statement in the *Prolegomena* published four years later than the last volume) a collation of the Fogginian copy. Wonderful Fogginian copy! inexhaustible source no less to the Virgilian critic of 1859-66, than to that critic's famous precursor of 1763-65,

Ambrogio, pref. p. 28: "Tempo è adesso, che in ultimo luogo io vi parli del testo Latino, che è stato posto in uso in questa edizione. Esso è il famoso codice MS., che esiste nella Imperiale Laurenziana Biblioteca in Firenze da me veduto già lungamente, ed osservato con ogni quiete, e di cui il Burmanno" etc. again, p. 31: "Di questa edizione adunque, per cui il mondo erudito sarà sempre obbligato all'egregia fatica del Ch. Sig. Foggini, mi sono io valuto per ristamparla nella presente edizione, procurandone con diligenza, che venisse perfetta." and vol. 2, pref. p. 12: "Niente del pari soggiungerovvi intorno al testo, che è lo stesso datovi pure nel tom. I, e copiato con fedeltà dal MS. Laurenziano della Imperiale Biblioteca in Firenze, siccome nella stessa prefazione accennai."

of ever fresh and sparkling Medicean waters.

It is not of choice but of necessity the critical element enters so largely into this work. It was no part of my original plan either to consult or quote even so much as one single MS. The work was to be altogether exegetical and aesthetical, to consist solely of essays on detached passages concerning which I flattered myself I could give new either exegetical or aesthetical information. I soon found however that as correct aesthesis presupposes correct exegesis, so correct exegesis presupposes correct critique, and that no correct critique of the *Aeneis* existed, and that unless content to build on a critique **which informed me** by the mouth of Foggini, that the Medicean MS., testified by my own senses to read *FURIS* (8, 205), *MOLLISUBNECTIT* (10, 138), *CELARET* (10, 417), reads *FURIIS*, *MOLLISSUBNECTIT*, *CELERAT*; **which informed me** by the mouth of the Benedictine Brothers (*Nouv. Traité de Diplom.* vol. 3, p. 41), that their facsimile (vol. 3, plate 34) of the lost Pithou fragment, testified by my own senses to read *THYIAS* (4, 302), reads *TYAS*; **which informed me** by the mouth of Pertz (*über die Berliner und die vaticanischen Blätter der ältesten Handschrift des Virgil*, p. 115), that the facsimile of the lost Pithou fragment, published by Pertz at p. 101 of his memoir and testified by my own senses to read *THYIAS*, reads *THYAS*; **which informed me** by the mouth of Ambrogio, that the Roman MS. ["Cod. Vat. 3865."

leije 3867], testified by my own senses to want the introductory verses, contains those verses (information republished and extensively circulated by Wagner in his edition of Heyne's *Virgil* (1832), along with the further information on the same authority that the Palatine MS., testified by my own senses to want not only those verses but the whole commencement of the *Aeneis* as far as "Mavortia condet" v. 250 (inclusive), contains those verses), **which informed me** by the mouth of Pottier, that the Palatine MS., testified by my own senses to read CONCITA (3, 127), reads CONSITA, and that no less than six of the Paris MSS. (viz. Nos. 7925, 7926, 7927, 7930, 7931, 8069, in the imperial library), testified by my own senses to read "Parin creat" (10, 705), read "Parin Paris"; **which informed me** by the mouth of Ribbeck, that the Vatican fragment, the Roman and the Palatine MSS., testified by my own senses to read IVSTITIAE (1, 608), read IVSTITIA; that the Medicean MS., testified by my own senses to read QUEM (3, 340), reads QUAE, that the Verona MS., testified by my own senses to read NEXANTEM (5, 279), ALTAMLUNAM (9, 403), DECERNERE (12, 709), reads NIXANTEM, ALTAM AD LUNAM, and is defective with respect to DECERNERE; that the Palatine MS., testified by my own senses to read NVMEN (5, 768), reads NOMEN, that the Roman MS., testified by my own senses to read FOSSAS (10, 24), reads FOSSAE, I should be at the pains to make a critique for myself. Great as was the undertaking, and foreign both to my tastes and habits, I did not recoil from it, but began immediately to make, with the very efficient assistance of my daughter, and use as fast as made, a pretty full and extensive collation not only of all the first-class, but of upwards of one hundred second-class MSS. scattered over a wide area of Europe, as well as of all the principal editions, from the incunabula of printing down to the present day. Hotfoot pressing upon this my first care, viz. to secure a firm and solid foundation whereon to build, came my second: to throw open to my reader, not alone, as I had at first intended, the superstructure, but the very foundation itself of my edifice. "The mass of original information, which I have collected at so much cost of

time and personal labor not to speak of money, will thus," said I to myself, "be of three further uses: (1) will enhance the prestige of a superstructure not merely *stated*, but *seen*, to be built on a secure foundation; (2) will, so far as it goes, supply future builders with like secure foundation whereon to build; and (3) by affording deuterotypes more conformable to the prototypes than any existing, furnish a standard wherefrom to form an opinion of the relative correctness and reliability of other deuterotypes;" and so my essentially exegetical and aesthetical work became, to a certain extent, critical also. The critical part of my work, being thus merely collateral and of no greater extent than was required for the perfection of the exegetical and aesthetical part, enters therefore into no competition, except in respect of correctness and reliability, either with Ribbeck's or any other professedly complete critique of the Aeneis; and if it has happened that Ribbeck's so much more comprehensive, has been supplemented by my so much more limited, critique, with respect to the Verona palimpsest in at least ninety-six places, with respect to the Vatican fragment in at least thirty-five, with respect to the Roman MS. in at least one hundred and sixty-four, with respect to the Palatine in at least one hundred and eighty-one, and with respect to the Medicean in at least one hundred and eighty-two places, and if it has happened besides, that in no less than one hundred and thirteen of the just specified places, viz.

1, 12: "laeso" "laesa"	1, 745: "quem" "quae"
1, 24: "verteret" "everteret"	2, 56: "stares" "staret"
1, 49: "infixit" "inflixit"	2, 179: "avexere" "advexere"
1, 53: "imponet" "imponat" "imponit"	2, 290: "alto a culmine" "alto culmine"
1, 213: "altum" "alto"	2, 331: "unquam" "nunquam"
1, 215: "diripiunt" "deripiunt"	2, 362: "labores" "dolorem" "dolores"
1, 239: "revocato a sanguine" "revocato sanguine"	2, 683: "mollis" "molles" "molli"
1, 430: "iura—senatum"	3, 76: "Mycono e celsa Gyaroque"
1, 452: "nexae" "nixae"	"Mycone celsa Gyaroque"
1, 510: "alte" "alto"	"Mycono celsa Gyaroque"
1, 582: "urbibus" "montibus" "ruribus"	"Gyaro celsa Myconoque"
1, 740: "in mensam" "in mensa"	3, 127: "concita" "consita"
"immensam" "immensum"	3, 152: "insertas" "incertas"

- 3, 702: "Gela fluvii" "Gela a fluvio"
"Gela fluvio a"
- 4, 11: "forti" "fortis"
- 4, 42: "furentes" "vagantes"
- 4, 94: "numen" "nomen"
- 4, 166: "prima et" "prima" "primae"
"tremuit" "primum ut"
- 4, 329: "tamen" "tantum"
- 4, 399: "remos" "ramos"
- 4, 435: "remittam" "relinquam"
- 4, 587: "aequatis" "arquatis"
- 4, 593: "diripient" "deripient"
- 5, 136: "considunt" "consistunt"
- 5, 254: "Ida" "alto" "aethra"
- 5, 279: "nodis" "nodos"
- 5, 535: "ipsius — habebis"
- 5, 638: "iam" "nunc"
- 5, 756: "Troiam" "Troiae"
- 5, 773: "funem" "funes"
- 5, 786: "satis est nec" "satis est"
"satis et"
- 5, 813: "accedet" "accedit"
- 5, 817: "auro" "curru"
- 6, 327: "et rauca" "nec rauca" "ne
rauca"
- 6, 448: "Caeneus" "Caenis"
- 6, 738: "inolescere" "mollescere"
"abolescere"
- 6, 792: "divi" "divum"
- 6, 810: "primam" "primus" "primum"
- 6, 811: "fundabit" "fundavit"
- 6, 828: "lumina" "limina"
- 6, 852: "paci" "pacis"
- 6, 900: "litore" "limite"
- 7, 72: "et" "ut"
- 7, 99: "ferant" "ferent"
- 7, 287: "invecta" "invicta" "inventa"
- 7, 337: "tibi" "cui"
- 7, 411: "Ardea" "Ardua"
- 7, 444: "quis — gerenda"
- 7, 577: "igni" "ignis"
- 7, 598: "nam . . . omnisque" "nam
. . . mortisque" "non . . . om-
nisque"
- 7, 660: "oras" "auras"
- 7, 771: "lumina" "limina"
- 8, 14: "Dardanio" "Dardanium"
- 8, 183: "perpetui" "perpetuo"
- 8, 185: "Evandrus" "Evander"
- 8, 205: "furis" "furiis"
- 8, 223: "oculis" "oculi"
- 8, 461: "ab alto" "ab arto" "in ipso"
"aperto"
- 8, 599: "cingunt" "cingit"
- 8, 627: "vatum" "fatum"
- 8, 712: "tota" "torta" "tuta" "mota"
- 9, 158: "parari" "parati"
- 9, 241: "et" "ad"
- 9, 244: "primam" "primum"
- 9, 369: "regi" "regis"
- 9, 417: "librabat" "vibrabat"
- 9, 423: "recluso" "relieto" "re-
ducto"
- 9, 585: "et placabilis" "implacabi-
lis" "placabilis"
- 9, 597: "ingentem" "ingenti"
- 9, 671: "caelo" "telo"
- 9, 733: "fulmina" "fulgura"
- 10, 9: "metus" "deus"
- 10, 109—110: "seu — sinistris"
- 10, 188: "crimen — paternae"
- 10, 277: "praecipere" "praeripere"
- 10, 359: "obnixa" "obnixi"
- 10, 378: "pelagus" "pelago"
- 10, 445: "tum" "tam" "dum" "ea"
- 10, 476: "humeri" "humeris"
- 10, 478: "tandem" "partem"
- 10, 601: "pectus" "penitus"
- 10, 686: "animi" "animo"
- 10, 710: "pastus" "pavit" "pascit"
"pastum"
- 10, 809: "omnis" "omnes" "omnem"
- 10, 850: "exitium" "exilium"
- 11, 87: "proiectus" "prostratus" "de-
iectus"
- 11, 382: "fossae" "fossas"
- 11, 414: "inertes" "inermes"
- 11, 430: "parva" "tarda"
- 11, 626: "sinu" "sinus"
- 11, 857: "tune" "tuque"
- 12, 37: "mutat" "motat"
- 12, 66: "ora" "ossa"
- 12, 68: "aut" "vel"
- 12, 79: "Rutuli" "Rutulum"
- 12, 79: "dirimamus" "dirimatur"

12, 81: "rapidusque" "rapidus" "tre- pidusque"	12, 790: "adstunt" "insistunt"
12, 344: "ornaverat" "oneraverat"	12, 797: "mortalin" "mortalem" "mortali"
12, 437: "praemia" "praelia"	12, 862: "parvae" "parrae"
12, 667: "uno" "imo"	12, 881: "per" "sub"

(places, all of them, more or less important, were it only on account of the questions raised concerning them by commentators) I have quoted the reading not of one only but of **all the first-class MSS.** which are not defective with respect to the place in question, while Ribbeck has either put off his reader with citations of **second-class MSS. and grammarians, or** (with the exception of course of such odd waifs and strays as may possibly sometime or other be lighted-on by somebody or other, somewhere or other in that vast wilderness of epilogue Prolegomena in which travelers lose themselves as in the sands of Africa) **passed the passages over in total silence;** and if it has further happened that I have in my work treated my readers to four hundred and forty-two readings, of the Aeneis alone, fresh from the Medicean, while Ribbeck in his work presents them with no more than one hundred from the same MS. for the whole of Virgil, all this has happened accidentally, without jealousy or rivalry, and in the mere necessary furtherance of the essentially exegetical and aesthetical work I had in hand.

(y) The **engraved facsimile** published by Ruinart in the second edition of *Mabillon, de Re Diplomatica*, p. 637, of four verses* of a fragment of a MS. of Virgil in capitals,

* The verses are 302—305 of the fourth Book of the Aeneis, and, except that they are of considerably larger size, and that THYIAS has an ornamented initial, stand thus in the facsimile:

THYIASVBIADITOSTIMVLANTTRIETERICABACCHO
ORGIANOCTVRNVSQVOCATCLAMORECITHERO
TANDEMHISAENEANCONPELLATVOCIBVLTRO
DISSIMVLAREETIAMSPERASTIPERFIDETANTVM

THYIAS in the facsimile, and neither, as stated at page 115 of his memoir by Pertz in contradiction to his own more correct representation at page 101,

formerly in the possession of Pithou, but now lost. The engraving having, by the loss of the fragment, become, to a certain extent, authority, I have quoted it as such at 4, 302.

All that is known historically of the fragment itself is that it formed part of the library of Pithou, that Mabillon had it out of that library for some time in his hands, admired it, and showed it to his friends and amongst others to Ruinart who published an engraved facsimile of four lines of it in the second edition of Mabillon's work. For these facts we have the explicit testimony of Ruinart himself: "Primum locum in ea [viz. tabella apud Mabill. p. 637] obtinet Romana, si quae unquam alia, elegantissimis characteribus exarata scriptura, ex Virgilii fragmento expressa, quod ex Bibliotheca Pithoeana aliquamdiu prae manibus habuit ipse Mabillonius, mihiq[ue] et aliis nonnullis non sine admirationis sensu ostendit." There is no evidence whatsoever either how large or how small was the fragment thus possessed by Pithou, seen and admired by Mabillon, and of four lines of which a facsimile is to be seen in the second edition of Mabillon's work. Neither is there any evidence whence that fragment came into Pithou's possession, or what became of it when Pithou's library was dispersed. It presents itself first before us in the library of Pithou, and there vanishes. It has however had, like many other historical celebrities, a mythical existence quite distinct and apart from its historical, and only the more curious because filling-up the historical void not *a parte ante* but *a parte post*, not seen dim and glimmering through the thick haze of antiquity, but clear and splendid in the Transactions of a Royal Academy of Science. On the 26th Febr. 1863, G. H. Pertz, royal librarian, read before the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin a memoir, afterwards published in their Transactions for the same year, in which he informed

THYAS, nor as stated by the Benedictine Brothers at p. 41 of volume 3 of their work, in contradiction to their own more correct representation, volume 3,

Plate 34, **T**YAS; also CITHERO in the facsimile, not, as most unwarrantably corrected by Pertz on the ground that a horizontal line, indicating a final N, had fallen out, "ausgefallen" (out of the copperplate!), CITHERON

the Society, and through the Society the literary world, that at the time of Mabillon's visit to Rome, i. e. in the years 1685 and 1686, there existed in the Vatican library in that city, and had existed there from the year 1600 (when it passed into that library as part of Fulvio Orsini's library, in that year embodied with the library of the Vatican) a fragment of a MS. of Virgil, exceeding not only all other MSS. of Virgil, but all known existing MSS. of its kind, in antiquity, no less than in perfection and beauty of character ("nie zuvor hatte man ein ganz mit so herrlichen und grossen Römischen buchstaben geschriebenes buch gesehen" . . . "diese bewundernswürdigen bruchstücke, denen nichts anderes der art zu vergleichen sey" . . . "übertrifft die Florentiner und die beiden Vaticanischen handschriften weit, an alter, schönheit und kostbarkeit"), consisting of twelve large parchment folios, and numbered in the library catalogue 3256; that this fragment was seen by Mabillon in the Vatican library during his visit in Rome; that some verses of it selected by him were published after his death by Ruinart as a sample; that, of the four lines of which this sample consisted, two had been republished by the Benedictine authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, and were to be seen in the XXXIVth plate of the third volume of that work; also, that having lately received reliable information from Rome that the fragment in question, viz. the Virgilian codex No. 3256 in the Vatican catalogue, consisted at present of no more than four folios, he wished to know what had become of the eight folios necessary to make up the twelve of which the fragment had consisted at the time of Mabillon's visit and which twelve folios had been seen in the Vatican library, in our own times, by Silvestre, who in his *Paléographie Universelle*, published in Paris in 1841, had not only described the fragment in terms agreeing in every respect with Ruinart's, but given an additional engraved facsimile of nine lines, viz. vv. 41—49 of the first Georgic, with the further information that the folios previously fourteen in number had been reduced to twelve during the confusion occasioned by a fire which occurred in the Vatican in August 1768 ("Möge es nun gelingen, auch die noch vor

zwanzig jahren in Rom vorhanden gewesenenen acht blätter aus ihrem räthselhaften dunkel wieder an's licht zu ziehen"). Details so circumstantial and positive from under the hand of a veteran archivist and bearing the ferma of the high court of literary cassation of the country, excited only the more attention on account of the announcement with which they were accompanied of the annexation — I hope I use no improper term — of a supplementary fragment of the same MS. by the royal library of Berlin, of which supplementary fragment a minute description and photolithograph inserted by the relator in his memoir were, along with a transcript of the two fragments (the alleged mutilated Vatican and the supplementary Berlin) published in the Berlin Transactions of 1863 and sent as a present to the library of the Vatican. It so became incumbent on the authorities of the Vatican to account for the disappearance of no less than two thirds of one of their most valuable MSS., and scarcely less incumbent on editors and commentators of Virgil to explain how no use had ever been made by them, no notice ever given by them to the public, of this to them and to every Virgilian student inestimable treasure. Nor were the authorities of the Vatican slow in performing their part. They produced their catalogue, *Collectio Manuscriptorum Latinorum bibliothecae Vaticanae*, bearing the arms of Pope Urban VIII. (therefore older than the year 1644, the date of that pontiff's death, and consequently more than forty years anterior to the visit of Mabillon to Rome) and describing the MS. in question (No. 3256) as consisting of four folios only, those four folios being of the first Georgic. The following are the ipsissima verba as read by myself and copied for me on April 1st 1865 by Monsignore San Marzano, prefect of the library: "No. 3256. Virgilii fragmentum lib. primi georgicon: incipit=ignarosque viam [sic] mecum= ex perg. C. S. [chartae scriptae] No. 4. in folio grandiori in litteris majusculis — vetustissimus." The fragment, therefore, had not only not lost eight folios since the time of Mabillon's visit, but, in as much as not containing at the time of that visit, even one single line of the Aeneis, could not by any possibility be the fragment from which the four lines of the Aeneis in the

second edition of Mabillon's work had been facsimileed; and so ended, and was acknowledged by its author to end (see *Monatsbericht der k. Acad. der Wissensch. zu Berlin*, April 21, 1864), the mythical existence, or the existence for two hundred and sixty-three years in the Vatican, of the fragment from which Mabillon had extracted his four lines. That this [Pithou's] fragment at some former period did actually form an integrant part of a Virgilian MS. of which the Vatican fragment 3256 formed a second integrant part, and the fragment with which the royal library in Berlin enriched itself in 1863, a third integrant part, the identity of character leaves no manner of doubt. This character, described by the author of the Berlin memoir, writing with the Berlin fragment before his eyes, as the largest and most beautiful Capital character ever seen ("von nie gesehener schönheit und grösse"), is indeed sufficiently remarkable, not for its beauty — for how little beauty is there even in the most perfect Roman inscription character! — but for its size, the great breadth of its letters, of which not merely the M, but the C, the D, the G, the O, the Q, and notably the N, are even broader than they are tall, and the great thickness and heaviness of all the down-strokes, a thickness and heaviness recalling rather the broad-limbed capitals of a modern printed title-page than letters drawn with a pen, but is so far, if we keep out of the lofty regions of myth and confine ourselves to those of humble reality, from being the largest Roman Capital character ever seen, that it is, as I have satisfied myself by actual admeasurement, though wider in the proportion of 3 to 2, no taller than that of the Palatine, and while wider only in the proportion of 11 to 10, is shorter in the proportion of 3 to 4 than that of the Roman. Never having taken the measurements of the character of the St. Gallen fragment, and many years having elapsed since I had that MS. in my hand, I cannot speak with equal precision to the height and breadth of its capitals as compared with those of the so-called Augustan; my impression, however, that the capitals of that MS. are not materially inferior either in height or breadth to those of the Augustan, is probably sufficiently correct, first, because, having taken a complete copy

of the MS. with my own hand, I had abundant opportunity for observation, and secondly, because such impression is confirmed by the specimen of the MS. given by Müller, *de codd. Virg. qui in Helvetiæ bibliothecis asservantur*.

But though the Pithou fragment has remained since the time of Mabillon a non-est-inventum, though the Berlin fragment has only been known to exist since the date of the Berlin Academy's memoir, there was still the third fragment, viz. the Vatican. ¿How has it happened that that third fragment, so unique, so surpassing in antiquity all other Virgilian MSS. has never, even although consisting of no more than four folios, — never up to the present day been put under contribution by any of those learned men who, from time to time during the last two hundred and sixty-five years, have made search for, and collation of, Virgilian MSS. their special pursuit? ¿How has it happened that this most ancient of all Virgilian MSS. has never been once cited, never even so much as once mentioned, either by Nicholas Heinsius or Ribbeck*? An answer to this question will immediately suggest itself to every person who, in his search after knowledge in whatever department, has found himself under the unhappy necessity of knocking at the door of the Vatican library. Every such person knows, that after that door has been opened to the bearer of the golden branch, the Pope's *permesso* (obtainable only through the Cardinal minister of State, on *istanza* backed by recommendation from home government), the specified MSS. alone are brought to him one by one out of the adytum, and when those specified are exhausted, there is an end: all sight of the catalogue is as sternly refused as all access to the adytum; prefetto, scrittore, custode, scopatore, either know nothing or choose to know nothing, and sit stiff, silent, and frowning, no matter how humbly, with hat in hand, you urge your intreaty; *Motu Proprio di N. S. Papa Pio IX, 1851*:

* written in Rome in January 1865, therefore at least a year before the publication, in 1866, of Ribbeck's *Prolegomena* containing a third-hand account (that is to say, Ribbeck's account of Pertz's account of Helbig's account) of the readings of the MS, with the nota-bene attached to Pertz's name: "Cui tamen, nec de textu meo nec de ceteris libris testanti, fides habenda est."

“Riteranno [i prefetti della biblioteca] le chiavi degl' inventarii e degl' indici, nè sia permesso senza Nostro speciale ordine in iscritto farli vedere ed esaminare da chicchessia (*Clement. XII, § 3*) . . . Non è permesso a chicchessia non solamente di copiare i codici, ma anche di consultarli senza avere ottenuto il permesso Nostro o dei Nostri Successori (*Clement. XIII, 4*). Per ottenerne facoltà si farà la istanza in iscritto, che trasmessa dalla Segreteria di Stato al Cardinale Bibliotecario si esaminerà la dimanda e se si stimerà espediente si concederà la facoltà di copiare o di studiare sulli codici per mezzo di un dispaccio della Segreteria di Stato. Coloro poi che avranno la licenza di consultare i codici, non potranno averne che un solo È proibito espressamente di fare confronti o collazioni di Codici (*Clem. XII, § 7; Clem. XIII, § 4*). Se per qualche straordinaria circostanza se ne concedesse la licenza nella maniera indicata, dovrà sempre assistervi uno scrittore deputato dal custode per la sicurezza dei codici.” This is the answer which suggests itself at once to every Vatican student, to every one practically acquainted with the Vatican library. Neither N. Heinsius nor Ribbeck quotes Vatican fragment No. 3256, because neither N. Heinsius nor Ribbeck had, before knocking at the door of the Vatican, learned that such a fragment existed inside, and because it is the instruction and rule of the authorities to withhold not merely the catalogue but even verbal information, and so obstruct and render impossible all investigation. But this answer, perfectly good and true as far as it goes, is insufficient. The fragment in question is shown under glass to the ordinary visitors of the Vatican curiosities, as a specimen of the ancient Roman Capital character, and nine verses of it stand facsimileed by Silvestre in the second volume of his *Paléographie Universelle* published in Paris in 1841, and so, Ribbeck, at least, might have come to a knowledge of its existence, either by seeing it exhibited under glass as a curious work of art, or by seeing the nine facsimileed verses in the *Paléographie* of Silvestre. To be sure! if it were usual for literary men to make the tour of museums of curiosities or to take their information from flash works such as Silvestre's *Paléographie*, works made to please the eye not

inform the mind, and fit for the library of a royal duke or dilettante book-collector, not for that of a scholar. Alas for literature, when scholars, taking their information from such sources, inform an academy of science, and through an academy of science the whole literary world, that there existed from 1600 to 1841 in the Vatican library in Rome a Virgilian MS. consisting of at least 12 folios, that four lines of this MS. had been engraved and published in the second edition of *Mabillon, de Re Diplomatica*, and two of the four republished by the authors of the *Nouveau traité de Diplomatique*, that the same fragment had been seen in the same library by Silvestre who had, in 1841, published a facsimile of nine other lines of it in his *Paléographie Universelle*, that the character of this MS. (considerably smaller, as we have seen above, than that of the Roman MS. of the same author) was larger than any known, and, in as much as presenting neither interspaces between the words nor abbreviations, was more ancient than that of the Berlin fragment of Livy of the first or second century ("sie steht in beider rücksicht auch noch vor dem Berliner bruchstück des Livius*", welches in eines der beiden ersten jahrhunderte zu setzen war"), in other words, belonged to an early part of the so-called Augustan period; a conclusion which carries with it the corollary that the world is at the present day in possession, not of seven folios only (viz. four Vatican and three Berlin) of an Augustan MS. of Virgil, but, besides these, of no less than six, more or less complete, Augustan MSS. of Virgil, viz. the Medicean, the Roman, the Palatine, the Vatican fragment 3225, the St. Gallen fragment and the Verona fragment, all these MSS. being not only in Capital letters but as entirely without interspaces and without abbreviations as the seven folios on which the author of the memoir in the Berlin Transactions has been pleased to bestow the distinguishing appellative, Augustan.

* the famous Toledo palimpsest leaf of Sallust, published by Pertz (Berlin, 1848) as a leaf of Livy, and of which a lithograph may be seen in Kritz's *Sallust. Histor. fragmenta*, Leipz. 1853, and an edition, with memoir and explanation, in Dietsch's *Sallust. Histor. Reliquiae*, Leipz. 1859.

§ V.

The MSS. constituting the second category are as follows:

Six MSS. in the Laurentian library in **Florence**, viz. **No. 2** (Bandini, *Catal. codd. latin. bibl. Medic. Laurent.* t. II, p. 300); XI century; 4to; parchm.; *Aeneis*. **No. 3** (Bandini); XII century; 4to; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*; frontispiece. **No. 4** (Bandini); XII century; 4to; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* **No. 5** (Bandini); XIII century; 4to; parchm.; *Aeneis* only. **No. 23** (Bandini); XII century; 4to; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* **No. 24** (Bandini); XII century; 4to; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* I shall, perhaps, have my reader's pardon no less than my author's for not collating more than these six of the Laurentian library's vast store of three and thirty second-class MSS. of Virgil containing the *Aeneis*. Elsewhere — in Bern, for instance, or Vienna or London, even one single second-class MS. of Virgil, albeit neither very ancient, nor very well executed originally, nor very well preserved, attracts the attention of the Virgilian critic. In the Laurentian library his attention wanders even from three and thirty second-class MSS., most of them elegantly executed, richly ornamented and well preserved, and eight of them older than the XIV century, to an unpretentious, unornamented, faded, defective, small-quarto volume of the thinnest, frailest parchment (kidskin, say the experts), No. 1 (Bandini), the Laurentian par excellence, the "*Musarum deliciae ac Par-nassi decus*," and there remains fixed — until he comes to Rome.

One MS. in the Magliabechian library in **Florence**, described in library catal. as of XIII century.

Twelve MSS. in the Vatican library in **Rome**, viz. five so-called Vatican MSS. numbered respectively **1570** (large folio, of X or XI century), **1571**, **1572** (folio size; vignettes beautiful; penmanship elegant; emendations rare; neither marginal nor interlinear notes), **1573**, **1574**; one so-called Palatine, numbered **1634** (character Gothic), and six so-called Alexandrine (that part of the collection of Queen Christina, which was bequeathed

to the Vatican library by Pope Alexander VIII. see Agincourt), numbered respectively **1393, 1495, 1536, 1669** (character Lombard; EX LIBB. FRANC. AURELII written at bottom of first leaf), **1670, 1671**. Jealous of all time spent in the Vatican library otherwise than in the collation of its first-class codices (the so-called Vatican fragment, the Palatine, and the Roman; see first category, above), I have collated only these twelve, of a store of second-class Virgilian codices in the Vatican, greater than either of the great rival stores, the Laurentian in Florence and the Imperial in Paris, and therefore, a fortiori, the greatest in the world — vedi Roma e poi muori.

Three MSS. in the Ambrosian library, **Milan**, viz. No. 79 (on parchment, and of XII century), No. 107 (on paper), and the Petrarchian, so denominated because it belonged to Petrarch, who is said to have had it made for his own use. This last is a parchment MS. of large folio size, in red boards, containing, besides a beautifully executed allegorical frontispiece attributed, on good authority, to Simon Memmi, numerous annotations in Petrarch's own hand-writing, annotations which, as well on account of the crampness and minuteness of the character, as on account of the small probability they would throw much light on the Virgilian text, I made no serious attempt to decipher. In this MS. the four introductory verses are not only present but — great rarity whether in MS. or edition — embodied with the text. It is to this MS., not as stated by Heyne (vol. 4, p. 611, n.) to another Petrarchian MS. of Virgil

[there is but one Petrarchian MS. of Virgil, Heyne's "Codex Virgilii in papyro Aegyptiaca scriptus" being a papyrus of Josephus, in Latin, which the Göttingen philologist, writing in Göttingen and misunderstanding the words of Montfaucon (*Biblioth. Bibliothecarum nova*, p. 530: "In alio Bibliothecae Ambrosianae conclavi sunt quidam codd. qui elegantiae causa in armario quodam asservantur. De *Josepho* Latine scripto egerunt multi; unum jampridem observatis addere libet; charta, quam Philyrum, seu Papyrus Aegyptiacam esse putant, multo densior est charta, item papyrea, qua confectus est codex S. Marci Venetis, longe antiquior codice Josephi Ambrosiano. Est itidem Virgilii codex, olim Petrarchae, respersus notis observationibusque ipsius Petrarchae manu, nitido charactero."), mistook for a papyrus of Virgil,

is prefixed that touching autograph of the most tender of all lovers and all poets, beginning thus: "Laurra propriis virtutibus illustris et meis longum celebrata carminibus, primum oculis meis apparuit sub primum adolescentie mee tempus, anno MCCCXXVII, die VI mensis Aprilis, in ecclesia Sancte Clare Avinione, hora matutina: et in eadem civitate, eodem mense Aprili, eodem die VI, eadem hora prima, anno autem MCCCXLVIII, ab hac luce lux illa subtracta est," etc.

Had the collector, transcriber, and discoverer of ancient codices, the restorer of learning in the beginning of the fourteenth century, the co-founder, with Dante and Boccaccio, of a new and charming literature, been born as long after, as he was born long before, the invention of printing, he would probably have exhibited more skill in the spelling, less skill in the use, of words; had he come into the world only towards the latter end of the nineteenth century, he would have poured that most ardent soul of his, not in *sonetti*, *canzoni*, and *trionfi d'amore*, but in disquisitions how the words composing *sonetti*, *canzoni*, and *trionfi d'amore* were to be spelled, would have augmented our already considerable rolling stock of heterogeneous orthographies and recondite etymologies, with vast donations of orthographies still more heterogeneous and etymologies still more recondite; the world would have had one Petrarca less, one Grimm or Ritschl more, and I and my daughter would never have made our midwinter pilgrimage, afoot, to the fountain of Vaucluse, never have gathered Pistacia and red Juniperus Oxycedrus berries on the steep and rustling brink of the transparent, sweetly murmuring Sorgues.

A MS. of the entire works of Virgil in the Biblioteca Civica in **Trent**, on parchment; wants a few pages at the end; the bequest of Mazetti, founder of the library.

Three so-called Gudian, in the Bibliotheca Guelferbytana at **Wolfenbüttel**, viz. Nos. **70** (903, Ebert), **66** (904, Ebert), **164**, "ex museo Bernhardi Rottendorffii" (905, Ebert). The oldest of these, No. 70, is often quoted by Heyne, Wagner, Conington, and other commentators, as *the Gudian*, par excellence. It is however not so very much better than No. 66, and in some respects is very much worse, having been so much corrected that it is frequently difficult, sometimes altogether impossible to ascertain what the original reading has been; in other words,

this MS. has in many places lost all value as a record. Such mischievous corrections have greatly diminished the value of almost all the older Virgilian MSS. but of this (a MS. of the IX century) in an especial degree. There is indeed scarcely a passage in the whole of the first six Books of the Aeneis, which has not been altered in it, and sometimes even more than once. I have examined it most carefully and patiently in order to discover the grounds for the praises bestowed on it and the confidence reposed in it, by Nicholas Heinsius and Wagner; but all in vain; I have never been able to discover its superiority to other MSS. of the same alleged antiquity; generally, indeed, have been wholly unable, owing to the above mentioned corrections, to ascertain with certainty what the original reading of the MS. was.

Three so-called Augustan MSS. in the Bibliotheca Guelferbytana at **Wolfenbüttel**, viz. Nos. **906**, **907**, **908** (Ebert); the last, of no value.

One Helmstadt MS. in the Bibliotheca Guelferbytana at **Wolfenbüttel**, No. **332** (910, Ebert).

One MS. in the Stadtbibliothek of **Hamburg**, formerly No. 173 in the Morgenweg library; parchm.; folio, and assigned by Petersen (*Geschichte der Hamburgischen Stadtbibliothek*) to the X century. This is not either of the two Hamburg MSS. quoted by N. Heinsius and Heyne, those MSS., as appears from Dorphius (preface to his Virgil published at Copenhagen in 1829), having been purchased by the king of Denmark in the year 1784 and deposited by him in the royal library at Copenhagen, where they are numbered, respectively, 2006 and 2007.

Three MSS. in the Rehdiger library in **Breslau**, respectively numbered 2, 3, 4; see *Thomas Rehdiger und seine Büchersammlung in Breslau, von Wachler*, p. 57. No. **2**, a good MS., but very much corrected by a modern hand, has a frontispiece in which the figure of a man, standing on a scroll inscribed:

ARNOLDUS PLACIDUS NULLI PIETATE SECUNDUS,
presents the MS. to the Virgin. No. **3** wants the whole of the first Book of the Aeneis except the last page.

Two MSS. in the Bibliotheca Senatoria in **Leipzig**, viz. **No. 35** (Naumann): XIII century; longer and less broad than ordinary 8vo; parchm.; contains *Eclog. Georg. Aen.* **No. 36** (Naumann): XIII century; 4to; parchm.; in double column; *Eclog. Georg. Aen.*

One MS. in the royal library in **Dresden**, **D. 134** (Ebert): XIV century; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*; neatly written and well preserved; despised and left unused by Wagner;

[Wagn. (1830—1841) vol. 1, praef. p. 17: "Exstat in eadem Bibl. Reg. Dresd. sub D. 126 [D. 134, Ebert], codex saec. XIV scriptus, omnia Virgillii opera complectens, tum alius sub D. 81, Eclogas tantum exhibens; quos, si quid inde utilitatis Virgilio accessurum sperassem, minime neglexissem."

placed at my command by the politeness of the late enlightened head-librarian, Dr. Klemm, and very much used by me during my long residence in Dresden.

To the Leipzig and Dresden MSS., intrinsically as little important or interesting as MSS. of the XIII and XIV centuries usually are, attaches the extrinsic interest that they are the only Virgilian MSS. a celebrated critic, interpreter and editor of Virgil ever saw, two of them the only Virgilian MSS. the same celebrated critic, interpreter and editor of Virgil ever used. Armed with the two Leipzig MSS.,

[Wagn. vol. 1, praef. p. 18: "Hi codices [Lips. 35, 36] hunc mihi praestiterunt usum, ut quoties parum constaret de lectione librorum mss. ad eos redirem tamquam aliquem fontem, unde, aqua mihi haerente, certior fierem quid in libris mss. legeretur."

with the Commelinian, Foggian, Ambrogian and Bottarian editions, and the Bottarian collation of the Roman, corrected, as best they might, by epistolary reports from Rome and Florence,

[Wagn. (1830—1841) vol. 1, praef. p. 13: "Dederam viro officiosissimo [Freytagio] chartulam, in qua locos complures e Bucolicis et Georgicis notaveram, quorum quae esset in Mediceo scriptura, dubium reliquerat Heinsii et Foggini dissensio." id. vol. 5, praef. p. 13: "Cum Bottarium non eum esse intellexissem, cui satis fidere liceret, dudum optabam ut invenirem qui diligentius codicem Vatic. excuteret. . . . Aperui igitur quid vellem, F. G. Schulzio etc. . . . Is cum vix

accepisset, quas ad eum dederam, litteras, statim ipse codicem confert cum exemplo Bottariano tanta diligentia, ut facile credam ipsi asseveranti ne unam quidem litterulam aut virgulam a se esse praetermissam. Susceptam a Schulzio et ad Aen. 4. 309, perductam operam, cum ipse Romam ad aliquod tempus relinqueret, excepit Schweersius, . . . atque ita absolvit" etc. id. ibid.: "Qui [Schulzsius] cum accepisset gratissimum mihi futurum, si quidquid esset in eo codice [viz. Romano] diversitatis, in meum usum exciperetur, non multo post indicem mihi misit omnis discrepantiae, quae in Bucolicis deprehenditur, diligentissime ab ipso confectum, promisitque, si reliquam ejus codicis partem similiter pervestigari vellem, se id negotium, cum ipse administrare non posset, idoneo homini commissurum. Sed qui Romae veteres libros in usum extraneorum conferunt cum exemplaribus typis expressis, tanti aestimant operam suam, ut philologi Germanici, qua fere sunt in rei familiaris tenuitate constituti, Tantalica sorte contenti esse cogantur."

Philip Eberard Wagner not only undertook and brought to a happy conclusion ("audentes" — immo audaces — immo audacissimos — "Fortuna iuvat") his copious parenthetic criticisms of, and supplements to, the *variae lectiones* of Heyne, but added to Heyne's four volumes thoroughly wagnerized and appropriated, a fifth volume of his own: *Publi Vergili Maronis Carmina ad pristinam orthographiam quoad eius fieri potuit revocata*, and so, without ever stirring out of Dresden or beyond the precincts of the Kreuzschule, inaugurated a new era not merely of Virgilian but of Latin literature, and shone forth the bright Lucifer of Ritschl's and Mommsen's glorious, uprising sun; so true is it that great effects are sometimes produced with small means, and that for him who will, it is as possible in our own days as it was in those of Fabricius, to be parvo potens. Not that Philip Eberard Wagner, however parvo potens, was in all respects a Fabricius, or that Philip Eberard Wagner's march to fame was along a road as rugged and unfrequented as Fabricius's, but that whereas the sturdy Roman, steadily and to the end, refused all contract with redemptor Pyrrhus, your more supple Saxon executed his contract with redemptor Hahn, to take away nothing from the Heynian text,

[id. vol. 1, praef. p. 8: "Suscepi Virgilium Heynianum ita denuo in lucem edendum, ut adderem quae vellem, demerem nihil."

by taking away from it, and relegating to the bottom of the page, every Heynian reading of which he disapproved, and substituting for it whatever reading liked him best:

id. ibid.: "Unum mihi licere putavi, ut in contextu, si quam deteriolem lectionem ab Heynio viderem receptam, reponerem eam, quam rationes criticae commendarent; religioni enim ducebam, nitidissimum poetam iis adhuc maculis deformatum pati, quae dudum erant abstergendae. Sed ut vel sic statim in oculos incurreret quid a me mutatum esset, ipsi textui subieci lectionem Heynianam."

Four MSS. in the ducal library at **Gotha** (described by Jacobs). **No. 54** ("Liber Eneidos"): XI or XII century (Heyne: XIII or XIV); oblong 8vo; parchm.; *Aeneis* only; "ms. bonae notae" Cyprianus. **No. 55**: XV century; 8vo; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*; very neatly written and in perfect preservation. **No. 56**: XI century; 8vo; parchm.; *Aeneis* only; defective in many places. **No. 239** (235): XV century; folio; paper; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*

Eight MSS. in the Hofbibliothek in **Vienna**, viz. **No. 58** (113, Endlicher): X century; fol.; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*; "characterē ad imitationem scripturae longobardicae effigiato; literarum initialium figuris historicis vivis coloribus pictis; e bibliotheca monasterii St. Johannis de Carbonaria, Neapoli." **No. 81*** (114, Endlicher): XI century; fol.; parchm.; fragm. of first Book of *Aeneis*. **No. 27** (115, Endlicher): XI century; "formae fere quadratae;" parchm.; *Buc. Aen.* **No. 208** (116, Endlicher): XII century; "in 4to minori;" parchm.; *Aen.* **No. 151** (117, Endlicher): XIII century; "in folio dimidiato;" parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* **No. 172** (118, Endlicher): XIII century; "in 4to minori;" parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* **No. 39** (120, Endlicher): A. D. 1456; folio; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* **No. 71** (121, Endlicher): A. D. 1412; folio; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*

A very beautiful MS. in the library of the Convent at **Kloster-Neuburg** near Vienna; the handsomest, I think, of all the Virgilian MSS. I have ever seen; on parchment; folio; in perfect preservation; according to library catal., of the XII century.

A MS. in Schloss Weissenstein near **Pommersfelden** in Bavaria, No. **1796** in library catal.; XI or XII century; 4to; parchm.; described by Jaeck, who gives (*ubi infra*) a specimen of the writing; belongs to Count Schönborn, and has been lately removed by him from his residence at Gaibach (where it was when described by Heyne, vol. IV. *de Virg. edd.*) to his princely castle of Weissenstein at Pommersfelden.

Two MSS. in the royal library at **Bamberg**, viz. **M. II. 4** (in the beginning of the volume the words: COLLEGII SOC. JESU, BAMBERG, 1654. and at the end: NICOLAUS FOLII EXHERBIS SCRIPSIT ANNO 1467), and **M. II. 5** (fragment containing sixth Book of *Aeneis*); both MSS. described, and specimens given of the handwriting, by Jaeck in the preface to his ed. of Virgil, Weimar, 1826.

Two MSS. in the Bibliotheca Fredericiana, now the university library, at **Erlangen**: one, oblong 8vo; parchm.; marked in Irmischer's catal. **295**: the other, 4to; paper; marked **859**.

Six MSS. in the royal library, **Munich**; viz. No. **305**: saec. XI; fol.; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*; numerous interlinear as well as marginal annotations from Servius. No. **523**: saec. XIII; oblong 4to; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* with many lacunae; 11th and 12th Books of *Aeneis* wanting. No. **10719**: written in 1453 by Philippus de Corbizis; 4to; paper; *Aeneis*; presented to the Duke of Bavaria by Bandini in the year 1779. No. **14466**: saec. XIII; 8vo; parchm.; first five Books of *Aeneis*, and first 38 verses of sixth Book. No. **18059**: saec. XII; fol.; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* No. **21562**: saec. XII; 4to; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* on recto of first folio a helmeted Virgil sketched in red and lilac ink; on verso, the monk Altus von Weihestephan presenting his MS. to St. Stephen.

Two MSS. in the Stiftsbibliothek at **St. Gallen**; saec. XV and XVI; on paper; one of them containing only first Book of *Aeneis*; the other, only a part of the third.

Three MSS. in the Stadtbibliothek of **St. Gallen**; the first, folio; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* The second, much more

modern and less correct; 4 to; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* The third, 8 vo; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*; bears the colophon:

Scriptus jussu et impensa Jo. Camerarij Dalburgij

per Jo. nicolai de confluentia. Paduae. Anno dñi. 1477.

These MSS., as well as the library, having formerly belonged to Joachim von Watt, "Med. Doct., Bürgermeister und Reformator der Stadt und Kirchen St. Gallen", have been denominated, from him, Vadian.

Ten MSS. in the public library at **Bern**, viz. **No. 47**: 4 to; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*, wanting first seven *Eclogues*, and part of eighth; very neat; colophon: *Explicit liber eneidos. 1451. die 15. April.* **No. 165**: saec. IX (Sinner); fol.; parchm.; neatly written in very elegant Lombard hand; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*; mutilated at the end of the twelfth Book, of which the last thirty-four verses are wanting; bears the following inscription:

HUNC VIRGILII CODICEM OBTVLIT BERNŌ GREGIS B. MARTINI LEVITA DEVOTĀ MENTE DOMINO ET EIDEM BEATO MARTINO PERPETVITER HABENDUM. EA QVIDEM RATIONE VT PERLEGAT IPSVM ARBERTVS CONSOBRINVS IPSIVS ET DIEBVS VITAE SVAE SVB PRÆTEXTV B. MARTINI HABEAT ET POST SVVM OBITVM ITERVM S. REDDAT MARTINO. SI QVIS IPSVM FVRAVERIT AVT ALIQVO INGENIO A PŌTESTATE S. MARTINI ABSTRAHERE TEMPTAVERIT, MALEDICTVS SIT ET CVM JVDĀ ET SĀFFIRA QUI EX HOC QVOD IPSI DOMINO DEDERANT FRAVDAVERVNT PERPETVAM DAMPNATIONEM NISI CITISSIME QVOD PRÆSVPSEKIT EMENDARE STVDVERIT, ADQVIRAT.

From the circumstance that some verses of this MS. are written in capitals closely resembling both in form and size those of the Medicean, I regard it as older than the ninth, perhaps as old as the seventh century. A striking facsimile of two verses of it written in these capitals, as well as of two verses in the elegant Lombard character of the body of the MS., is to be seen in the third of the tabulae appended to Sinner's catalogue. This MS. has numerous marginal scholia partly from Servius, partly from other sources. **No. 167**: saec. X (Sinner); fol.; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* **No. 172**: saec. X (Sinner); fol.; parchm.; contains *Buc. Georg.* and first five Books of *Aeneis*, and is dedicated by a certain Ildemar (no doubt the person at whose expense the MS. was made) in the following words, to St. Benedict:

CONTULIT ALME TIBI PATER HUNC BENEDICTE LIBELLUM
ILDEMARUS ALUMNUS ET IPSE TUUS. . . .

Compare, above, the dedication of Reh diger No. 2 by Arnoldus Placidus to the Virgin, of Bern 165 by Berno to Saint Martin, and of Munich 21562 by Altus von Wei henstephan to St. Stephen.

The dedication of the ancient MS. to a beatified saint, the Virgin, or Christ, has its modern representative in the dedication of the printed book to a royal duke or prince. Between the ancestor and descendant there is the obvious resemblance that they are both compliments which cost nothing; let me hope that the resemblance goes still farther, and that the descendant is as impotent to deter readers as the ancestor was impotent to deter thieves.

No. 184: saec. IX; folio; parchm.; "olim Bongarsii"; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* No. 222: saec. XV; fol.; paper; *Aeneis* alone; anonymous scholia. No. 239: saec. IX; fol.; parchm.; *Aeneis*; wants beginning of first Book as far as "ac prior, heus, inquit, iuvenes". No. 255: saec. IX; fol.; parchm.; *Buc. Georg.* and first Book of *Aeneis* as far as "collecta fluentes". No. 269: saec. XV; fol.; paper; *Aeneis*. No. 411: saec. XII; 4to; parchm.; "olim Bongarsii"; contains only glosses on the *Aeneis*, partly from Servius, partly more modern.

Four MSS. in the university library at **Basel**, viz. **F. II. 23**: saec. XI; fol.; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*; described by Müller, *de codd. Virg. qui in Helvet. biblioth. asservantur* (Bern, 1841); formerly belonged to the *Conventus Basileensis ordinis praedicatorum*. **F. III. 3b**: fol.; paper; *Aeneis*; wants all after v. 612 of tenth Book. **F. III. 4**: saec. XV; fol.; paper; contains only the first six Books of the *Aeneis*. **F. III. 3**: saec. XV; fol.; paper; contains, except the *Priapeia*, all the works, whether of Virgil or attributed to Virgil; ornamented with an exquisitely painted miniature at the commencement of each Book. To this MS., affording, as it does, one of the earliest texts of the *Ciris* with which we are acquainted, attaches a greater interest than usually attaches to Virgilian MSS. of the XV century. Let me try therefore whether I cannot, from my own personal inspection and collation of it, several years ago, supplemented by

notices with which I have just been favored by Dr. Ludwig Sieber, the present librarian; correct some of the erroneous opinions entertained concerning it. And first with respect to its entry in the library catalogue, in the hand of Iohannes Zwinger, appointed librarian, 1672, died 1696: "F. III. 3, Virgilii Maronis opera omnia, elegantissime scripta et sub initium librorum elegantissimis figuris variocoloribus exornata. Ann. 1465. fol." The date 1465 (repeated by Hänel, *Catalogi libror. MSS.*) must be incorrect, if it were only because the MS. contains the two epistles (remarkable epistles, for which see § VI, below) of Iohannes Andreas, Bishop of Aleria in Corsica and first editor of Virgil, dedicatory, one of them, of the editio Romana prima of the works of Virgil, (an. 1469), to Pope Paul II, the other of them, of the editio Romana secunda of the works of Virgil (an. 1471), to Pomponius Infortunatus. The MS. therefore cannot have been written before the year 1471. The origin of the false date 1465 is thus explained by Dr. Sieber, in letters addressed to me from Basel in March and April, 1872: "Bl. 2—6 des manuscrites sind leer. Bl. 7, recto, beginnen die briefe des Iohannes Andreas, bischofs von Aleria in Corsica. Der anfang des ersten briefes lautet so:

Io. Andreae Episcopi Aleriensis in Cyrno: id est Corsica insula: in
primam Virgilii impressionem ad Paul. II Pontificem max. | Epistola Incipit.
circa annum Christi
1465.

Eloquentiae splendore: et rerum dignitate Locuple
torem Virgilio poetam: unum fortasse Homerum
graeci, nullum certe Latini invenient.

Der senkrechte strich hinter 'Pontificem max.' und die zwischen die zweite und dritte zeile eingeschobenen worte 'circa annum Christi 1465', sind mit blässerer tinte und ohne zweifel von der hand des Prof. Pfister geschrieben, welcher am anfang des 17. jahrhunderts universitätsbibliothekar war. Pfisters zusatz bezweckte, meiner ansicht nach, nicht eine datierung der handschrift, sondern sie bezieht sich wohl nur auf die lebenszeit des papstes Paul II, welcher am 31. Aug. 1464 erwählt, am 16. Sept. 1464 geweiht und gekrönt wurde, und am 28. Juli 1471 starb.

Zwinger hielt Pfisters notiz für das datum der handschrift und setzte daher in seinen catalog das obenerwähnte und von Hänel einfach nachgedruckte: Ann. 1465." Such, I entirely agree with Dr. Sieber, is the true explanation of the false date, 1465, in the library catalogue. We now come to the erasure of this date, and the substitution for it, in a modern hand, of the words "descriptus ex editione Romana 1473," a statement as erroneous for these two reasons as the erased date itself: first, because the alleged copy not only contains the Bishop of Aleria's two letters dedicatory and Mapheus Vegius's thirteenth Book of the Aeneis (particulae not contained in the alleged original) and omits, inter alia, the Priapeia contained in the alleged original, but differs essentially in its readings: having myself collated the alleged copy and the original in ten places only, I have found the former to vary in two; viz. *Aen.* 6. 438, while the edition reads "inamabilis" the MS. reads "innabilis", and *Aen.* 4. 217, while the edition reads "subnixus", the MS. (alone of 71 MSS. which I have examined) reads "subnexus;" and of the no more than nine readings of the alleged copy with which I have just been furnished by Dr. Sieber, I find a variation from the alleged original in no fewer than three: viz. *Aen.* 6. 96, while the edition reads "qua tua de", the MS. reads "quam tua te"; *Aen.* 9. 432, while the edition reads "transabiit", the MS. reads "transadijt"; and 9. 455, while the edition reads "tepidaque recenti", the MS. reads "tepidaque recentem". The MS., therefore, is not a copy of the Roman edition of 1473, and the statement, substituted in a modern hand in the library catalogue for the date 1465, is as erroneous as that date itself. Nor less erroneous, how much soever better vouched than either, is the at present generally received statement that the MS. in question is a copy of the Roman edition of 1471; Naecke, *Carm. Val. Catonis* (Bonn, 1847), p. 365: "Hic liber, quem Broemmeli mei labore ac beneficio tam bene novi, quam si ipse contulissem, aut totus aut longe maximam partem descriptus est ex editione Romana II. Id ut omnibus pateat, indicabo quae in codice Basileensi continentur omnia, titulos et ubi opus sit, initia et con-

clusiones carminum, omnia non ex praefixo codici indice, sed ex ipso libro exscripta: addo numeros:

1: *Io. Andreae Episcopi Aleriensis in Cyro: id est Corsica insula: in primam Virgilii impressionem, ad Paulum II Pontificem maz. Epistola incipit.* (Eloquentiae splendore — perpetuitatem exoptent. Vale.) 2: *Io. An. etc. in secundam Virgilii impressionem: ad Pomponium infortunatum suum: Epistola.* (Hucusque epistolam clauseram — sedulitate tua effecisti. Vale.) 3: *P. Virgilii Maronis vita.* 4: *Alcinius poeta: de laude Virgilii.* 5: *Cornelius Gallus poeta: de Aeneide Virgilii.* 6: *P. Virgilii Maronis Hortulus.* 7: *Argumenta XII librorum Aeneidos.* 8: *P. Virg. Mar. Culex: ad Octarium.* 9: *P. Virg. Mar. Dirae, id est carmen execratorium: ad Battarum.* 10: *P. Virg. Mar. Copa.* 11: *P. Virg. Mar. Est et non est.* 12: *P. Virg. Mar. Vir bonus.* 13: *P. Virg. Mar. Rosae.* 14: *P. Virg. Mar. Moretum.* 15: *P. Virg. Mar. Versiculi ad Caesarem.* *De eius deificatione.* 16: *Pro mercede suscipienda a Caesare.* 17: *De pulchritudine Caesaris Augusti.* 18: *P. Virg. Mar. in Balistam latronem distichon.* 19: *Versus P. Ovidii Nasonis in Argumenta librorum Georgicon Virgilii.* 20: *Summa Virgilianae narrationis in tribus suis operibus praecipuis.* 21: *Bucolica.* 22: *Georgica.* 23: *Aeneis.* 24: *Incipit Argumentum in Tertiumdecimum a Maphéo Vegio superadditum.* Tum sequitur liber Maphaei ipse. 25: *de extrema Virgilii voluntate. Versus Sulpicii Carthaginiensis.* 26: *Exclamatio Caesaris Augusti in iussum Virgilii pro Aeneide comburenda.* **Post hoc carmen incipit manus altera.** 27: *Epitaphia Virgilio ab illustribus viris edita.* 28: *Musarum nomina et officia.* 29: *Incerti auctoris Elegia.* 30: *P. Virg. Mar. Aethna quae ab aliquibus Cornelio tribuitur.* 31: *P. Virg. Mar. Ciris ad Mes-salē.* 32: *P. Virg. Mar. Catalecton. Priapus loquitur.* (Vere rosa autumnopomis aestate frequentor — Datur tibi puella quam petis datur. *P. Virgilii Maronis Catalecton desinit.* Sieber)

Comparentur haec cum descriptione nostra Romanarum I et II (p. 376—385), patebit simillimum ac geminum esse codicem Basileensem Romanae maxime secundae, vel potius natum ex illa. At vix opus est comparatione. Conficit rem hoc unum, quod insunt in codice Basileensi Epistolae Iohannis Andreae Episcopi ad Paulum II. et Pomponium. Addo insuper aliud. Quum primum inspexissem collationem codicis Basileensis, mirans vidi lacunas esse in Ciri nonnullas, et plures etiam in Catalectis. Inquisivi; easdem cognovi in Romana II esse. Quodsi quis descriptionem Romanarum nostram non prorsus consentire cum hac descriptione codicis Basileensis, v. c. diversas esse inscriptiones multorum Carminum, animadverterit, is cogitet descriptionem Romanarum quam exhibeo, non ex ipsis libris

ductam, sed ex praefixa iis libris Tabula esse. Sic versus quos commemoravi num. 16. 17. eodem loco legi in Romanis conicio quo in cod. Basil. leguntur, sed omissos esse in tabula propter brevitatem. De Maphei libro dubito utrum insit in Romanis an non insit. Si insit, facile explicabitur, cur nulla eius mentio fiat in Tabula: nimirum quod alienum ad Virgilium additamentum . . . Vel sic tamen non expedio omnia, et quaeri posse hic illic video, an praeter Romanam II, vel praeter Romanam utramque, aliam fontem habeat codex Basileensis. Animadvertimus in Catone [should be: "in Diris," for neither codex Basil. nor Romanae know anything of Cato] aliquoties discedere codicem Bas. a Romanis: sed haec fortasse omnia eiusmodi sunt, ut librarii, qui Basileensem scripsit, aut negligentiae aut emendandi studio tribui queant. Verum quid de eo dicemus quod versus 22. Aen. lib. II, 567 usque ad 588 adsunt in utraque Romana, desunt in codice Basileensi? Coniicias hoc saltem loco aliam editionem vetustam ad manum fuisse librario. Nihil exputo quod probabile sit." Oh, most lame and impotent conclusion! 'ridiculus mus' of parturient mountain, pounced on, as if it had been worthy prey, and snatched up and carried off to his eyrie by eagle-eyed, wide-hovering Ribbeck; *Append. Verg.* (Leipzig, 1868) p. 38: "Descriptum esse hunc codicem, 'aut totum aut longe maximam partem', ex editione Romana altera, a. 1471, et Orellius Silligium docuit et demonstravit Naekius (cf. p. 367 et 380), quanquam sunt quaedam inter hanc et exemplar Basileense differentiae, quae non possint librarii negligentiae tribui." Quite other is the 'mus' of Sillig similarly pounced on, snatched up and carried off, along with Naeke's, by the same voracious Ribbeck: "et Orellius Silligium docuit et demonstravit Naekius.", unfastidious, truly epicurean Ribbeck, who puts up with treacle when he can't get honey, and with inimitable grace resigns himself,

. . . when far from the lips which he loves,
to make love to the lips which are near.

Append. Verg. p. 35: "Inpressa exemplaria vetusta, de quibus copiose Naekeus in l. I. disseruit, paucissimis quibusdam locis, quibus de auctoritate scripturae minus certo constaret, vellem consulere licuisset, sed succurrit ex parte desiderio Hinckius meus, qui et Mutinensem ed. anni 1475 et Aldinam priorem a. 1517 mea gratia passim, ubi operae pretium esset, inspexit. mihimet vulgati textus fontes duo patuerunt, principis ed. Romanae apographum Basileense et Aldina secunda [a. 1534]." *ibid.* p. 39: "Editionibus vetustis cum prorsus carerem, hunc [cod. Basil. F. III. 3] quasi vicarium omnium quotquot Aldinam alteram [a. 1534] antecedunt contuli ipse."

No 'ridiculus mus' Sillig's, brought into the world with a mountain's throes, but a 'mus giganteus', the offspring of 'mures gigantei' in the easy and normal course of things: "Postea mihi lectiones codicis Basileensis et editionis principis comparanti nullus de hac re dubitandi locus est relictus," (*Eptm. editoris Dresd. in Cirin*, § 4), — fair, open, manly challenge, knightly gauntlet which I respectfully pick up, and address myself forthwith for combat (not mortal) with chivalrous foe. The codex Basileensis is not a mere transcript ("merum apographum," *Eptm. editoris Dresd. in Cirin*, see below) of the editio Romana II; first, because the inscriptions of the several particulae of which the codex consists, differ materially, as acknowledged by Naeke himself, from the inscriptions of the same particulae in the edition, — differ, too, not merely as Naeke, defending his theory, conjectures, where they occur in the table of contents, but (as shown by the collation kindly made for me by the Rev. Dr. Dickson, Professor of divinity in the University of Glasgow, of the Hunterian exemplar in the library of that university) where they stand, prefixed to the particulae, in the body itself of the edition. Secondly, because particulae 16 and 17, present in the codex, are absent, not — as conjectured by Naeke, still defending his theory — from the table only of the edition, but (as shown by the same collation) from the edition itself. Thirdly, because the absence from the edition, of Mapheus Vegius's thirteenth Book of the Aeneis — present in the codex (see Naeke's list above) and doubted by Naeke, ever on the qui-vive for his theory ("dubito" see above), to be absent from the edition — is certified by the same collation. Fourthly, because the Priapeia —

absent from the codex, see Naeke's list above — are abundantly proved by the concurrent testimonies of Audiffredi (*Catal. Roman. editionum saec. XV*, pp. 24 n. and 80), Santander (*Dict. bibl.* vol. 3, p. 440) and Dibdin (*Bibl. Spencer. suppl.* p. 287, of the Spencerian exemplar: "Next follows the Priapeia in nine leaves complete, whereas in the previous impression [Romana I] the work is imperfect. At the end: Virgilii Priapeia finit foeliciter. Then the Etna: P. Virgilii Maronis Etna que a quibusdam Cornelio tribuitur"), to be present in the edition. Fifthly, because the discrepancy between the readings of the codex and the readings of the edition, observed and commented on by Naeke as well in the case of the 22 disputed verses of the second Book of the Aeneis as in the text of the Dirae (Naeke's own especial object of study), is not limited to the case of the 22 disputed verses and the text of the Dirae, but is observed wherever collation has been made of codex and edition, (except of course in the Ciris, undoubted copy, in codex, of edition); ex. gr.

Both editio Romana I, as collated by myself, and editio Romana II, as collated by Dr. Dickson, read:

Aen. 1, 429: "optare"
 „ 1, 640: "laetitiâque dii"
 „ 1; 710: "onerant . . . ponunt"
 „ 4, 217: "subnixus"
 „ 4, 329: "tantum"
 „ 4, 436: "remittam"
 „ 4, 464 "piorum"
 „ 4, 641: "anili"
 „ 5, 706: "hic"
 „ 6, 96: "qua"
 „ 6, 327: "et rauca"
 „ 6, 438: "inamabilis" ("in amabilis")
 „ 6, 452: "umbram"
 „ 6, 852: "pacisque"

Codex Basileensis, as collated by myself, reads:

"aptare"
 "laetitiâque dei"
 "onerent . . . ponant"
 "subnexus"
 "tamen"
 "relinquam"
 "priorum"
 "anilem"
 "haec"
 "quam"
 "nec rauca"
 "innabilis"
 "umbras"
 "pacique"

"Why should two fight who agree so well?" interrupted Sillig, bending one knee to the ground, and handing me his sword, hilt forward. "The codex Basileensis of which I speak in my Epimetrum, is the codex Basileensis of the Ciris;

the codex Basileensis of which you speak, is the codex of the works of Virgil and many *particulæ* besides, the *Ciris* included. The former is the mere transcript of the *Ciris* of the Roman edition, a proposition you have just conceded. Of the latter I know nothing and have said nothing, except so far as a small fraction of it, the *Ciris*, is concerned. These are my words: *Editionem principem huius carminis, Romæ a. 1471 in lucem emissam, Parisiis a. 1824 contuli, Van-Praetio id comiter permittente. Codicis Basileensis, cuius excerpta Heynius post Friesemannum dederat, plenam et accuratam collationem Gerlachius, professor Basileensis, Casparo Orellio Turicensi, quem hac de re rogaveram, impetrante instituit. Ipse tamen Orellius in literis ad me datis significavit, hunc codicem merum apographum editionis principis esse, quod ex epistola Ciri præmissa clare apparet, quæ eadem est, quam Io. Andreas Episcopus Aleriensis illi editioni præmiserat; postea mihi lectiones codicis Basileensis et editionis principis comparanti nullus de hac re dubitandi locus est relictus.* "I accept the amende honorable", said I, condescendingly, as I took with one hand the surrendered sword, and with the other raised my humbled adversary from the ground. "It is not the codex Basileensis which is a copy of the editio Romana secunda, but it is the *Ciris* of the codex Basileensis which is a copy of the *Ciris* of the editio Romana secunda." The editor Dresdensis epimetri in *Cirin* laid his hand on his breast and bowed, and I proceeded: "And the 'epistola Ciri præmissa' is a non-entity, a mere imagination of the editor Dresdensis epimetri in *Cirin*." "He did not know what he was talking about," sighed Sillig; "there is no such thing whatsoever as an 'epistola Ciri præmissa'." "Perfectly agreed", said I; "and the coincidence of readings, which left no doubt in the mind of the Dresden editor that the *Ciris* of the codex Basileensis was a 'merum apographum' of the *Ciris* of the editio Romana II, was the coincidence, not of the readings of the codex Basileensis with the readings of the editio Romana II, but of the readings of the *Ciris* of the codex Basileensis with the readings of the *Ciris* of the editio Romana II." "Exactly so," bowed Sillig, and I returned him his sword and we shook

hands and parted, and retired out of the arena by opposite doors, Sillig, to write a new epimetrum in Cirin, in which the Ciris of the codex Basileensis being no codex at all, nothing more than mere schedae constituting a very minute fractional part, or particula, of the codex Basileensis F. III. 3, should no longer be dignified with the misnomer "codex", and confounded with the codex Basileensis F. III. 3; still less, be described as presenting, prefixed, an introductory epistle of the bishop of Aleria, but should be designated as schedae, or folia aliquot of that codex Basileensis which presents, prefixed, not merely an introductory epistle of the bishop of Aleria, but two introductory epistles of that bishop, in the first and by far the longest and most important of which, addressed to pope Paul II, no mention whatever is made of the Ciris, and in the second of which, addressed to Pomponius Infortunatus, the mention made of the Ciris is limited to the statement that that poem, received in MS. from Pomponius Infortunatus, formed part of the bishop's second edition of the works of Virgil. Haec celerans ibat the Dresden editor of the epimetrum in Cirin, and I hastened — no, **not to oppose** to Ribbeck's statement concerning the Basel MS.

[*Append. Verg. p. 38: "Codex Basileensis chartaceus saec. XV, a domino Iohanne de Lapide donatus cathedrali Basileensi, accurate descriptus a Naekio, Cat. p. 365 sqq."*

either the testimony of Dr. Sieber, in his letter to me of March 21, 1872,

["*Iohannes de Lapide besass eine auserlesene sammlung meist auf das schönste ausgestatteter bücher, und schenkte dieselbe dem hiesigen Carthäuserkloster bei seinem eintritt in diesen orden (1487). Als das Kloster in folge der reformation aufgehoben wurde, fiel dessen ganze bibliothek am ende des XVI jahrhunderts an die hiesige universitätsbibliothek.*"

or the testimony of the codex Basileensis itself,

[on the recto of the first leaf of which we read :

Titulus omnia opera virgilij.

Liber Carthusiensium Basilee proveniens illis

l a domino Iohanne de Lapide confratre eorundem.

nor to convert Ribbeck's two letters of the bishop of Aleria to pope Paul II,

Append. Verg. p. 38: "post Io. Andreae episcopi Aleriensis epistulas duas in primam et in secundam Vergilii impressionem ad Paulum II. pontif. max. datas, vitam Vergilii, epigrammata quaedam et argumenta XII Aeneidos secuntur *culex, dirae, copa, est et non est, vir bonus, rosae, moretum.*"

into one letter to pope Paul II. and one letter to Pomponius Infortunatus (see Nos. 1 and 2 in Naeke's list, above), **but**, turning my back alike on pope and bishop and Ribbeck and Naeke, **to deposit** safe among my *κειμηλια* and side by side with my own collations of the codex Basileensis and editio Romana I, those collations by Dr. Sieber of the same codex, and by Dr. Dickson of the Hunterian exemplar of the editio Romana II, to which I owed my easy and bloodless victory, **and then**, having sung — no, not sung, for I am neither musical nor demonstrative, but hummed to myself — my *io Paeon*, and inwardly prayed to my Mnemosyne that it might be reserved for Dr. Sieber, who had all the resources of the Basel library at command, to vindicate for its mal-signalé, little-understood codex the position to which it is entitled in the mundus Virgilianus (viz. not that of a mere transcript in MS. of editio Romana whether prima secunda or tertia, but that of a MS. formed by skilled selection and rejection as well from the manuscript sources of the first printed editions as from the first printed editions themselves, in other words the honorable position of a one-exemplar edition in MS. of the works of Virgil, ere yet the one-exemplar MS. edition was — whether for good or for ill, let those say who know better than I — squeezed to death in the iron embrace of the hundred-thousand-armed Briareus of Mainz, *τον και υπεδδαισχν μαχαρες θεοι*), **to take up, and proceed with**, the next lot of my well nigh forgotten second category.

Ten MSS. in the Bibliothèque Imperiale, **Paris**, viz. No. 639: saec. IX; fol.; parchm.; *Buc. Georg.* and *Aeneis* as far as beginning of eleventh Book; corrected in many places and wanting several pages at the end of second and the beginning of third Book. No. 640: saec. X; smaller fol.; parchm.; seven last Books of the *Aeneis*, except beginning of sixth and end of twelfth; less corrected than No. 7926; from Convent of St.

Germain-des-Prés. No. 7925; saec. X; smallest fol.; parchm.; "olim Colbertinus"; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* No. 7926: saec. X; large fol.; parchm.; "olim Colbertinus"; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* except from v. 137 of twelfth Book; so much corrected that it is difficult, often impossible, to ascertain what has been the original reading; at the end of last page bears the signature: *P. Pithou.* No. 7927: saec. X; large fol.; parchm.; "olim Colbertinus"; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*; all after first line of Book X in a more modern hand. No. 7928: saec. X; fol.; parchm.; "olim Baluzianus"; contains four *Eclogues*, the two first *Georgics*, seventh and eighth Books of *Aeneis* and of the ninth as far as v. 640; also part of fifth and part of sixth Book. No. 7929: saec. X; fol.; parchm.; "primum Petri Pithoei, postea Colbertinus"; the last seven Books of the *Aeneis* except the first 13 lines of sixth Book and all after v. 867 of twelfth; at the end bears the signature: *P. Pithou.* No. 7930: saec. XI; large fol.; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*; Lombard hand. No. 7931: saec. XII; small folio (oblong); parchm.; *Aeneis*; marked on fly leaf *Codex Bigotianus*, and bearing on the inside of the board the arms of Johannes Bigot. No. 8069: saec. X or XI; large fol.; parchm.; "primum Jac. Aug. Thuani, postea Colbertinus"; *Buc. Georg. Aen.* Besides these MSS., I consulted as to the reading "Parin creat" (*Aen.* 10,705) Nos. 7932, 7933, 7934, 7935, 7937, 7942, in the Bibliothèque Impériale.

A MS. in the Bibliothèque de la Ville in **Valenciennes**: "Volumen totum scriptum est circa a. d. 880" (Ant. Sander, *Biblioth. Belgica manuscripta*, Insulis, 1641); the following words inscribed on back of volume: HOC VOLUMEN MAGNO FUIT . . . TEMPORE MILONIS ET HUEBALDI (who lived in the ninth century); large 4to; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*; written in same character as Gudian No. 70, with similar annotations in similar, very small hand; very much corrected; written partly in double, mostly in single, column; in perfect preservation; formerly belonged to the convent of St. Amand.

A MS. in the Bibliothèque de la Ville in **St. Omer**; saec. XII; 8vo; parchm.; *Aeneis* only; Gothic minusculae.

Seven MSS. of the Harleian collection in the British Museum, **London**; viz. No. **2457**: saec. XV; 4to; parchm.; *Buc. Georg.* and *Aen.* from v. 155 of fifth Book; a bad MS. with many lacunae. No. **2534**: saec. XIII; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*; a good MS. thus panegyricized by Nares: "codex magni pretii, olim Collegii Agenensis Soc. Ies. χειμηλιον." No. **2668**: saec. XII; parchm.; *Buc. Georg.* and *Aen.* as far as v. 678 of Book IV. No. **2701**: "scriptus anno 1447"; 12mo; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*; "olim Aldi Manuti." No. **2744**: saec. XV; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*; a bad MS. No. **2770**: saec. XII; *Aen.* No. **3944**: "codex, ut mihi videtur, saec. XV, cui assignatus est, multo antiquior et collatione dignus," Nares (*Catal.*); 4to; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*

A MS. in the library of Trinity College, **Dublin**: saec. XII; fol.; parchm.; *Buc. Georg. Aen.*; illuminated and handsome, but mutilated in several places; no corrections.

The MSS. of this category, being of much less importance than those of the preceding, I have cited, in my *variae lectiones*, not individually, or by name or special sign, but collectively, or, if I may so say, in groups or masses. In other words, I content myself with saying: so many read so and so, and so many, so and so; and, to be as brief as possible, place the number of MSS. which agree in a particular reading of a word or passage, and the entire number of MSS. I have consulted concerning the word or passage, in the relative positions of numerator and denominator of a fraction. Thus at v. 522 of the first Book, the numbers $\text{III}^{25/65}$ and $\text{III}^{40/65}$ placed after CUNCTIS and CUNCTI respectively, indicate that I have examined sixty-five second-class MSS. concerning the reading of the word, and that of these sixty-five second-class MSS., twenty-five read CUNCTIS, while forty read CUNCTI.

All the MSS. constituting the first category, I have collated from beginning to end at least once; the Vatican fragment, the Roman, the Palatine, and the Medicean, twice. Of the MSS. constituting the second category I have collated the Laurentian, Vatican, Paris and Dublin with a certain uniformity from be-

ginning to end; the others, after the end of the sixth Book, irregularly only.

Such is the account I have had to give of the Virgilian MSS. which have come under my observation in my search after the true readings and true meanings of Virgil. If it contain little to interest the paleographer, let it be recollected that it has not been made for the paleographer but only for the Virgilian student, nor by a paleographer, but only by an investigator of the Virgilian sense, and not even of that sense generally, but only of that sense in one particular poem, the *Aeneis*. So little has it been my object to give an account of the ancient Latin MS. generally, or even of the Virgilian MS. itself generally, that it is only in some rare case, such as that of the Basel MS. F. III. 3, I have taken even the least notice of the often sufficiently numerous, motley and bizarre contents of the Virgilian MS. over and above the *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneis*. The bare enumeration, without one word either of note or comment, of these ekes, or, if I may so call them, co-tenants under the same roof, of one hundred transcripts of the works of Virgil, had required not merely the corner of a preface but an entire preface, or even volume, for itself. The interblending of note and comment, necessary to make such enumeration instructive and interesting, had required perhaps five-fold more space. It is an open field in which some Iohann Albert Fabricius may yet distinguish himself.

I quote the **Codex Canonicianus**, now in the Bodleian library at **Oxford**, from George Butler's collation (Oxford, 1854).

My quotations of Servius have been all made either from the **Dresden Servius**, a fine, large folio, paper MS. in the royal library of that city, marked D. 136 in the library catalogue and described by Ebert (*Geschichte und Beschreibung der kön. Biblioth. zu Dresden*) as well as by Wagner (*Zimmermann, allgem. Schulz.* 1830, n. 24), and which the authorities of the library, with an enlightened liberality little reciprocated by the authorities of British libraries, allowed me to take home to

my lodgings and keep as long as necessary for the purposes of my work; or from **Lion's** no less excellent than unpretentious **edition** in two volumes, **Göttingen, 1826.**

§ VI.

In as much as the printed editions, commentaries, treatises and detached observations constituting the third of the categories into which I divide the sources of my *variae lectiones*, are, with few exceptions, sufficiently accessible to those of my readers who may think it worth while to inquire into the exactitude of my notices, and are, besides, invariably referred to, in the course of my work, each of them by its own specific designation, I omit here, as supererogatory, all such synoptical view of them as I have thought it expedient to give of the MSS. constituting the first and second categories, all of them more or less, some of them extremely, difficult of access, and — those of the second category in particular — either so wholly without, or so little known by, distinctive names or characters, that even I myself quote them not individually, but only by groups; in other words, my second-class MSS. not being individualized in the body of my work, are individualized here in the preface; editions, commentaries, treatises and observations, being individualized in the body of the work, are here in the preface passed by unnoticed, except these following, rarer and more remarkable, viz.

The edition printed in **Rome** in **1469** by Sweynheim and Pannartz with the colophon:

Aspicias illustris lector quicunque libellos

Si cupis artificum nomina nosse: lege.

Aspera ridebis cognomina teutona: forsan

Mitiget ars musis inscisa uerba uirum.

Conradus suueynheim: Arnoldus pannartzque magistri

Rome impresserunt talia multa simul.

Petrus cum fratre Francisco maximus ambo

Huic operi optatam contribuere domum.

This edition bears prefixed the epistle dedicatory of the editor, Iohannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria, to Pope Paul II, an epistle consigned by succeeding editors—no doubt on account of its unwieldy length—to the tomb of all the Capulets, but which I am fain to disinter and present here at full to my readers, that it may be at their option to hear or not, as it were from his own lips, with what views and what feelings the editor of the first printed Virgil, committed his work, just four hundred years ago, to that wonderful multiplier which was before long to produce editions almost as speedily, correctly, and cheaply, as were then produced by the pen single copies:

Eloquentie splendore et rerum dignitate locupletiore Virgilio poetam, unum fortasse Homerum Graeci, nullum certe Latini invenient, quem merito linguae latinae excellenti ingenio Viri delicias nuncupant; quamquam ne poetarum quidem caeteris vel Graecis vel Romanis proprie commendationes, ut verae ita ingentes, desunt. Maronem igitur, veluti facundiae dulcioris formatorem, pueris decantandum et perdiscendum tradimus; ita excoli ac fingi ingeniorum amoenitatem iudicantes, si poetae suavis imprimis atque castigati facundissima carmina cum nutricis lacte misceantur. Hac nos potissimum ratione, cum iam ab impressoribus nostris efflagitarentur poetae, Pater beatissime, Paule II, Venete, Pontifex Maxime, a Mantuani vatis operibus poetarum exprimendorum initia, domino auxiliante, sumus auspicati, caeteros item temporibus idoneis, prout tibi placere didicerimus, per ordinem omnes impressuri. Ut autem in eo quoque velut perpetuam moris nostri servaremus rationem, quicquid Maronis scriptorum indepti sumus, quantum quidem fuimus intelligendo in tanta tamque mendosa exemplariorum raritate, multorumque eiusmodi prope desuetudine, immo vero internecone, in corpus unum omne compegimus, laboriosiore licet nobis studio, arbitantes tamen magnum nos discendi cupidis ad doctrinam compendium allaturos. Qua in voluntate, quoniam facile fieri potest, ut rectius nonnulla et frugalius effici potuerint, ingrati erunt mea opinione lectores, nisi quicumque veriora habuerint exemplaria, et ipsi sua in medium prompserint; qui vero acrius perspiciunt, ac doctius, quod a mendo sit longius, nobis quoque communicaverint. Ut enim tu maxime omnium nosti, pater beatissime, qui quidem veritatis cathedram tenes, non lucri aviditate, non laudis ambitione, non iaciendis bonorum amplioribus fundamentis, non vite degendae necessitate, non denique ullius imperantis arbitrio, tanto huic operi ardore insistimus, quod est revera difficillimum, neque interquiescendi unquam spatii quicquid sinit. Sola nos gratificandi tibi, et per te amatoribus doctrinarum omnibus ingens atque infatigabilis voluntas tenet; qua excerpta, desit verbo invidia,

nullum esse opinor premium, quod par huic labori afferri queat. Opere precium illud equidem amplum ratus sum, quod tibi studium nostrum cordi esse scio, pater beatissime. Quo circa non prius oneri me subducam, quam quicquid in egregiis est voluminibus, quamplurimis adiuvero exemplaribus communicari, quantum fieri poterit, verissime; eo etiam fidelius ac promptius, quod nonnullos audio, quibus ut felix ac faustum sit deum omnipotentem queso, in huiusmodi artificio aut iam coepisse, aut non multo post pro virili coepturos laborare. Quod velim, te propitio, pater beatissime, fiat a plurimis, ut nullum qualibet in facultate opus sit, quod expositum pauperibus studiosis vili non inveniatur. Ceterum quia omnibus hominibus pernotum est, honore praecipue ac premio artes ali, ex quo sane fonte versus ille cantatur: Sint Mecenates, non deerunt Flacce Marones; attentus lector ex hoc facile discet volumine, in quo, si non omnia, plura certe Virgilii sunt opuscula, quantum, honore praemioque proposito, divini perfecere animi atque orationis vates, ubi fortunam minime imparem suae adesse sensit industrie, et doctas lucubrationes suas principum orbis terre donis et honoribus cumulari. Iacentem sane, immo latentem, et obscurum adhuc Maronem fuisse ostendit prope horridus, certe incultus, poete divini Culex, nisi si exprimitur a me hac confessione ingenii mei tenuitas atque hebetudo crassioris. Equidem Culicem Maronicum ingenue fateor, vix me ad plenum intellexisse, iterata etiam atque etiam lectione; neque ob id modo, quod inemendatum habui exemplar, quae res plurimum obstare intellectioni solet, quinimmo ob id quoque, quoniam, dum id pangeret carmen, novicius adhuc poeta, natalis soli plus quam Castalii fontis preferens, tantus postmodum futurus totius latinitatis excultor ac prope summus doctrinarum omnium arbiter vates, nec quid ageret satis perspiciebat, nec quomodo eloqueretur facillime reperiebat; magisque inclyti poete adeptum postea nomen, quam proprius ullus nitor, et ipsi Culici, et opusculorum nonnullis, quasi nihil ex amplissimo illo ingenio non absolutum prodierit, peperit alioquin neglectis eternitatem. Omitto fictionem nullibi in eo poeta minus elegantem. dicendi filum, artemque desidero. Eminent sane tamquam stupentis adhuc, nec satis numerosi ingenii dictionis facies quaedam salebrosa et coacta profecto; non fuit naturalis illa quidem, sed affectata qualis potest eluctatur oratio. At in Diris, hoc est in execrabili voti cantilena, Maro minus quidem videtur compeditus, non eoque tamen explicitus, ut poetico ad plenum censeas adipe saginatum. Copa incedit pexior ac mollior, et uberiore Pieridum haustu saltat hilarior. Est et non Virgilianum versiculi concinentes, ingenii satis, et non parum industrie redolent. Vir ipse bonus et sapiens Maronicus, philosophiae quidem multum habet, et non minimum elegantiae. Rose, ut non enitent plurimum, rosas quoque ipsas, quae odorem suum late non diffundunt, imitate, ita haudquaquam nitore deficiunt, atque suavitate. Lepidius multo est Moretum, et quantum gustus iudicare

potest meus, etsi suam queque lactucam habeant labra, multum elegans, tantum post se Culicem relinquit, quantum ad Virgilianam, quae paulo post late effulsit, accedit propria suavitate dignitatem. Priapeam illam quidem spurce nimium scriptam, non inelegantem esse fateor; sed an optimi atque modestissimi sit vatis, quoniam nonnulli ambigunt, nequaquam asseruerim. Ea tamen, si honesti tantum haberet, quantum latinitatis ostendit, forsitan posset operibus vigilantissimis comparari. Quae preter haec opuscula in nostro sunt codice, me arbitro, nemo epithaphii versiculis duobus exceptis, vati tribuet Mantuano. Ex ingenio illa quisque censebit suo. Ego omnes obsecro per te, pater beatissime, studiosos, ut grato civilique animo laboribus nostris faveant, tueque sacrosanctae maiestati, sancte item Romane ecclesie ac Christianae hospitati felicissimam perpetuitatem exoptent. Vale.

Collated in the Laurentian and Vatican libraries.

The edition printed in Rome in 1471 by the same printers, with the same colophon, and presenting, on the first folio, the epigraph of the bishop of Aleria's letter recommendatory of this, his second edition, to Pomponius Infortunatus:

"Iohannis Andree episcopi Aleriensis in Cyrno, id est
Corsica insula, in secundam Virgilii impressionem
ad Pomponium Infortunatum suum epistola.

followed immediately by the letter itself in two parts, the first part, from "Eloquentie splendore" as far as "perpetuitatem exoptent. Vale.", being a copy of the same bishop's letter recommendatory of his former edition to pope Paul II (for which see ed. Rom. I, above) and the second part, viz. from "Hucusque" to the end, the bishop's letter proper to Pomponius Infortunatus himself, in these words:

Hucusque epistolam cluseram, amantissime Pomponi, in superiore edenda impressione Virgiliana, in qua tu testis es optimus, nostros artifices plus, nescio quomodo, quam communiter solent, dormitasse. Dein ipse antiquitatis totius studiosissimus, Maronis tamen aliquanto amicior, dedisti operam, ut ex manibus tuis antiquissimum Virgilii exemplar, maiusculis characteribus descriptum, vix carptim possem evolvere. Erant in eo, quod meministi, minus prime Bucolicorum Egloge; Georgica, Eneisque absoluta. Preterea nihil. Fateor aliquibus in locis et verbis codicem mihi vetustum illum iudicatum esse nostro veriore. Et si fieri poterit, quod svero, ut possim diutius illum per dominum eius in meis manibus tenere, diligentissime curaturum me spondeo, ut tertia fiat impressio, ne quid omnino videatur ex virgiliana a nostris maiestate desiderari. Tu tamen mihi etiam

Etnam Maronis et Cirin, integras quidem, sed inemendatas, Catalecton vero etiam corruptius, et imperfectum tradidisti. Vitam item divini vatis brevissime scriptam, et nonnullos summarios operis versiculos, eos quoque, qui Hortuli nomine inscribuntur, que ego omnia, diligentia tua, ut debui, mirum in modum oblectatus, ascribi huic nove impressioni curavi, tali tamen conditione, ut si quid imprimendo nostri artifices errarint, tua sit etiam emendandi cura, qui ut hec legi a pluribus possent sedulitate tua effecisti. Vale.

That this edition, commonly called *Romana secunda*, is not a mere reprint of the preceding (*Romana prima* or *princeps*) with a new letter dedicatory, and the addition of the several particulae enumerated in that letter, but presents, along with those particulae, a revision of the text, at least of the *Aeneis*, appears from a comparison of fifty-five readings taken partly by myself from the Laurentian, partly by the Rev. Dr. Dickson and Robert B. Spears Esq. at my request from the Hunterian, exemplar of this edition, with the readings of the *prima* taken by myself from the Vatican and Laurentian exemplaria; according to which comparison the two editions differ in five of the fifty-five places compared,

the <i>prima</i> reading	whereas the <i>secunda</i> reads
Aen. 1, 740: "immensum"	"in mensam"
„ 2, 179: "auxere"	"aduxere"
„ 2, 331: "nunquam"	"nnquam"
„ 4, 168: "connubiis"	"connubii"
„ 6. 96: "quam"	"qua"

This second edition, therefore, is not a mere reprint of the first, but a veritable new edition exhibiting a certain variety of readings. That it should be so, was to be expected a priori, as well from the appeal made by the editor, in the letter introductory of the *editio prima*, to the possessors of MSS., both to communicate readings which might be better than those adopted in the *prima*, and to produce, for the common good, any "*exemplaria*" they were in possession of, which might be "*veriora*" than that which he, the editor of the *prima*, had used,

"Qua in voluntate quoniam facile fieri potest ut rectius nonnulla et frugalius effeci potuerint, ingrati erunt mea opinione lectores, nisi quicunque veriora habuerint exemplaria, et ipsi sua in medium prompserint, qui vero acrius perspiciunt ac doctius quod a mendo sit longius, nobis quoque communicaverint."

as from the acknowledgment in the letter introductory to the editio secunda, of the editor's receipt from his friend, Pomponius Infortunatus, of a MS. which, although he had not had it long enough in his hands to make a thorough collation of it, he nevertheless thought was more to be relied on than the MS. he had previously used: "Fateor aliquibus in locis et verbis codicem mihi vetustum illum iudicatum esse nostro veriores." And such, on examination, the editio Romana secunda proves to be: viz. a new edition, in which some of the gross typographical errors of the previous edition have been corrected, and several new particulae added, but of which the few new readings have been obtained less "ope codicum" than ope codicis, viz. of that codex for which the editor, in his introductory letter, thanks his friend. The expression "codicum ope longe emendatio," should hardly have escaped from the pen of a critic, who, himself an editor both of Virgil and Homer, had only to pause a moment to recollect that MS. codices at the period of which he was writing, viz. that of the renaissance, were not collected, as in his own time and at present, in great libraries ostensibly and, with few exceptions (of which, elsewhere), really, for public use and of sufficiently easy access, but either lay buried in monasteries, and the sacristies of basilicas and cathedrals, or were the private property of individuals by whom they were guarded as jealously as were ever fair Circassians in eastern harems. The Goettingen editor of Virgil in 1767—1775, had only to ask himself was it at all probable that **the same person** who had found it so difficult, so all but impossible, to obtain MS. codices for the Lucan he was editing in Rome in 1469

(Io. An. episcopi Aleriensis ad Paulum II
Venetum. Pont. Max. Epistola. *

Hoc tempore, pater beatissime, Paule II, Venete, Pontifex maxime, bonam primum valetudinem ab omnipotenti deo per castissimas tuas preces opto, ut incredibili queam sufficere recognoscendi oneri, prius alieno rogatu suscepto,

* A reference to, or short extract from, this letter, was perhaps all that was required for my argument. Having, however, given at full length, above, the same editor's two letters introductory of the two first printed Virgils, I could not bring myself to treat as stepchild this his letter introductory of the first printed Lucan, no less interesting in itself than either, and illustrative of, and illustrated by, both. To treat this letter in another re-

nunc manibus pedibusque, ut aiunt, mea sponte ita complexo, ut nulla videar posse difficultate revocari. Liberalem deinde illis animum dari, libros suos, quicumque habent, in medium exponendi, ut variorum exemplarium fidiore subsidio, facilius possim, alioquin tantopere* pauper ingenii, publico studiosorum commodo subservire. Aut si quos tanta occupavit vel rusticitas, ut multos, vel invidia, ut plures, vel item avaricia, ut nonnullos, ne eorum charte vilescant, quas ut predam, harpyiarum more, unguibus retinent, saltem in meam vel suggillationem, vel ruborem, nostram, praesentem operam irridentes, carpant, modo proferant sua ipsi, vel ex libris, vel ex ingenio locupletiore, veriora. Tanto enim ardore flagramus huius quidem liberalis, ceterum negotiosi ocli, ut dummodo proximis litteratis, nostro etiam queamus in re huiusmodi dedecore gloriari. Ceteri sane stomacharentur, atque egre ferrent, ingratis, quales sunt multi, sue tempestatis hominibus, studia peritiora, et vigilie multum habentia, exhibere. Nos, absit ut egre feramus hanc, Vere dixerim, inhumanitatem. Neque enim nostri tantum aevi hominibus inservimus, sed futuris omnibus vacamus, cupientes quidem presentium voluntatem, sed non minus utilitatem futurorum. Nostra in eo virtus ob id clarior forsitan extabit, quod ne ingratitudine quidem irritati quorundam, nobis negantium exemplaria, ab optimo instituto fuerimus revocati. Sed deo gratia, optimo maximo, et tibi, pater beatissime, quod ex sacro Colligió Car-

spect, too, with the same affection with which I have treated its consins german, as well as to make this my free gift of it no less valuable than I flatter myself was that of its relatives, I have taken the same pains with respect to it as I took with respect to them, and presented my reader not with a transcript either of Quirini's or Botfield's transcript, but with a transcript of the letter itself as it stands in the princeps Lucan collated for me in the British Museum by my friend, J. F. Davies Esq., on his way from Dublin to Paris, and to make which collation, one of the three proprietors of the largest and best private school in Ireland paid me the compliment of submitting to be treated in the manner noticed in his letter to me enclosing the collation: "British Museum, July 4, 1872. . . I have got the book. Cost Lord Grenville 1166 francs. No title. It is a large-paper exemplar, and not allowed to be taken out of the Grenville library; so that I am now there. Besides, they are now looking for the small-paper exemplar in the King's library, lest I should blot this. Great ceremony is used about the book. I would defy Hermes himself to steal it." I need hardly assure my readers that precautions which might have been effectual against the god of thieves himself, were not ineffectual against my friend Mr. Davies, and that the master of the Kingstown school not only did not steal, but did not even attempt to steal, the book. But it is only right to assure them that Mr. Davies performed the almost equally difficult feat of making the collation for me and them, and that a gentleman, accustomed only to the privacy of his own library, or the courteous prevenience of the authorities of the library of the Dublin university, was able so to abstract himself mentally from the Argus surveillance to which he was physically subjected in the British Museum, as not merely to make the collation required, but to detect the errors of previous collators, and so to render the book itself more intelligible than it ever was before, even to its own most jealous owners: fas est et a fare doceri. See Modena edition, below.

The epigraph omitted by some chance from the beginning of the letter, in the princeps Lucan, and only inserted after the colophon, I have restored to its proper place.

* In the original, tpe; Mr. Davies's rendering of this contraction by tantopere, restores meaning to a passage of which Quirini's and Botfield's rendering of the contraction by tempore, had made absolute nonsense.

dinalium tue sanctitatis fratrum, neminem adhuc repperimus, nostris studiis non incredibiliter affectum atque favorabilem, adeo ut quo maior sit in eis dignitatis splendor, eo etiam humanitas plenior elucescat, quod utinam de ceteris gradibus dicere vere possemus, forsitan essemus aliquando nonnullis de laboribus liberati, sed sciant tenaces isti, non se libros amare, sed chartas, quibus pro ingratitude hoc solum recipimus, nos tanto plus laudis merituos, qui quidem sumus * etiam in avarissimos chartarum bonorum librorum copie munifice liberales. Sed iam M. Annaei Lucani vitam, deinceps poema Canorum audiamus.),

should, only two years later, viz. in 1471, **have found** MS. codices so ready to his hand for the amended edition of Virgil he was publishing in the same city, as to justify the application to that edition, of the words: "codicum ope longe emendatio"? and his common sense would have answered: no; it is not probable, and would have recommended him, instead of presenting his readers with an idealized portrait of the first editor of Virgil luxuriating among MSS., to adhere to nature, and copy, for their use and behoof, the portrait which the first editor of Virgil had drawn of himself starving in the midst of plenty, searching, inquiring, beseeching, begging for MSS., and at long and last obtaining *one*, too late to be of much use for the present edition, but which, if its owner would allow it to remain so long in his hands, might be useful for a third. Alas! diis aliter visum, and we have, in 1475, not the first Virgilian editor's third edition of Virgil but the first Virgilian editor's epitaph, on a tomb in front of the high altar in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli in Rome (Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d' Italia*):

IO: AN. EPO. ALERIEN. GNE. DE BUXIS. PATRIA. VIGLIEVAN. XYSTI IV. PON. MAX. REF. BYBLIOT. SECRETARIOQUE VENERANDO. SENATUI. AC TOTI ECCLESSIAE. CARO. QUI FUIT PIETATE. FIDE. LITTERIS INSIGNIS. DE PATRIA. PARENTIBUS. AMICIS. ET OMNIBUS BENEMERITUS. IACOBUS FR. GER. PIENTIS-SIME. VIX. AN. LVII. M. VI. D. XII. OBIIT AN. IOBELEI 1475. PRID. NON. FEBR.

I cannot take leave of the first editor of Virgil without wishing he had left us some more explicit data than: "anti-

* In the original, *scimus*; plainly, as I think, a mistake, in the printing of the edition, for *sumus*, *su* written with a pen being hardly distinguishable by an illiterate compositor, from *sci. simus* (Quirini, Botfield), written with a pen. is much less similar to, and therefore much less likely to have been mistaken by a printer's compositor for. *scimus*.

quissimum Virgilii exemplar: maiusculis characteribus descriptum Erant in eo quod meministi: minus prime Bucolicorum Egloge. Georgica Eneisque absoluta. Preterea nihil.", from whence to determine what MS. it was which he obtained from the hands of Pomponius Infortunatus, and on which he counted so much for his third edition. The data he has left us are indeed sufficient to convict Heyne of error in asserting that the MS. was the "Oblongus Pierii" (*de Virg. edd.*: "In priore excudenda non admodum bonis codicibus editor erat instructus; in altera Pomponii librum adhibuerat; atqui is nullus alius fuisse videtur quam Oblongus Pierii.") & for how could a MS. wanting, as Pomponius's MS. wanted, the first Eclogues ("minus prime Bucolicorum Egloge"), be the MS. quoted by Pierius in the first Eclogue seven times, in the second four times, in the third four times, in the fourth three times, in the fifth four times, and in the sixth twice? but they are not sufficient fully and incontrovertibly to establish the identity of Pomponius's MS. with the Medicean of Heinsius and Foggini, at present in the Laurentian library in Florence; for, however certainly that MS. presents the four characters: "antiquissimum Virgilii exemplar: maiusculis characteribus descriptum Erant in eo quod meministi: minus prime Bucolicorum Egloge. Georgica Eneisque absoluta. Preterea nihil.", it is still possible that some other MS. not the Medicean, may have presented the same four characters, and been the MS. referred to by the bishop. Happily, however, even this remaining uncertainty is removed by the double observation just now made to me by my daughter, viz. **that** the liber Colotianus so frequently quoted by Fulvius Ursinus in his *Virg. collat. script. Graec. illustr.*, so frequently seen and examined by him ("vidi in optimo libro illo Colotiano," "animadverti in libro Colotiano"), so frequently designated by him "antiquus" and "vetustissimus," could have been no other than the Medicean itself, called at that time the Colotian from its recent possessor Colotius, as it was subsequently called the Carpensian from its subsequent possessor, the cardinal prince of Carpi, and as it is at present called the Medicean from its late possessors, the Medici, dukes of Tuscany: **and that** this liber Colotianus

is expressly stated by the same authority (ad *Aen.* 8, 690) to have belonged to Pomponius Laetus before it belonged to Colotius: "Liber Angeli Colotii qui fuit Pomponii Laeti.", **a statement which**, notwithstanding its repetition by cardinal Rocca (himself, no less than Ursinus, librarian of the Vatican) in his *Bibliotheca Vaticana* (Rome, 1531) p. 401,

"Hic codex antiquior est Virgilio (viz. Virgilii codice Romano) qui extat in Bibliotheca Vaticana, necnon Virgilio qui olim fuit Pomponii Laeti, deinde Angeli Colotii, episcopi Nucerini, et in bibliotheca extat Medicea."

and its corroboration by the fact I have myself ascertained, that of the sixty-four Colotian readings quoted by Ursinus, no less than sixty-two (that remarkable one, "Arva" *Aen.* 1, 554 — found in the Medicean alone of seventy MSS. I have myself examined specially for it — inclusive) are identical with the readings of the Medicean as taken whether by Foggini or by myself and daughter, **has yet been** so entirely ignored by recent Virgilian critics, **that we have** both Heyne and Wagner continually quoting Colotian and Medicean readings side by side, without even so much as once suspecting that readings agreeing with each other so marvelously — so much more closely than it is usual even for copies to agree with originals — might possibly be the readings neither of two different MSS. one of which was a copy of the other, nor of two different copies of the same archetype, but of one and the same MS. known at different times under different names:

Heyne, ad *Georg.* 2, 433: "Abest hic versus a Mediceo, et aberat ab Ursini Colotiano," on which observation of Heyne's Wagner observes: "Sic solet Colotianus Mediceum sequi. Itaque hi libri duo unius instar habendi." Heyne, ad *Georg.* 4, 301: "'opsuitur' Heinsius reposuit ex unico Mediceo, in quo 'opsuitur' ut et in Gudiano a m. pr." where Wagner: "revocavi 'obstruitur'; neque enim licet poetis quidvis pro quovis ponere. Ceterum Mediceus et Colotianus unius testis pondus habent." Heyne, ad *Aen.* 2, 783: "'res Italae' Medic. et Colot. ap. Ursin. miro lusu," where Wagner: "Medic. et Colot. unius libri instar sunt." Heyne, ad *Aen.* 3, 673: "'Contremuere,' Medic. cum Colot.," where Wagner: "Quamquam unius codicis instar sunt Medic. et Colot., tamen 'Contremuere' non dubitavi restituere Virgilio."

Heyne, ad *Aen.* 4, 378: "horrida dicta," Medic. et Colot. Ursini," where Wagner: "sunt autem hi duo codices unius instar." Heyne, ad *Aen.* 5, 457: "nunc deinde" Medic. . . cum Colot.," where Wagner: "Mediceum autem et Colotianum unius libri instar esse iam aliquoties dictum." Heyne, ad *Aen.* 5, 860: "voce vocantem" Colot. Medic. et Moret. sec.," where Wagner: "Colotianum et Mediceum unius libri instar habendos saepe iam dictum." Heyne, ad *Aen.* 6, 777: "'gentes' Medic. a m. pr. et sic Colot.," where Wagner: "'gentes,' quae est prior Medicei lectio, si sensum spectamus, recte poterit defendi; sed quum in eodem ab antiqua manu superscriptum sit 'terrae,' nolui illud ex unius huius codicis incerta fide recipere; nam Colotianum et Mediceum unius testis instar esse saepe iam vidimus." Heyne, ad *Aen.* 10, 220: "'Cybebe' debetur Heinsii doctrinae, qui Colot. et Gud. sequutus est cum Leidensi.," where Wagner: "'Cybebe' etiam Medic., teste Fogginio, quem verum vidisse eo probatur quod Colotianus et Mediceus mire inter se consentiunt." Heyne, ad *Aen.* 12, 520: "'Limina' e Colot. et Mediceo . . . receptum est a Burmanno.," where Wagner: "Mediceum autem et Colotianum unius instar esse codicis iam vidimus aliquoties."

nay, that we have one of those critics going so far in the opposite direction as to identify in his imagination (the imagination, of course, of a Virgilian critic who had never been out of Germany, who had never even so much as once seen a vetustissimus codex Virgilii) the "vetustissimus Colotianus," the "optimus ille codex Colotianus" of Fulvius Ursinus, the codex Colotianus quoted by Fulvius Ursinus in the twelfth Book of the Aeneis no less than four times, **not only** with the codex Colotianus numbered 1575 in the Vatican library, a codex of the latter end of the twelfth century, and in which the whole twelfth Book of the Aeneis, except the first five verses, is wanting,

[Bottari, (*Fragm. Vat.* praef. p. 9): Cod. Vat. 1575, membr. in fine saec. XII scriptus. Codex hic fuit Angeli Colotii. . . Veteris autem scripturae finis est ad v. 661 libri IX. Verum recentiore manu reliqua suppleta sunt usque ad initium libri XII, cuius primi quinque versus tantum hic habentur.]

but (potz tausend!) with a Colotian MS. not even of Virgil but only of Servius,

[Heyn. vol. 4, p. 612 (*de Virg. codd. MSS*): "Codex Colotianus Fulvii Ursini, qui olim Angeli Colotii fuerat, quemque Ursinus bibliothecae Vaticanae intulit, ubi nunc num. 1575 servatur. Vide de eo Ursin.

ad Ecl. 8. 44. et Bottarii praef. ad Fragm. Vat. p. 11 [9]. Varietatem ex eo passim notavit Ursinus in Virgilio collat. Script Graec. illustrato. Consentit in multis cum Mediceo, vide v. c. Ge. 3. 235, 236. Pervertustum eum appellabat Ursinus; in fine tamen saec. XII scriptum censet Bottarius."

for "ad Ecl. 8. 44," what is it Ursinus says, but precisely: "Quam lectionem ut veram putemus adducit nos primum libri pervertusti auctoritas confirmata praesertim testimonio Servii manuscripti qui fuit olim Angeli Colotii, nunc bibliothecae Vaticanae, in quo diserte scriptum est: 'Aut Marus, aut Rhodope'." (F. Ursin. *Notae ad Servium*, Ecl. 8. 44)?

A considerable chapter is thus added to the history of the Medicean, and we are now enabled to trace this most important of all known Virgilian MSS. uninterruptedly downwards from the library of Pomponius Laetus on the Quirinal (or, if you please, from the library of Pomponius Infortunatus on the Quirinal, the same individual calling himself — according to the no less mischievous than absurd fashion afterwards so prevalent among learned men and of which this very Pomponius, if he was not the actual inventor, affords at least one of the earliest examples — at one time Pomponius Laetus, and, at another time, Pomponius Infortunatus) to the library, lately of the Medici, now of the king of Italy, in Florence; thus: **In the library** of Pomponius Laetus (born 1425, died 1497); **lent** by Pomponius Laetus in 1471 to the bishop of Aleria for the formation of the editio Romana secunda; **in the library** of Angelus Colotius (born 1467, died 1549), secretary to pope Leo X in 1521, and successor of Pomponius Laetus as head of the Academia Romana founded by the latter; **in the possession** of cardinal Antonio del Monte (born 1461, died 1533) [a]; **bequeathed** by cardinal Antonio del Monte to his nephew, cardinal Gian Maria del Monte, pope Julius III from 1550 to 1555, [b]; **presented** by pope Julius III to his brother Balduino's adopted son, Innocenzio del Monte, afterwards cardinal Innocenzio del Monte [c]; **lent** by cardinal Innocenzio del Monte to cardinal Rodulfi, prince of Carpi (born 1500, died 1564), [d]; **kept possession of** by cardinal Rodulfi,

prince of Carpi, contrary to the will and pleasure of cardinal Innocenzio del Monte [*e*], and, from its possession by the former for so long a period (even up to his death), called *codex Carpensis*, and cited as such, especially by Aldus Manutius, Paulli Manutii f. everywhere in the second edition of his *Orthographiae ratio* published in 1566; **bequeathed** by cardinal Rodulfi to the Vatican (Aldus Manutius P. Manutii f. *Orthogr. ratio*, p. 22: "bibliothecae Vaticanae testamento legatus"); **restored** by pope Pius V to cardinal Innocenzio del Monte [*f*]; **solicited** from cardinal Innocenzio del Monte by Cosmo, first grand duke of Tuscany [*g*], **and obtained** at a great price (Bandini, *Catal. codd. Latin. bibl. Medic. Laurent.* tom. 2, col. 291: "ingenti pretio ab heredibus cardinalis Rodulphi Pii Carpensis redemptus").

[*g*] Bandini, *Catal. codd. Latin. bibl. Medic. Laurent.* tom. 2, col. 284:

"Quod autem Aldus Iunior, ut supra innuimus, dicat codicem istum furto fuisse surreptum, falsitatis illum arguimus, hac, quam Cosmus I Cardinali de Monte scripsit die 24. Ianuarii 1567 epistola, quae adhuc legitur inter memorabilia quaedam MSS. huius bibliothecae: 'Mentre che io sollecito di compire questa mia libreria di S. Lorenzo, per condurla a quel fine, che da me si desidera, riempiendola de' più scelti libri, che si trovino, ho inteso con molto mio piacere, che V. S. illma. si truovi un Virgilio scritto a mano, a lettere maiuscole, molto antico e corretto, avuto dalla libreria del Reverendmo. di Carpi, perè per la fede mia in Lei mi sono facilmente promesso, e mi prometto, che pregandola affettuosamente, come ne la prego, sia per compiacermene tanto più volentieri, quanto più lo reputerò, che sia per accrescere l'ornamento di un' opera così onorata, ed a beneficio così universale, e per venirmi da lei, e per essermi nella reverenza, che mi è il nome di quel cardinale, al quale fui affezionatissimo. Piacce dunque farmene grazia con accertarsi che mi sarà gratissima, e per la qualità del dono, e per la testimonianza del buono animo suo verso di me, alla quale di cuore mi raccomando. Che Dio' etc."

Galluzzi, *Istoria del Granducato di Toscana*, (Firenze, 1781) libr. 2, c. 10: "La fabbrica di questo insigne deposito delle lettere [la Biblioteca Laurenziana] restò compita nel 1571, e intanto il Duca [Cosimo I] non trascurò di arricchirlo con varj codici acquistati nella morte del Cardinale Ridolfi, da varie badie e particolari del dominio, e finalmente col noto codice di Virgilio. Questo celebre monumento dell' antichità siccome è stato l'oggetto delle ricerche delli uomini di lettere, merita che si renda nota la vera sua derivazione per mezzo di

una lettera, che il Cardinale Innocenzio di Monte detto già il Bertucino scrisse a Cosimo li 2 Gennaro 1568: 'Perchè io sono desideroso che vostra Eccellenza Illma. rimanga in ogni occasione interamente soddisfatta del buon animo mio verso lei, e' che anco mi tenga per quel sincero e obbligato servitore che veramente le sono, conviene che io dica brevemente come possiedo il Virgilio antico scritto a mano, che Ella con l'umanissima sua mi ha ricercato. [a] Il libro fu della buona memoria del cardinale Antonio di Monte, [b] e ne restò erede la santa ricordanza di Papa Giulio mio zio che lo tenne sempre come cosa rarissima molto caro, [c] e quando Sua Santità me ne fece dono mi comandò che essendo egli stato tanto tempo di casa nostra io non dovessi per qualsivoglia modo privarmene. Avendo poi il Signor Cardinale Farnese saputo che egli era in mano mia me lo dimandò più volte con grande istanza, e in effetto io non volli mai compiacermelo quantunque li fossi molto obbligato per quel che a Vostra Eccellenza devo esser manifesto, ma egli volle che io li dessi, come feci, la fede mia che avendo a privarmene lo dessi piuttosto a lui che ad altri, di che io certamente non fo tanto conto quanto del rispetto detto di sopra. [d] Ultimamente il Cardinale di Carpi desideroso di vedere il libro me lo fece dimandare in prestito per suo nome dal Signor Gio. Lodovico Pio suo fratello, e per l'affezione che io li portavo non potei mancare di compiacermelo, [e] & essendo poco appresso successa la mia prigionia in Castello egli lo tenne poi continuamente presso di se finchè venne a morte, non ostante che io avessi prima fatto ogni istanza per riaverlo, [f] & alla fine mi è bisognato, se io l'ho rivoltuto, addurre in testimonio N. S. che oggi per grazia di Dio vive, il quale sapeva che il libro era mio, e con tutto che fosse già stato portato nella libreria Vaticana, Sua Santità ordinò che mi fosse restituito', etc."

For those of my readers in whom the all but certain connexion just pointed out between Pomponius Laetus and the Medicean, may have excited a stronger desire than they ever felt before to inquire into the history of this eccentric savant of the renaissance, and to whom recourse to the original authorities may be difficult or impossible, a better reference than Tiraboschi (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, tom. 6, libr. 3, cap. 1, § 9 were Chauffepié, *Dictionnaire Historique*, where, in the article Pomponius Laetus, will be found collected together all the particulars which have come down to us concerning a laborer no less zealous and indefatigable, however less fortunate, than Laurentius Valla, Politian or Bembo, for the restoration of

pure Latinity, in the midst of the wars, tumult, and persecutions of the fifteenth century, and whose veneration for everything which was at once ancient and Roman, might have done honor to an Oxford or a Göttingen, did do honor to his own *Academia Romana* on the Quirinal.

The Laurentian exemplar of this edition collated by myself and daughter personally, in a few texts only, in the Laurentian library in Florence; the Hunterian exemplar collated for me, no less obligingly than carefully, in the library of the Glasgow university, by the Rev. Dr. Dickson, Professor of divinity in that university, and Robert B. Spears Esq., Librarian.

The edition (without imprint) in the Gothic characters of Mentelin, and supposed to have been printed in **Strasburg**, by that printer, in **1469** (Brunet; Dibdin, *Bibl. Spencer.* vol. 2, p. 462; Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*, Dresde 1859—69).

Collated (in a very few texts only) in the Laurentian library in Florence.

The edition printed in **Venice** in **1470**, with the colophon:

Progenitus spira formis monumenta maronis
 Haec uindelinus scripsit apud uenetos.
 Laudent ergo alii polycletos parrhasiosue
 Et quosuis alios id genus artifices.
 Ingenuas quisquis musarum diligit artes
 In primis ipsum laudibus afficiet.
 Nec uero tantum quia multa uolumina: quantum
 Quod perpulchra simul optimaque exhibeat.
 M.CCCC.LXX.

Collated in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

The edition printed in **Venice** (Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, 1860—5), with the colophon:

M.CCCC.LXXI.
 Minciadae quiconque cupit cognoscere uatis
 Carmina: seu quisquis uegi simul optat habere:

Me legat: aut fratres. paruo numerosa iuuentus:
 Vno eodemque sumus pressi sesquique locoque:
 Non solomon: neque hyran. non daedalus: atque sibyla
 Graecia non omnis sapientibus inclyta quamquam
 Non armis romana potens aequandaque diuis
 Gloria iactauit tali se se arte decoram.
 Nos igitur peperit patrem qui nomine primum
 Rettulit alter adam: formis quos pressit ahenis.

Collated in the university library of Freiburg in the Breisgau,
 Baden.

The edition printed "ou à **St. Urso** ou à **Vi-
 cenza**" (Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*, Dresde,
 1859—69; and see Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, 1860—5, vol. 4,
 col. 537), with the colophon:

Vrbs Basilea mihi, nomen est Leonardus Achates:
 Qui tua compressi carmina diue Maro.
 Anno christi humanati: M.CCCC.LXXII.
 Venet. Duce Nicol. Trono.

Collated in the university library, Basel.

The edition printed in **Rome** in **1473**, with the
 colophon:

Praesens haec Virgilii impressio poetae
 clarissimi in alma urbe Roma facta
 est totius mundi Regina et dignissima
 Imperatrice quae sicut prae caeteris ur-
 bibus dignitate praeest ita ingeniosis
 uiris est referta non atramento plumali
 calamo neque stylo aereo sed artificiosa
 quadam adinuentione imprimendi
 seu characterizandi opus sic effigiatum
 est ad dei laudem industriaeque est con-
 sumatum. per Vdalricum Gallum et
 Simonem de Luca. Anno domini
 M.CCCC.LXXIII. die uero. IIII.
 mensis Nouembris. Pontificatu uero
 Sixti diuina prouidentia Pape quarti
 Anno eius Tertio.

Collated both in the Vatican library, and in the imperial library,
 Paris.

The edition printed in Modena, with the colophon:

Mutine Impressum per Magistrum Iohannem
Vurster de campidona. Anno D.M.CCCC.LXXIII.
die Vicesimatertia mensis Ianuarii.

Collated in my lodgings in Dresden, whither the authorities of the royal library, reposing in a stranger a confidence never reposed either in stranger or native by similar authorities in England, permitted me to convey out of the public library and keep in my possession as long as might be necessary for the purpose of collation, a book so rare that no more than two other exemplaria of it are known to exist, viz. one in the Spencerian collection (Dibdin), and one in the Biblioteca Magliabechiana in Florence (Fossi): "We will not put the *lex talionis* in force against you," said the Dresden librarian (the late Hofrath Klemm), smiling, as he placed in my hand not only the Modena edition of Virgil, but the Dresden MS. of Servius, to be taken with me to my lodgings, and laid the Dresden MS. of Virgil in an open drawer, to be at my service as often as I came to the library — that very drawer afterwards so often filled with Virgilian MSS. obtained by the same enlightened librarian for my special use and behoof from Leipzig, Hamburg, Wolfenbüttel and Breslau — "and we are pretty sure that we shall suffer as little in future from not putting that law in force against you or your countrymen, as we have hitherto suffered." It was not long before I had the verso of this agreeable recto of one leaf of my library life. Returning from Dresden to Ireland through London, and calling at the library of the British Museum with a present of a recently published work of my own, I begged to be allowed to look at a passage in a volume which stood on a shelf close beside me. "Have you permission to read in the library?" asked the officer in charge. "No, I have not; nor have I come for the purpose of reading; nor do I intend to stay longer in London than this day. All I ask is permission to look at a few lines in that volume. I shall do so without sitting down or stirring out of this spot. I shall not require to have the book in my hands for quite five minutes." "You cannot be allowed; it is contrary to rule. But if

you get a banker, or the principal of any college, seminary or commercial establishment in London, to write a letter to Sir Henry Ellis, certifying that you are a fit and proper person to read in the library, Sir Henry Ellis will, on receipt of such letter, post you a ticket of admission, and on that ticket you can come and read in the library daily for the next three months." "I do not want admission to the library; I am in it already. I only wish to have that book, there, in my hands for five minutes, and then to go away and trouble you no more." "Impossible; it is contrary to rule." "Can I see Sir Henry Ellis?" "Certainly." Sir Henry Ellis made his appearance, replied to my request in the same terms, and I proceeded to Ireland, more than ever convinced that even in civilization there is a golden mean, every step beyond which is a step further from humanity, and towards an extreme in which *ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes non emollit mores sed sinit esse feros*, and consoling myself en vrai Darwiniste as I am, with the prospect I saw opening in the distance for my successors, that books in British libraries continuing to be guarded as if they were Hesperides' apples, readers would in due course come to be born with the strength of Hercules, and the instinct to use it on the proper occasion. See note, page LXVI.

Edition marked on the back: **Mediolani. 1475.**
[qu. printed by Zarotus? see Santander, *Diction. bibliogr.* vol. 3. p. 448].

Collated in the royal library in Bamberg. Library mark on the back: M. 3. 17.

The edition printed in **Venice**, with the colophon:

P. V. MARONIS OPERA FOELICITER FINI-
VNT VENETHIS INSIGNITA PER NICOLA-
VM IENSON GALLICVM. M.CCCC.LXXV.

Collated in the Hofbibliothek, Carlsruhe.

The edition printed in **Brescia** in **1484.**

Collated in the Palatine library in Heidelberg.

The edition printed in **Venice**, with the colophon:

Publii Virgilii Maronis Vatis Eminentissimi

Volumina haec Una cum Servii Honorati

Grammatici Commentariis Ac Eiusdem

Poetae Vita Venetiis impressa sunt

per Antonium Bartolomei im

pressorem discipulum

M. CCCC.

LXXXVI.

mense

Octo

bris.

Collated in the library of Schloss Weissenstein, near Pommersfelden in Bavaria.

The edition bearing the imprint: *Impressum Mediolani per Uldericum scinzenzeler MCCCCXCII.*

Collated in the royal library in Bamberg.

The edition printed by **Aldus** and his father-in-law, **Andreas Torresanus** of Asula, with the colophon: *Venetiis in aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri anno MDXIII, mense octobri., and bearing the letter to Bembo on the verso of the first folio.*

Collated in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

That Junta edition which bears on the titlepage the imprint:

VENETHIS IN OFFICINA LV-

CAEANTONII IVNTAE

M.D.XXXVII.

and, on the recto of the last folio, a colophon to the same purport, followed by a woodcut, exhibiting, above, the city of Neapolis, and, below, the poet's tomb, the slab of which, supported on four pillars and inscribed on the edge: *HIC MARO DOCTE IACES*, bears the laureated figure of the poet stretched supine in long, loose, sleeved gown or schlafrock. Three cavaliers on horseback arrive at the foot of the tomb; and, on the offside from the spectator, crown on head and pallium on shoulder, kneeling

Augustus throws wide his arms and laments. The whole verso of this folio is occupied by the Iunta lily in an oval frame formed by two branches full of acanthus leaves and pear-shaped fruit, and tied together, above and below, with streaming ribbons. One naked, wingless amor, standing on the ground, reaches with both hands upwards towards the fruit of one of the branches, while another is in the act of mounting the other branch, as if to ride on it. The graceful, elegant design might be, perhaps has been, Raphael's. I have been less pleased with some of Raphael's in the loggie of the Vatican. The wood-cutting might possibly be Dürer's own.

Quite of another sort, in respect both of design and execution, are the wood-cuttings with which the body of the volume is everywhere — no, not ornamented, for I would not provoke either the spleen or the laughter of this most glorious era of Alberts and Exhibitions — only diversified. But, no matter whether ornamented or only diversified, no one will ever suspect either Raphael or Dürer of having had anything to do with any of them, though there is, perhaps, not one of them the less on that account, let it only be rightly read, in accord with some unseen vibrating fibril of the human heart. Turn back as far as the wood-cut on the verso of the last folio but one of Mapheus Vegius's *Thirteenth Book* — ingeniously platted queue of Virgilian centos, which in this, as in some other old editions, has been pinned to, and hangs dangling from, the Æneis — and observe above, on your left hand, Lavinia, Ascanius, a third person (perhaps Achates), and the city of Lavinium: in the right-hand corner, sceptred Jupiter throned on clouds, as firm to all appearance as rocks, and Venus embracing his knees and reminding him of his promise that Æneas should be translated to heaven: below, in the right-hand corner, Latinus stretched dead on an elevated bier; the crowned head supported on a cushion, the hands crossed, the upper half of the person naked, the lower half covered with a pall carefully folded back at the upper border, and descending, at foot and on both sides, to the very ground: still lower down, the river Numicus, with a luxuriant typha in the midst, occupying the foreground; in the left-

hand corner — corner alike of picture and river — Venus and Aeneas; Aeneas in the extreme corner on the water's edge, stretched on his back, dead, with his hands crossed, and only a swathe round his loins; Venus above her knees in the water just touching with both hands Aeneas's left shoulder, as if about to push or pull him, or as if, having pushed or pulled him so far out of the water, she does not know what step to take next. No, I beg pardon; the goddess is in no such difficulty; carry Aeneas to heaven, indeed! she, who so well knows how much trouble it cost Aeneas himself, who was more than twice as strong, to carry his father, who was less than half the weight, a few perch, here on the solid earth. She has no notion of it; she is only going to wash him — however supererogatory a work that may seem to be — before she commits him finally to the river:

*"tunc corpus nati abluere et deferre sub undas
quidquid erat mortale iubet."*

And now prepare for a surprise. The most curious thing in the whole picture is to come yet. Put on your spectacles and tell me if you see anything on Aeneas's chin besides the beard. "Do you mean the little Lilliputian standing on it with his feet buried in the beard, and his hands lifted up and joined together as in the act of prayer?" "Exactly. Do you know who that is?" "How should I, not being the dean of St. Patrick's?" "Guess." "Perhaps queen Mab's husband; not queen Mab herself,

'for masculine he is, beyond all question'.

"Out; guess again." "Some tiny great-grandchild of Aeneas, playing hide-and-seek in great-grandfather's beard." "Out, again. I'll tell you, for you'll not guess till doom's-day. That's Aeneas himself." "What! standing upon his own chin!" "Yes; spewed out of his own mouth with his last breath, for the very purpose of being carried up to heaven with the least possible trouble to all parties." "Well, how stupid I am! Often and often as I heard there were two Aeneases, one inside and the other outside, I never before understood how it was; but I see it now with my own eyes. That's a clever artist." "You have it perfectly: two Aeneases; one inside, light and little, to be

carried up into heaven; the other outside, big and heavy, to remain down here, drowned in the Numicus." "Nothing can be plainer. Do you think it throws any light on Dido's

'si quis mihi parvulus aula
luderet Aeneas.'?"

"I'm not so sure; let me think. The artist might possibly have been a Valentinian accustomed to see in the missals of his sect, or even to admire in the Guariento fresco on the wall of the church of St. Francis in Bassano — Bassano's not so very far from Venice — the little Aeon gliding down, — joined hands before his head, diver fashion — on a ray of light out of the bosom of the Bythos into Madonna Sophia Achamoth's wide open mouth. Sensible, thinking people, those Valentinians, and our artist may have been one of them, and whether his picture does, or does not, throw light on Dido's 'parvulus Aeneas', there can be no doubt about its throwing a good deal on Aeneas's own

'dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus',

where 'ipse' and 'spiritus' are as plainly the light, parvulus Aeneas inside, as 'mei' and 'artus' are the heavy, ingens Aeneas outside; but mind! — these two, the little and the big, the inside and the outside, are not two, but only one." "Oh! I understand that perfectly. Without being either Valentinian or Manichean, I understand that. Everybody understands that."

By far the greater number of my quotations of Donatus have been made from this edition, of which I had an exemplar during more than a year at Dalkey Lodge, out of the library of John Fletcher Davies Esq., a gentleman to whom I have been so often indebted, since my return to Ireland in the autumn of 1869, either for books or advice or information.

The edition both edited and printed by **Henry Stephens** in **1583**; where, not stated. The Dresden library exemplar, the only one I have ever seen of this edition, belonged to Taubmann, whose autograph corrections it bears.

The edition of **Daniel Heinsius** printed in **Leyden** in **1636** by Elzevir. I have not thought it necessary to distinguish between the so-called genuine edition,

that in which the *fragmenta ex epistola ad Augustum* and the *dedicatio Aeneidos* are printed in red ink, and the so-called counterfeit in which both those particulae are printed in black. I used the two editions indifferently, the former in my lodgings in Dresden, whither the Dresden library authorities, with that generous confidence with which the authorities of German libraries are wont to treat readers, allowed me to take, and keep so long as I had occasion, a book not easily replaced; the latter, long sought-for in vain, found, at last, in a bookseller's shop in London, purchased at a sufficiently high price, and, on the going to pieces of the Kilmarnock edition (whistle, for which on the day I was eleven years old I had exchanged my birthday half-crown) installed in my left breast-pocket, to be for ever after my comes a latere — darling, gilt edged, red-moroccoed, Elzevir *hand-boc*, wherein James, the son of Robert, the son of James, still cons daily with all the piety, zeal, and assiduity of Aelfred, the son of Aethelwolf, the son of Ecgbërth, his “diurnus cursus”, his “psalmi quidam”, and his “orationes quaedam.”

No less than **five of the many editions** bearing the name of **Nicholas Heinsius**; two of the five, viz. that of Amsterdam 1670, and that of Leyden 1671, anterior to Nicholas Heinsius's personal collation of the Medicean MS., the third, viz. that of Amsterdam 1676, immediately after, and in consequence of, that collation (see Bandini's account of the Medicean MS. and Nicholas Heinsius's own address to his reader), the fourth, viz. that of Utrecht 1704, published by the younger Burmann after Nicholas Heinsius's death, and presenting some alterations by the younger Burmann of the Heinsian text; and the fifth, re-edited by the brothers Vulpius, and printed in Padua by Ios. Cominus in 1738, a graceful, tasteful, truly Italian contrast to the squeezed and crowded Elzevir.

The edition in 4to printed in **Birmingham** by **Baskerville** in **1757**, a splendid specimen of the printing art, after the model of Tonson's Cambridge edition, itself a bald repetition of Emmenessius's Heinsian, unaccompanied either by the Erythraean index or the variorum commentaries which for

more than a hundred years — or until, towards the close of the last century, Leyden's star began to pale in the light of Göttingen's — rendered Emmenessius the Donatus of the Virgilian student. It was from the text of this edition Alfieri translated, as appears from the manuscript itself of his translation, written in that neat, composed hand which contrasted so strongly with the writer's fiery disposition, on the margin of the exemplar, bequeathed along with so many other of his books and manuscripts by the cicisbeo poet to the countess of Albany, and by the countess of Albany to the Laurentian library, where it is now happily preserved. That the translator did not everywhere servilely adhere to the Baskervillian text, but used a judgment of his own concerning the reading, is placed beyond doubt not merely by the frequent disagreement of the translation with the text to which it is apposed, but by the alterations made in the latter with the translator's own pen; ex. gr. Aen. 1. 429, the translator not only translates "optare", but alters with his own pen the Baskervillian "aptare" into "optare", and, Aen. 4. 436, the translator not only translates "dederit", but alters with his own pen the Baskervillian "dederis" into "dederit", and, that there may be no mistake, adds the gloss, "Enea"; — in vain, in vain, as much in vain as was ever Virgil's own effort to be understood: the Brescia editor of Alfieri's *Opere postume*, places on one page the unaltered Baskervillian text, on the opposite Alfieri's translation of the altered, and the reader stands, confounded and amazed, between the two. It will be readily understood that it was not with any, the most remote, view to the amendment of the text of Virgil I made even the very sparse and scanty collation which my *variae lectiones* exhibit, of the English Bodoni; but it was as impossible for me, translator myself and critic of Virgil, either to see without emotion, or pass by without mention, Alfieri's autograph translation and criticism of the Aeneis (textual selection is criticism), as it was impossible for me, tenant of the Villa Strozzi in the winter of 1849—50, to pass the long nights without feeling — or imagining I felt — my cheek ever and anon fanned by the aura of that impetuous spirit, which, three quarters of a century pre-

viously, had spent two of the few happy years of its wild, erratic, only too passionate and poetic existence, in that spacious sala and those shady orange walks, which it was ever after to sigh for, and for which I at this moment sigh.

Vita di Vittorio Alfieri, scritta da esso (Firenze 1853), epoca IV, cap. 10: "Nei due anni di Roma io aveva tratto una vita veramente beata. La villa Strozzi, posta alle Terme Diocleziane, mi avea prestato un delizioso ricovero. Le lunghe intere mattinate io ve le impiegava studiando, senza muovermi punto di casa se non se un' ora o due cavalcando per quelle solitudini immense che in quel circondario disabitato di Roma invitano a riflettere, piangere, e poetare. La sera scendeva nell' abitato, e ristorato delle fatiche dello studio con l'ammabile vista di quella per cui sola io esisteva e studiava, me ne ritornava poi contento al mio eremo, dove al più tardi all' undici della sera io era ritirato. Un soggiorno più gajo e più libero e più rurale, nel recinto d'una gran città, non si potea mai trovare; nè il più confacente al mio umore, carattere, ed occupazioni. Me ne ricorderò, e lo desidererò, finch' io viva.

Lasciata dunque in tal modo la mia unica Donna, i miei libri, la villa, la pace, e me stesso in Roma, io me n'andava dilungando in atto d'uomo quasi stupido ed insensato. M'avviai verso Siena, per ivi lagrimare almeno liberamente per qualche giorni in compagnia dell' amico."

The edition — but the reader has had enough of editions and manuscripts and catalogues and prefaces, and so have I; and we are both agreed that the remaining editions used in the work, being of easy access, need neither description nor specification here; and of imminent tediousness I know of no surer preventive, for past tediousness no 'amende' more 'honorable', than speedy silence; so let us shake hands, reader, and part, — to meet tomorrow on the not blasted heath:

if you can look into the seeds of time
and say which grain will grow and which will not,
speak then to me, who neither beg nor fear
your favors nor your hate.

A considerable part of this preface was written in Dresden in November 1865, on my return with my daughter from Italy, after our last collation of the Vatican and Laurentian MSS.; that part which refers more especially to the Augustan MS., was written in Rome in the previous January, and the remainder at Dalkey Lodge, Dalkey, Ireland, simultaneously with the printing of this volume.

DALKEY LODGE,
Oct. 10. 1872.

JAMES HENRY.

Fr. = Cod. Vaticanus No. 3225 (Vat Fragment).

Rom. = Cod. Romanus.

Pal. = Cod. Palatinus.

Med. = Cod. Mediceus.

Ver. = Cod. Veronensis rescriptus.

St. Gall. = Cod. Sangallensis rescriptus.

Θ prefixed to any of these abbreviations signifies that the codex is so mutilated or otherwise deficient as to afford no testimony concerning the reading in question.

Where, in the *Var. Lect.*, I take particular notice of punctuation, I draw the reader's attention to such particular notice by the abbreviation *punct.* prefixed. In a few cases I have thought it advisable, for the sake of greater clearness, to cite with punctuation a reading which has just been cited without punctuation. The perpendicular stroke | indicates punctuation, without specifying the particular kind.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Pref. p. VI. At end of note, add:

"To the authorities quoted by Schuchardt may be added: Theodor Creizenach, *der name Virgilius* (*Jahrb. für Philol.* 1868, p. 296): "Die einzige uns überlieferte inschrift in Griechischer sprache, die unseres dichters namen enthält, stämmt von dem denkmal des Claudianus, das zu anfang des fünften jh. auf dem forum Trajani errichtet wurde: in derselben wird dem Claudianus nachgerühmt, er habe εἰν ἐντὶ Βιργιλίῳ τοιο νοον καὶ μουσαν Ομηρου vereinigt. die schreibung mit i ist hier unbezweifelt."

Pref. p. XIII, line 8 from bottom, instead of equa, read equal

Pref. p. XV, line 7 from top: quidem is a mistake of Mabillon's Aldus Junior writes pridem.

Pref. p. XVIII, line 5 from top, after see above insert within the parenthesis: and *Prolegomena*, p. 225: "Sed haec, quae collegit Surin-
garus, *Hist. Scholl. Lat.* 2. 152 sqq., num revera in Mediceo libro adnotata vel sint vel fuerint, docebunt ipsae membranae si cui inspicere concessum fuerit. Unum ad Ecl. 10. 66 scholion revera in eo extare testatur specimen paginae ab Heinsio expressum."

Pref. p. XVIII, line 4 from bottom: dele Curtius, or

Pref. p. XXI, line 11 from top; instead of moenads, read maenads,

Pref. p. XXXI, after line 24 from top, add:

For an identification of this MS. both with the Colotian so frequently quoted by Fulv. Ursinus, *Virgilius collatione scriptorum Graecorum illustratus*, and with the MS. lent by Pomponius Infortunatus to the bishop of Aleria for the formation of his second edition of Virgil, as well as for a specification of the successive possessors of the MS., from Pomponius Infortunatus down to the present time, see pages LXVIII—LXXIV of this preface.

Pref. p. XL, line 18 from top, after Memmi insert: (see Rossini, *Storia della pittura Italiana*, Pisa, 1839. epoca 1, tav. 16).

Aen. p. 23, line 3 from bottom, after at once insert: "simul flare sorbereque"

Aen. p. 107, line 12 from top, supply comma after et

Aen. p. 115, line 2 from bottom, supply comma after example

Aen. p. 120, line 13 from bottom, dele parenthetic mark, and add:
Claud. *Laud. Stilich.* 3. 282:

"posita ludat formidine pastor
securisque canat Stilichonem fistula silvis."),

AENEIDEA,

BOOK I. *vv.* 1—15.

That it is with less anxiety than he had anticipated. the author now at long and last commits to publication these first sheets — primitiae of an undertaking so much in excess of his powers — is due no less to the general approbation expressed of them by those judges to whose censorship they have been submitted, than to the careful revision they have received at the hands of his kind friends, J. F. Davies Esq, of Kingstown, editor of the Choephoree and Agamemnon of Aeschylus, and Dr. Franz Schnorr von Carolsfeld, secretary of the royal library, Dresden.

AENEIDEA.

I.

1—4.

ILLE — MARTIS

VAR. LECT.

ILLE—MARTIS $\text{II} \frac{18}{50}$. III Serv. (ed. Lion) proem ("Unde et semiplenos eius invenimus versiculos: Hic cursus fuit; et aliquos detractos, ut in principio; nam ab ARMIS non coepit, sed sic: ILLE EGO etc.—MARTIS.") and again, Comm. ad ARMA ("cum eum constet aliunde sumpsisse principium . . . qua causa illi, ab eo primi positi, quatuor versus detracti sunt; scilicet, ut causa operis obtineret principium"); Priscian 12, 17; Rome 1469, 1473; Venice 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Ascensius; Aldus (1514); Pierius; Paul. Manutius; Jul. Scal. *Post.* 5, 17 ("quae qui abstulere, suam faciunt Aeneidem, non Maronis"); Fabric.; Caro; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671); Philippe; Brunck; Pottier; Wagn. 1832 ("Virgilii esse hos versus censeo").

ILLE—MARTIS OMITTED I Rom., Med. $\text{II} \frac{32}{50}$. OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED III Priscian, *Formula interrogandi* (ignored by); Cynth. Cenet.; N. Heins. (1704); Markland (ad Stat. *Silv.* 5, 3, 8); Heyne; Wakef.; Jahn; Thiel; Graser (*Hall. Allg. Lit. Zeit.* Oct. 1835); Voss; Hildebrandt (*Jahrb. für class. Philol.* 26, 157); Süpfle; Peerlk.; Ladewig; Haupt; Gruppe; Ribb.; Coningt.; Weidner (ignored by).

O. Fr., Pal., St. Gall., Ver. This last mentioned codex, so far as yet deciphered, does not contain the verses ILLE—MARTIS. It is not impossible however, that those verses may yet be discovered under the

later writing of some folio in a different part of the codex. The folios, as they are at present placed, succeed each other in the order of the later work, not in the order of the Aeneis, and in the folio commencing with *ARMA VIRUMQUE* (viz. folio 256 of the later work) there is nothing whatever, neither larger initial letter, nor greater empty space than usual at the top of the folio, nor any other sign, to indicate that that folio, when it formed a part of the Aeneis, was not preceded by a folio containing the verses in question. Since my own personal examination of this codex in July 1865, a detailed account of it as far as verse 98 of the second book, with an admirable lithographed facsimile of folio 256, has been published by Arnold Herrmann, Donaueschingen, 1869.

§ 1.

I am fain to consider the four introductory lines as authentic, less on account of their own intrinsic merit, their modesty, simplicity, and purity (“praeclaro illo exordio I. Aeneid. ILLE EGO QUI QUONDAM,” etc. La Cerda, ad *Ecl.* 1, 2. “In ipsis miror qui factum sit ut viri doctissimi non agnoverint orationis vim et elegantiam,” Wagn. 1832); less because they do not contain a single word unworthy of Virgil (“nihil prorsus habent, quod non Virgilianum videri possit,” Wagn. 1832; Forbiger); less because no other plausible origin than Virgil’s own hand has ever been assigned to them; less because the same turn of thought, the same studied comparison of his own present subject either with a former and different subject of his own, or with other and different subjects of other writers, is to be found not merely once or twice, but many times, and even ad satietatem, in our author (see below); less on account of the apt tallying of

. . . . GRACILI MODULATUS AVENA
CARMEN

with (*Ecl.* 1, 2)

“silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena:”

and (*Ecl.* 10, 50)

. . . "Chalcidico quæ sunt mihi condita versu
carmina, pastoris Siculi modulabor avena,"

of **PARERENT ARVA COLONO** with (*Georg.* 1, 125) "subigebant arva coloni" and (*Georg.* 1, 99) "imperat arvis," of **AVIDO COLONO** with (*Georg.* 1, 47) "avari agricolæ," of **GRATUM OPUS AGRICOLIS** with (*Georg.* 1, 41)

"ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestes,"

and of **HORRENTIA MARTIS ARMA** with (*Aen.* 12, 124) "aspera Martis Pugna;" **less because** it was a much easier and safer task to strike out a passage than to add one, especially prefix one, which would fit so well; **less because** we are informed both by Tib. Donatus and Servius that after Virgil's death, the order was given by Augustus to Varius and Tucca, to strike out whatever they might think it advisable to strike out, but not to add anything; **less because** we are informed by Tib. Donatus that Nisus, the grammarian, used to say that he had heard "a senioribus" that Varius had actually struck out these verses; **less because** from all those MSS. from which these verses are absent, other verses undoubtedly written by Virgil and forming an integral part of his poem (ex. gr. *Aen.* 2, 567—588) are absent also; **less because** of the almost express reference in the

"nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quæ tempora rerum,
quis Latio antiquo fuerit status, advena classem
cum primum Ausoniis exercitus appulit oris,
expediam, et primæ revocabo exordia pugnae.
tu vatem, tu, diva, mone,"

of the seventh book, to a previous division of the work into two parts, one part an Odyssey, as it were, and the other an Iliad, and the express reference in

. . . "dicam horrida bella,
dicam acies, actosque animis in funera reges,
Tyrrhenamque manum, totamque sub arma coactam
Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
maius opus moveo,"

to the second of those parts, the **HORRENTIA MARTIS ARMA** of Iliad, on which, having finished his Odyssey, our author was then and there entering (see Rem. on "Musa mihi causas memora," vers. 12);

less because already so early as the age of Domitian, we find Saleius Bassus (*ad Pisonem* 218) figuring Virgil's ascent from bucolic to epic poetry, under the identical trope under which it is figured in these verses, viz. that of a rural musician issuing forth out of the obscurity of the woods, and presenting himself before the great world as a performer of the most complicated and difficult pieces:

"ipse per Ausonias Aeneia carmina gentes
qui sonat, ingenti qui nomine pulsat Olympum.
Maeoniumque senem Romano provocat ore,
forsitan illius nemoris latuisset in umbra,
quod canit, et sterili tantum cantasset avena,
ignotus populis, si Maecenate careret."

where the reference, in the first three lines, to the Aeneis, and, in the second three, to the Bucolics, plain and unmistakeable as it is, is scarcely plainer or less mistakeable than the reference, in the fourth and fifth lines to the first, second, and latter half of the fourth verse of the first Bucolic, taken in connexion with the *EGRESSUS SILVIS* of the disputed verses; less because Priscian, although in his *Formula Interrogandi* he parses the verse *ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO*, as first verse of the Aeneis, nevertheless, in his *Grammar*, not only distinctly and expressly, but repeatedly, recognizes these verses (verses, be it observed, which make no sense except in connexion with *ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO*) as Virgil's; lib. 12: "Nec mirum cum etiam tertia persona soleat figurate primae adiungi, ut Virgilius: *ILLE EGO QUI QUONDAM GRACILI MODULATUS AVENA*." lib. 17: "Prima persona et tertia in unum figurate coeunt, ut Virgilius: *ILLE EGO QUI QUONDAM GRACILI MODULATUS AVENA CARMEN*. Est enim intellectus, Ego Virgilius ille qui quondam scripsi Bucolica et Georgica." lib. 17: "Inveniuntur enim et alia pronomina appositiva [i. e. *ἐπιταγματικά*]; Virgilius: *ILLE EGO, QUI QUONDAM GRACILI MODULATUS AVENA CARMEN*."; less because two of our greatest English poets were unable to find nobler commencement for two of the greatest poems in the English language, than an imitation of the commencement afforded by these lines to the Aeneis (see Rem. 1, 1-5); than because the

beginning ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO had been essentially and in itself a bad beginning, bad as being brusque, abrupt, turgid, the very twin brother of the

"cantabo Priami fortunam et nobile bellum"

immortalized by Horace, and wholly devoid of that fascinating molle atque facetum, which, especially in the beginnings of his books, is so peculiarly Virgil's characteristic; and bad as being ambiguous, so ambiguous that commentators have never yet been able to agree, whether it is of *Aeneas, the warrior* (Burmans, Wagner [1832, 1861], and compare Ovid, *Trist.* 2, 533:

"et tamen ille tuas felix Aeneidos auctor
contulit in Tyrios arma virumque toros,"

where, as proved by Statius's [*Silv.* 4, 2, 1] exactly parallel

"regia Sidoniae convivia laudat Elisae
qui magnum Aeneam Laurentibus intulit arvis,"

"arma virumque" can be neither more nor less than *the warrior Aeneas*), or of *Aeneas and the wars between the Trojans and Italians* (*Interpr. Virg. Maii*, Servius, Heyne, Voss, Thiel, Forbiger, Caro, Tasso, Dryden, and compare Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 15, 25:

"Tityrus et segetes Aeneiaque arma legentur,
Roma triumphati dum caput orbis erit."

Auson. *Epigr.* 131:

"arma virumque docens, atque arma virumque peritus,
non duxi uxorem, sed magis arma domum."),

or of *Aeneas and his armour* (Veget. *de re mil.* 2, 1: "Res igitur militaris, sicut Latinorum egregius auctor carminis sui testatur exordio, armis constat et viris." Tib. Donat.: "ARMA, h. e. scutum et alia quae Aeneae Vulcanum fabricasse praescripsit." and again: "virum qui talia arma et tam pulcra et habere et gerere potuerit: qui Romani imperii auctor esse meruerit" etc. and compare Virgil himself, *Aen.* 11, 746:

. . "volat igneus aequore Tarchon,
arma virumque ferens" . . .

Sil. 1, 132

. . "iacet [Marcellus] ore truci super arma virosque
tertia qui tulerat sublimis opima Tonanti."

Sil. 1, 362:

“haec [lampas] vastae lateri turris ceu turbine fixa,
dum penitus pluteis Vulcanum exercet adesis,
arma virosque simul pressit flagraute ruina.”),

Virgil, commencing his poem with the words *ARMA VIRUMQUE*, professes to treat. Not only all this ambiguity, but all this abruptness and turgidity ceases when the introductory lines are adopted as the commencement of the poem, *ILLE EGO* affording an easy, simple, natural and not unusual beginning (Ovid, *Trist.* 4, 10, 1 [giving an account of himself to posterity]:

“ille ego, qui fuerim, tenerorum lusor amorum,
quem legis, ut noris, accipe, posteritas.
Sulmo mihi patria est, gelidis uberrimis undis,”

compare Priscian, 12 (cited above): “Nec mirum cum etiam tertia persona soleat figurate primae adiungi, ut Virgilius: *ILLE EGO QUI QUONDAM GRACILI MODULATUS AVENA*”), and *HORRENTIA MARTIS* fixing the meaning of *ARMA*, happily separating that word from *QUI*, *ILLE*, *UNDE*, and the clauses connected with those relatives, and by such separation throwing an emphasis on it which it could not possibly have had, standing without preparation, without predicate, without explanation, first word of the poem (see Rem. 2, 246).

But abruptness, turgidity and ambiguity are not the only faults of the commencement of the poem with the words *ARMA VIRUMQUE*. Let us close our eyes to those faults or forgive them, and let us set about to choose between the various interpretations of the words. Do they represent two distinct conceptions, *arms* and *the man*, in the sense of *the wars of Aeneas*, and *Aeneas himself*? if they do, how has it happened that the conception which, as placed in the first and most prominent position, must be assumed to be the principal and most important (see Rem. 2, 246), is left standing naked by itself, neither ornamented, nor explained, nor rendered weighty by the addition even of one single word, while the conception which, as occupying the inferior, less honorable position, must be looked upon as the inferior or secondary conception, is dwelt upon throughout the whole of the long and labored exordium? Do they repre-

sent two distinct conceptions, *arms* and *the man*, in the sense of *the armour of Aeneas and Aeneas himself*? if they do, how has it happened not only that the most important conception, the armour, has been left standing naked by itself, but that no further word is said about it until nearly two thirds of the poem have been finished or until near the end of the eighth book? Do they, on the contrary, represent one single conception, *the warrior*? if they do, how has it happened that here, in this formal enunciation of the subject matter of the poem, a great and important, if not the greatest and most important, part of that subject matter, the wars between the Trojans and Latins—those wars out of which the settlement of the Trojans in Italy, the union of the Latin and Trojan races into one people, and the foundation of the Roman Empire, arose as consequences—has been wholly omitted? Not one of the three interpretations satisfies our expectations of the poet, and there is no fourth, so we reject the words as the commencement of the poem, and turning to the verses in question, and finding in them neither abruptness nor turgidity, but, on the contrary, all Virgil's usual ease and suavity, nay, the strongest, most striking resemblance to his commencing verses of other poems; observing, besides, that they not only remove all ambiguity from the enunciation of the subject matter of the poem, but restore to that enunciation a limb which cannot well be absent without rendering the enunciation lame and imperfect ("Arma sind überhaupt Hauptgegenstand des Epos," Thiel), hail those verses with joy, and reinstate them in their rightful and most honorable position as the commencing verses of the great Roman epic.

§ II.

The exordium of our author's heroic poem, the *Aeneis*, is cast in the selfsame mould as the exordium of his bucolic poem *Varus*; the subjects of both exordiums being not only the same, viz. the contrast of the writing of bucolic verse with the writing of heroic, but handled in the same manner. With the single exception that the poem of *Varus* does not itself afford an

example of the contrast, that our author does not, in his poem of Varus, pass from his former more humble style into a loftier, but continues in the more humble, the parallelism is complete even to the most minute particulars, *ILLE EGO QUI QUONDAM* of the Aeneis, corresponding to "*Prima nostra Thalia*" of Varus; *MODULATUS CARMEN* of the Aeneis, to "*dignata est ludere*" of Varus; *GRACILI AVENA* of the Aeneis, to "*Syracosio versu*" of Varus; *EGRESSUS SILVIS* of the Aeneis, to "[*nec*] *erubuit silvas habitare*" of Varus; *AT NUNC* of the Aeneis, to "*nunc*" of Varus (there could be no *at* in Varus, there being no transition, no passing out of the one style into the other); and, finally, *HORRENTIA MARTIS ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO*, the new subject to which he is now passing in the Aeneis, corresponding to "*Agrestem tenui meditabor arundine Musam*," the old subject to which he expresses his determination to adhere, in Varus. Had the one exordium been fashioned on the other by an imitator, the verbal resemblance would have been greater, the real resemblance less. Only by the same hand could two beginnings have been made so essentially like, and, at the same time, so apparently different.

With a similar reference to, and contrast of the present subject with, a former, begins the Pollio:

"*Sicelides Musae, paullo maiora canamus.
non omnes arbusta iuvant humilesque myrcae;
si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae.*",

where we have the same *silvas* and the same *canere* as in our text, the same present greater, former inferior subject, with aspirations added after a still greater, viz. an epic poem:

"*o mihi tam longae maneat pars ultima vitae,
spiritus et, quantum sat erit tua dicere facta:
non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus,
nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,
Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.
Pan etiam, Arcadia mecum si iudice certet,
Pan etiam Arcadia dicat se iudice victum.*"

✓ / With a not very dissimilar reference to, and contrast of, a former subject, our author begins his second Georgic:

"*hactenus arborum cultus, et sidera caeli:
nunc te, Bacche, canam*" . . .

where we have not only the very *arva*, the very *nunc*, and the very *canere* of our text, but the *canere* in the selfsame position in the verse.

With a similar contrast of his present subject—this time, with the ordinary subjects of other writers—our author begins his third *Georgic*:

"te quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande canemus,
pastor ab Amphryso; vos, silvae amnesque Lycaei.
caetera, quae vacuas tenuissent carmina mentes,
omnia iam vulgata."

where we have not only the *canere* and the *silvae* of the commencement of the *Aeneis*, but the actual promise of an epic poem to follow the more homely one in hand:

"interea Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur
intactos, tua Maecenas haud mollia iussa.
mox tamen ardentem accingar dicere pugnas
Caesaris, et nomen fama tot ferre per annos,
Tithoni prima quot abest ab origine Caesar."

an epic poem, the prevailing thought of Virgil from his earliest days, and always anxiously looked forward to from those juvenile poems which won for him his first laurels and to which it would have been strange indeed if he had not looked back from the threshold of the great work on which he was now, after so many delays, hesitations and impediments, at last happily entering; strange indeed, if he had left that reference to himself and his previous writings of which poets — and above all poets, Virgil — are so fond, to the chance hand of some bungling imitator; stranger still, if he had omitted such reference there only where it was most excusable, viz. in the commencement of his greatest work; there only where it was most needed for the double purpose of introducing, at one and the same time, himself and his work to the reader, and of softening and rendering gradual, the otherwise harsh, abrupt, too concise, and almost rude and impertinent presentation of the work itself.

But Homer, I am told, has omitted all such reference, and Homer is the paragon of perfection. Neither in the beginning of the *Iliad*, nor in the beginning of the *Odyssey*, is there, I am

told, one word about the author, except, in the latter, the single monosyllable $\mu\omicron\iota$, who the $\mu\omicron\iota$ is, being left wholly to conjecture or report. Very well, if the more ancient and ruder poem is to be, in all respects, the model of the more modern and highly finished; very well, if there are no excellencies in Virgil which we look in vain for in Homer; very well, if the argument is used in its full strength, and we begin the Aeneis, neither with ILLE EGO, nor with ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO, but with MUSA, MIHI CAUSSAS MEMORA. Then, indeed, we shall have the Aeneis modeled on, not an improvement of, the Iliad and Odyssey, the whole three poems shall begin alike with the invocation of the Muse, the first verse of Virgil's poem correspond perfectly with the first verse of each of the poems of Homer, and, all being equally addressed to the Muse, who may be fairly supposed to be acquainted with each author, and to know who it is that is addressing her, there will be no more occasion for Virgil to introduce himself and explain who he is, than there was for Homer. If, however, my reader scruples, as no doubt he scruples, to go so far; if he insists, as no doubt he insists, on retaining ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO, though without parallel either in the Iliad or Odyssey, with what vis consequentiae does he insist on rejecting ILLE—MARTIS, the explanation and complement of CANO, on the ground that there is no parallel for it either in the Iliad or the Odyssey?

§ III.

But, say the propugners of an Aeneis commencing with ARMA VIRUMQUE, the Homeric example is not our only argument, we have an argument very much stronger than the argument founded on the hypothesis of a necessity that Virgil's commencement should conform to Homer's, very much stronger than any argument founded on mere hypothesis; we have the silence of Servius, who, usually so full on Virgil's every individual word, commences his commentary at ARMA; proof almost logical that Servius either knew nothing of the four verses or rejected them as spurious. In Servius's proem, indeed, they are stated to have been excised by Tucca and Varius, but Servius's proem too is supposititious, a

mere hotch-potch emanating from Tib. Donatus. What we rely upon is, that there is no mention of them, or of any part or parcel of them, in the actual commentary of Servius: "Servius omnia vetustissimorum hominum iudicia et factas in textu mutationes cognoscebat. Per eum accepimus, quid Maecenas, Messala, Pollio, alii veteres critici censuerint. De hoc Varii factum altum silentium. Et, quamquam Commentarii Serviani semper a recentioribus in brevius compendium fuerunt redacti, summa tamen rerum gravissimarum capita mansere servata, minusque credibile est, primam eius annotationem ita intercuisse, quum similes annotationes in aliis Aeneidos libris, quod ad ipsas res attinet, salvae sint." Peerlk. vol. I, p. 5; *and again:* "In Servianis, farragine veterum Commentariorum, nihil de his versibus legimus. Servius igitur eos non vidit. In Praefatione quidem Serviana hoc factum Varii memoratur: sed tota ista Praefatio partim ex Vita, quae Donato tribuitur, partim ex aliis est libris consarcinata." Peerlk. vol. I, p. 2.

Notwithstanding the strong impression produced in their favor by their own indignant, manifestly honest protest, notwithstanding the break-down of the opposite Homeric witnesses, it would still go hard with the four verses, if this argument of the bitterest of the counsel engaged against them, had that foundation in fact, to which it pretends. Happily for them it has not, and not only is Servius not silent about the four verses, but it is about the four verses Servius speaks first; about the four verses alone treat the very first words of Servius's commentary. And what is it Servius says of them in the very first words of his commentary—of his commentary observe, not of his commentary's proem, where also there is a separate clause concerning them, only less full and particular—what is it he says? That they are bastard, never came from the hand of Virgil, and are rightly absent from the Aeneis then in vogue, and rightly left unexplained by himself as forming neither part nor parcel of the poem? No such thing. Servius informs us, first, that many persons discuss in a variety of ways why Virgil began his poem "ab armis"; secondly, that the folly of such discussions is manifest, in as much as it is perfectly certain ("constet") that

he did not begin "ab armis", but with a quite different beginning, as had been shown in the life (of Virgil) prefixed (to the commentaries); and thirdly, that the reason why the four verses with which he did begin had been taken away, was, that the work might begin (not with mention of the author, but) with the subject matter of the poem: "ARMA; multi varie disserunt, cur ab armis Virgilius coeperit; omnes tamen in hoc assentire (Guelf. I. tam inania sentire) manifestum est: cum eum constet aliunde sumpsisse principium, sicut in praemissa eiusdem vita monstratum est; [qua causa illi, ab eo primi positi, quattuor versus detracti sunt: scilicet, ut causa operis obtineret principium]" Serv. ed. Lion (the brackets signifying, as Lion informs us in his preface, that the words contained between them are absent from very many of the codices and old editions); as explicit testimony as it was possible to give of the genuineness of the verses in the opinion of Servius and of the better informed of Servius's age and the ages preceding Servius, and, at the same time, a satisfactory explanation of the removal of the verses by Varius and Tucca, viz. that they were removed, not at all because they were thought to be either bad verses or bastard verses, but because it was thought (de gustibus non est disputandum) that the poem would begin better with its own subject matter than with a mention of its author. Such is the express statement of Servius in his first comment; he who runs may read.

§ IV.

The remaining argument of those who regard the words ARMA VIRUMQUE as the commencement of the Aeneis, viz. that they are cited as such by several of the Roman poets themselves, and notably by Persius, Martial, Ausonius, and Sidonius Apollinaris, nay, even by Ovid and Propertius, is, if possible, still more unfortunate than either that drawn from the Homeric example or that drawn from the alleged silence of Servius. For first, the words of Propertius,

"qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitât arma,"

if they refer in "arma" to the ARMA VIRUMQUE of the Aeneis,

refer, *pari ratione*, in "nunc" to the NUNC HORRENTIA of its introductory verses, and Propertius quotes, not from an Aeneis beginning with ARMA VIRUMQUE, but from an Aeneis beginning with ILLE EGO: "Sex. vero Propertium quis non videt dum is scriberet: 'Qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitāt arma,' ad coniunctum illud Virgilianum carmen respexisse, quod iisdem paene verbis est: AT NUNC HORRENTIA MARTIS ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO?" Pierius. Secondly, if any conclusion whatever as to the precise commencing words of the Aeneis, is logically deducible from Martial's (8, 56, 19):

"protinus Italiam concepit et arma virumque,"

that conclusion is not that the Aeneis begins with the latter part, the mere fag end of the quoted words, but that it begins with the whole citation, "Italiam, arma virumque;" quod absurdum, and Martial cites neither "Italiam, arma virumque," nor, a fortiori, "arma virumque," as the commencing words of the Aeneis, but cites the former, viz. "Italiam, arma virumque," as words of the exordium sufficiently salient and remarkable to afford an apt periphrasis for the name of the poem. Thirdly, with the same vis consequentiae with which it is deducible from Ovid's (*Amor.* 1, 15, 25):

"Tityrus et segetes Aeneiaque arma legantur,"

that "arma" is the first word of the Aeneis, it is deducible also that "Tityrus" is the first word of the first Eclogue, and "segetes" the first word of the first Georgic, quod absurdum; nay, that "Aeneia arma" are the first words of the Aeneis, quod absurdissimum; and Ovid has employed the three expressions as representatives of the three poems respectively, not because they are—what they are not—the precise commencing words of the three poems respectively, but because they are—what they are—words in the respective exordia sufficiently salient and remarkable to serve as equivalents for the names of the three poems, a conclusion confirmed, and almost placed beyond doubt, (a) by the similar substitution by the same Ovid (*Ars Amat.* 3, 337) of the similar equivalent, "profugum Aenean, altae primordia Romae," for the name of the Aeneis:

"et profugum Aenean, altae primordia Romae,
quo nullum Latio clarius extat opus,"

a substitution of salient words in the exordium, for the proper name of the Aeneis, from which the commentator remains yet to be found hardy enough to deduce the conclusion, that Ovid regarded either the words *ITALIAM FATO PROFUGUS*, or the words *ALTAE MOENIA ROMAE*, as the first words of the poem; and (b) by the so general, and, I do not hesitate to say, laudable practice of writers, to substitute for the names, whether of their own works or the works of others, equivalents suggested by the subject matter, in preference to equivalents formed out of first words or out of words culled from among the first; Ovid (*Trist.* 2, 535):

"nec legitur pars ulla magis de corpore toto,
quam non legitimo foedere iunctus amor,"

where "non legitimo foedere iunctus amor" is an equivalent for "Fourth book of the Aeneis," as much more elegant than "At regina gravi," had been, as (Martial 14, 184):

. . . . "Priami regnis inimicus Ulysses,"

is a more elegant equivalent for "Odyssey," than Ἀνδρᾶ μοι ἐννεπε, Μοῦσα, or any translation of Ἀνδρᾶ μοι ἐννεπε, Μοῦσα, had been. And fourthly, with pretty much the same *vis consequentiae* with which it is deducible from Sidonius Apollinaris's (*Carm.* 3, 1):

"quid faceret lactas segetes, quod tempus amandum
messibus et gregibus, vitibus atque apibus,
ad Maecenatis quondam sunt edita nomen:
hinc Maro post audes arma virumque loqui,"

that Sidonius in the words "arma virumque" points, not to a poem of the first verses of which "arma virumque" are pregnant words, but to a poem of which "arma virumque" are the very first words, may also be deduced a conclusion altogether incompatible with such deduction, viz. that Sidonius in the words "Hinc Maro post audes" points, not to the historical fact that the Aeneis was subsequent in point of time to the Eclogues and Georgics, but to Virgil's own statement (viz. in the *AT NUNC* of the introductory verses), that he sang his epic poem after he

had first sung Eclogues and Georgics. But enough of such argument; no matter in what sense the words ARMA VIRUMQUE have been quoted either by the learned bishop of Arvernica, in the just cited passage, or by the facetious Burdigalensis, in his so similar

“arma virumque docens, atque arma virumque peritus,
non duxi uxorem, sed magis arma domum.”,

or by the other, above cited writers more nearly contemporary with Virgil himself, the very utmost shown by those quotations, or that can be shown by any number of such quotations, is the existence from the earliest times, perhaps even from the date of the author's death, of an Aeneis without the introductory verses, a fact undisputed, nay affirmed and maintained even by those who no less affirm and maintain that the Aeneis did not so come into the world from the creative hand of its author and parent but only from the mutilating hands of its godfathers, and that, coexistent with such mutilated Aeneis, but—partly on account of imperial influence, partly on account of the invariable predominance of coarse taste over refined—far less in vogue, there was always the uncastrated Aeneis as it came from the hand of Virgil, that uncastrated Aeneis which (a remarkable example and almost sufficient of itself to decide the whole question) we find quoted in one of his works (*Inst. Gramm.*, see § 1 above) by the same Priscian, whom, in another of his works (*Formula Interrog.*, see § 1 above), we find quoting the castrated.

But there is another ancient passage which the champions of an Aeneis commencing with ARMA VIRUMQUE, cite even more triumphantly than any of those already discussed, viz. Ovid, *Trist.* 2, 533:

“et tamen ille tuæ felix Aeneidos auctor
contulit in Tyrios arma virumque toros;
nec legitur pars ulla magis de corpore toto,
quam non legitimo foedere iunctus amor.”

This passage, it is insisted, testifies still more loudly than any of the preceding, to an Aeneis commencing with ARMA VIRUMQUE, in as much as it testifies to an Aeneis in which ARMA VIRUMQUE

means *warrior*, and ARMA VIRUMQUE ceases to mean *warrior*, as soon as it is preceded by ILLE EGO and companions. To be sure; but it is to an Aeneis in the hands of Ovid it testifies, not at all to an Aeneis as it came from the pen of Virgil. The question of the removal of the four verses by Varius and Tucca remains absolutely unaffected, untouched by this testimony of the Tristia, as it remains unaffected, untouched by Persius's famous

"Arma virum, nonne hoc spumosum?"

by Macrobius's (*Saturn.* 5, 2) less famous but no less explicit "Nec illud cum cura magna relaturus sum, licet, ut existimo, non omnibus observatum, quod cum primo versu promississet, producturum sese de Troiae litoribus Aeneam:

TROIAE QUI PRIMUS AB ORIS
ITALIAM, FATO PROFUGUS, LAVINAQUE VENIT
LITORA,

ubi ad ianuam narrandi venit, Aeneae classem non de Troia, sed de Sicilia producit", and by Priscian's parsing, in his Formula Interrogandi, of

ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO TROIAE QUI PRIMUS AB ORIS,

as first verse of the Aeneis. The Aeneis to which all four witnesses refer, is, no doubt, an Aeneis without the four verses, but whether because those verses had not yet been put to it, or whether because, having originally formed part and parcel of it, they had been already removed by Tucca and Varius (the entire matter and nucleus of the question), remains, in three of the cases, no less in the dark than if there had been no testimony at all, either of the Tristia, or of the Satires of Persius, or of the Saturnalia, on the subject, while the fourth case (Priscian's) is in itself no less indubitable evidence of the existence in Priscian's time, and of the recognition by Priscian, of an Aeneis commencing with ILLE EGO, than of the existence in Priscian's time and of the recognition by Priscian of an Aeneis commencing with ARMA VIRUMQUE (see § 1 above). Now the other testimonies of antiquity adduced in proof of the aboriginal commencement of the Aeneis with the words ARMA VIRUMQUE being, as we have seen above, still less conclusive than even this of the

Tristia, or that of the Satires of Persius, or that of the Saturnalia, or that of the Formula Interrogandi—nay, two of the four (viz. that of Propertius and that of Sidonius Apollinaris) testifying to the introductory verses with quite as much clearness and certainty as they testify to a commencement of the poem with ARMA VIRUMQUE, and the assumption that either of the remaining two, viz. either Martial's or that of the Amores, testifies at all to a commencement of the poem with ARMA VIRUMQUE, involving, as we have seen, an absurdity—it follows that antiquity affords no particle of evidence, not even so much as report or whisper, that the Aeneis, as left to us by Virgil, commenced with the words ARMA VIRUMQUE, or that the so circumstantial account of Tib. Donatus and Servius, of its commencement with ILLE EGO, and of the removal of four verses by Tucca and Varius, is a mere idle myth. Even were the evidence of the Tristia, Satires of Persius, Saturnalia, and Formula Interrogandi, not the only evidence of the early existence of an Aeneis commencing with the words ARMA VIRUMQUE, even were we to admit, what, as we have above seen, is inadmissible, viz. that not only Ovid in his Tristia, but Ovid in his Amores, Propertius, Martial, Ausonius, and even Salecius Bassus quote from an Aeneis so commencing, still the fact remains to be shown that the Aeneis came from the hands of Virgil in this form and not in the form in which it is stated by Tib. Donatus and Servius to have come from them. This being only to be shown from the intrinsic merits (the MSS. are all of too recent date to show anything), and the intrinsic merits being, as we have seen (§ 1 and 2 above), against ARMA VIRUMQUE and for ILLE EGO, the legitimate conclusion is, that the Aeneis as it came from the hands of Virgil commenced, not with ARMA VIRUMQUE, but, with ILLE EGO, and that, with the exception of Priscian, who, as we have seen, quotes both Aeneides indifferently, the only ancient authors who can be proved to quote from an Aeneis beginning with ARMA VIRUMQUE, quoted from it, either because they knew of no other, never had seen, perhaps never had even so much as heard of, the removed verses, those verses so expressive of the moving feeling at the bottom of every poet's heart, and especially of Virgil's, the "victor virum volitare

per ora," or, if they were acquainted with those verses, despised them, and, agreeing in taste with our own Dryden* and our own Heyne,** thanked Varius and Tucca for removing verses whose only effect was to deprive the poem of the éclatant commencement: ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO; Serv. (ed. Lion): "qua causa illi, ab eo primi positi, quattuor versus detracti sunt; scilicet, ut causa operis obtineret principium."

* Sir W. Scott's edition, vol. 14, p. 225:

"I have omitted the four preliminary lines of the
"first Aeneid, because I think them inferior to
"any four others in the whole poem, and conse-
"quently believe they are not Virgil's."

[Even if the premiss were true, the conclusion is false—non sequitur. But the premiss is not true; the lines, so far from being inferior to any others in the poem, are quite equal to the general run of Virgil's verses ("in his ipsis miror qui factum sit ut viri doctissimi non agnoverint orationis vim et elegantiam," Wagn. 1832. "nec quidquam continent quod non Virgilianum censi liceat," Forbiger), as much as is to be expected of commencing lines, always and of necessity, on account of their peculiar position, peculiarly difficult of composition.]

"There is too great a gap betwixt the adjective
"VICINA in the second line, and the substantive
"ARYA in the latter end of the third, which keeps
"his meaning in obscurity too long, and is con-
"trary to the clearness of his style."

[Even a much greater interval between adjective and substantive is of so ordinary occurrence in Virgil (*Aen.* 5, 448:

. . . . "ut quondam cava concidit aut Erymantho
aut Ida in magna radicibus eruta pinus."

where the interval between 'cava' and 'pinus', is of nine words, or nearly double as great as the interval complained of; 7, 64:

"huius apes sum m um densae, mirabile dictu,
stridore ingenti liquidum trans aethera vectae
obsedere a pic em,"

where the interval between 'summum' and 'apicem' is of ten words, or double as great; *Georg.* 2, 127:

"quo non praesentius ullum,
pocula si quando saevae infecere novercae,
miscueruntque herbas, et non innoxia verba,
auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena."

** "ILLE EGO. Vulgaris sententia est quatuor hos versus auctorem habuisse Virgilium, sed a Vario esse sublato. Quod si ita res se habuit, acutior sano Varius Virgilio fuit." Heyne.

If, with all the concessions just made to the partisans of an *Aeneis* commencing with *ARMA VIRUMQUE*—concessions to which those partisans are not entitled, and which should not be made—the scale nevertheless preponderates so heavily on the side of an *Aeneis* commencing with *ILLE EGO*, how much more does it not preponderate on the same side, how entirely does not an

Aen. 5, 179:

“at gravis ut fundo vix tandem redditus imo est
iam senior, madidaque fluens in veste Menoetes,”

in each of which the interval is of fourteen words, or nearly three times as great) that it is difficult to believe that the author of the assertion had ever read either the *Aeneis* or the *Georgics* in the original.]

“UT QUAMVIS AVIDO is too ambitious an ornament
“to be his,”

[How is *AVIDO*, applied to *COLONO*, a more ambitious ornament than ‘*avari*’ applied to ‘*agricolae*,’ *Georg.* 1, 47? or how is it an ambitious ornament at all? Do not the similar epithets *AVIDO* and ‘*avari*’ applied respectively to the similar subjects *COLONO* and ‘*agricolae*,’ and forming parts of sentences tallying so perfectly as

. . . VICINA COEGI

UT QUAMVIS AVIDO PARERENT ARVA COLONO,

and

“illa seges demum votis respondet avari
agricolae,”

point rather to one common origin, than to two distinct, unlike, and unequal origins? Methinks Dryden should have better known what ambitious ornament is, examples of such ornament being afforded by almost every line of his own poetry, whether original or translated. See Rem. on “*Ubi tot Simois*” etc. vers. 104, and Dryden’s translation of these same four introductory lines of the *Aeneis*, below.]

“and GRATUM OPUS AGRICOLIS are all words
“unnecessary, and independent of what he had
“said before.”

[The conclusion intended, but omitted, to be drawn, “and therefore not Virgil’s,” is a non-sequitur, until it is first shown that Virgil never wrote words which were unnecessary, and independent of what he had said before. If Virgil did not, at least Virgil’s master, Theocritus, did, whose precisely similar words (*Idyll.* 22, 42) *λασιαις φύλα έργα μελισσαις*, interjected in precisely the same manner, are as wholly unnecessary, and independent of what goes before, as those in question. But neither the words in question, nor the similar words of Theocritus, are either unnecessary, or independent of what goes before. The words in question are necessary to express the thought, that the *Georgics* had not been a thrown-away labor, but useful, and therefore acceptable, to agriculturists; and the words of Theocritus are necessary to express the thought, that the flowers of which he was speaking were not there for nothing, but supplied honey to the bees. The words in question, so far from being independent of those which go before, are suggested

Aeneis commencing with ARMA VIRUMQUE kick the beam, when, confronting the testimony of the Tristia, in

“contulit in Tyrios arma virumque toros,”

with the testimony of the Amores, in

“Tityrus et segetes Aeneiaque arma legentur,”

we find the most weighty witness for an Aeneis commencing with ARMA VIRUMQUE tergiversating, now swearing that he un-

by them, and stand in the closest relation to them, in so close relation that, separated from them, they lose sense altogether; and the same is true of the words of Theocritus, which are also, taken by themselves, devoid of meaning, but, like those in question, derive an appropriate meaning from their very dependence on, and connexion with, the words which immediately precede.]

“HORRENTIA MARTIS ARMA is worse than any of the
“rest. HORRENTIA is such a flat epithet as Tully
“would have given us in his verses. It is a mere
“filler to stop a vacancy in the hexameter, and
“connect the preface to the work of Virgil.”

[The words might be “worse than any of the rest” and yet still be Virgil’s. But they are not worse than any of the rest; or, if they are, in what respect are they? horrens is one of the very commonest of Virgilian epithets; applied to a stubble field, to a serpent, to a boar, to the hut of Romulus, to dens of wild beasts, to brambles, to thistles, to javelins, why is it a mere stop-gap when applied to arms? Is it not to arms the epithet is peculiarly applicable? are not arms par excellence horrentia? Who but Virgil himself says “horrentes Marte Latinos” (*Aen.* 10, 237), and “ferreus hastis Horret ager” (11, 601), and “strictisque seges mucronibus horret Ferrea” (12, 653), and “densisque virum seges horruit hastis” (*Georg.* 2, 142), and “densos acie atque horrentibus hastis” (*Aen.* 10, 178), and “arma Horrendum sonuere” (9, 731)? who but Virgil himself says “aspera Martis Pugna” (12, 124), and “duri Martis in armis” (*Ecl.* 10, 44)? and what hand so likely to have written HORRENTIA MARTIS, as the same hand which, at the same moment, wrote ARMA?]

“Our author seems to sound a charge, and begins
“like the clangor of a trumpet:

ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO TROIAE QUI PRIMUS AB ORIS

“scarce a word without an F, and the vowels, for
“the greater part, sonorous.”

[So, the four verses rejected, the poem begins with a charge, with trumpet clang, with a noble line full of litera latrans and sonorous vowel, and in order that it may so begin, we are to reject the four verses. Very well, if only we had arrived at the beginning of the poem; but we are not there yet, we are only in the argument (see Rem. 1; 1—15); the singer has not yet begun to sing, is but tuning his instrument, but preluding. By and by, he will invoke his Muse (MUSA MIHI CAUSAS MEMORA), and, having invoked his Muse, then at last begin to sing, begin the poem: URBS ANTIQUA FUIT, and so forth to

derstands ARMA in the commencement of the Aeneis as forming part and parcel of the compound expression ARMA VIRUMQUE meaning *warrior*, and then again swearing that he understands the same ARMA as separate and distinct from VIRUM and meaning *wars*; in other words, now quoting from an Aeneis commencing with ARMA VIRUMQUE, and then again from an Aeneis commencing with ILLE EGO, or, if always quoting from an Aeneis beginning with ARMA VIRUMQUE, so unable to determine the sense in

the end. Maladroit poet, to waste his trumpet clang, his Balaklava charge, on a mere preliminary reconnaissance, not reserve it for the real encounter!]

"The prefacer began with ILLE EGO, which he
"was constrained to patch up in the fourth line
"with AT NUNC, to make the sense cohere; and
"if both these words are not notorious botches,
"I am much deceived; though the French trans-
"lator thinks otherwise."

["much deceived," in sooth, and neither for the first nor for the last time. We may safely pit the French translator's opinion, whoever the French translator may have been, against Dryden's, and then strike both quantities out of the equation.]

"For my own part I am rather of the opinion
"that they were added by Tucca and Varius,
"than retrenched."

[in other words, the very first act of the imperial commissioners, was outrageously to violate their commission: "Nihil igitur auctore Augusto Varius addidit, quod et Maro praeceperat, sed summatim emendavit," Tib. Donatus; "Augustus vero ne tantum opus periret, Tuccam et Varium hac lege jussit emendare, ut superflua demerent; nihil adderent tamen," Serv.]

"I know it may be answered, by such as think
"Virgil the author of the four lines, that he as-
"serts his title to the Aeneis, in the beginning
"of this work, as he did to the two former in the
"last lines of the fourth Georgic."

[Exactly so; and why not? what more likely than that he should follow his own precedent? Most men are fond of doing what they did before; driven by similar causes, fall into action similar to their previous. So much is this the case, that it is an axiom of all courts of justice, that every man is to be judged by his own antecedents.]

"I will not reply otherwise to this than by de-
"siring them to compare these four lines with
"the four others which we know are his, be-
"cause no poet but he alone could write them. If
"they cannot distinguish creeping from flying,
"let them lay down Virgil and take up Ovid, de
"Ponto, in his stead."

which those words are used, as, at one time to understand them to be united together in the sense of *warrior*, and, at another time, to understand them to stand separate and to mean *wars and the man*, and so, unintentionally giving conclusive evidence against the party which had placed him in the witness-box?

If exception be taken to the preceding argument, on the ground that all the equivalents for the name of the work have been taken from verses subsequent to those disputed, none from the disputed verses themselves, the rejoinder is obvious, that no equivalents were, or could be, afforded by verses treating

[A very little more of this *mens divini*or, this high, divine, poetic instinct with which there is no arguing and against which there is no appeal, had assuredly discovered for Dryden that not merely the four introductory, but all the verses of the *Æneis* were unworthy of Virgil, and therefore not by any possibility Virgil's, and so, at one and the same time, spared him all trouble of translation and won for him a fame more glorious than even Peerlkamp's or Gruppe's.]

"My master needed not the assistance of that
"preliminary poet to prove his claim."

[*Petitio principii*; that the verses are those of a preliminary poet, not Virgil's own; a *petitio principii* too, foreign from the argument, which is not whether his master had need of a preliminary poet to prove his claim, but whether his master had need of preliminary verses (by himself or by another poet) to prove his claim.]

"His own majestic mien discovers him to be the
"king, amidst a thousand courtiers."

[Aye, if all men had the discernment of a Dryden, and there were not so many fit only to read Ovid. Well aware how far this is from being the case, the author of the *Georgics*, instead of relying on his majestic mien to declare him every inch a king, sets the crown on his head with his own hand, and cries: "*gare qui touche*." Why may not the author of the *Æneis* do the same?]

"It was a superfluous office, and therefore I
"would not set those verses in the front of Vir-
"gil, but have rejected them to my own preface:

I, who before with shepherds in the groves
sung to my oaten pipe their rural loves,
and, issuing thence, compelled the neighbouring field
a plenteous crop of rising corn to yield,
manured the glebe and stocked the fruitful plain
(a poem grateful to the greedy swain), etc.

"If there be not a tolerable line in all these six,
"the prefacer gave me no occasion to write better."

[Poor, relegated verses, I pity you; though there is not one good line among you, I pity you. Nay, I don't know but I pity you most, just because there is not one

not at all of the work, but only of the author, still less by verses which having been studiously suppressed, were not, unless in a rare case and after difficult search, forthcoming.

§ V.

Future editors of Virgil, should words of mine ever reach your ears, I warn you against separating these four verses and placing them apart, at some distance in front of the Aeneis, like a vanguard or picket in front of an army. If my arguments have failed to convince you, if ye still agree with Heyne and so many of your predecessors, that the verses are spurious and form no part of the poem, banish them altogether; what business have they there? dare not—even though it be in different type

good line among you; sent out of the very society where you were so much at home—where there were so many like you, so many to keep you in countenance!—put into coventry, ostracized, banished to pine alone without so much as one good line among you to save appearances, to recommend you to any one! I wish I could help you; perhaps I can; let me try:

I, who before with shepherds in the groves
 sung to my oaten pipe their rural loves,
 accompanied myself upon my oat
 and sung, at once, and oaten-piped the note—
 as some deft smoker in his teeth is bold,
 even while he talks, tobacco pipe to hold,
 and talks and smokes at once, I piped away,
 and sung, at the same time, of Melibay
 and Tityrus, and poured the tender lay,
 spread with guano thick the neighbouring field,
 and bade the desert a rich harvest yield;
 a welcome poem to the greedy swain,
 skilled to scan verse no less than winnow grain.
 But now I sing of filibustering Mars
 and wounds and deeds of arms, and horrid wars,
 and the bold hero whom the Fates, of yore,
 and haughty Juno, unrelenting more
 than even the Fates, across the billows' roar
 exiled from Troy to the Lavinian shore;
 long labors both by sea and land he bore—

Bravo! there are verses need not be relegated to a preface, verses with plenty of *rs* in them. If those verses don't sound a charge, I don't know what a charge is. Besides they are intelligible verses, and explain what is rather obscure in the original, how it is possible for a man to sing to his own piping, to pipe and sing at once—to *whistle and chant* meal, as the saying is. Not one in a thousand could do it; only Virgil himself, the king amidst a thousand courtiers.]

Stabile Pezzini, ai Caraleggieri, Livorno, Mar. 18. 1867.

and at the interval of a blank space—to place in apposition with Virgil's verses, spurious verses not only in construction with them, but materially affecting and even determining their sense. Ye will then at least neither have deceived nor puzzled your readers, neither have led them to believe that to be Virgil's which ye don't yourselves believe to be his, nor have set them on the vain inquiry why an apodosis has been thus separated from its protasis, a substantive from its adjective, and a sentence divided into two halves the first of which is nonsense without the second, and the second of which can by no possibility have its meaning determined, without the first. Follow not therefore, future editors, I beseech you, the example set you by Heyne: let not your act stand in flagrant contradiction to your conscientious opinion, but with Dryden, Wakefield, Voss, Ribbeck, and Conington, eliminate the verses altogether. What matter that the sense of *ARMA VIRUMQUE* can by no possibility be determined without them? let others see to that: be ye consistent with yourselves and conscientious. Still more I warn you, if your case is the opposite one, not to follow that same fatal example set you by Heyne. If, whether directed by your own independent judgment or persuaded by my arguments, ye have come to the deliberate conclusion that the verses are genuine, beware, tenfold more beware, of separating them from the adjoining context, and setting them to stand, dislocated, apart. If they are genuine, if Virgil has commenced his poem with them, what right have ye to cut the head off the shoulders, and, presenting the bodiless head and the headless trunk to the reader, bid him unite them? even if ye have the right, in vain ye bid him:

“*iacet ingens litore truncus
avulsumque humeris caput.*”

This is what Wagner has done; take his “*curavit G. P. E. Wagner,*” and look at his handywork; see how the four verses stand separated from the context, not even like a head separated from the shoulders, but like a head which belonged to other shoulders, and avoid his example ten times more than even Heyne's. Nor is this, chance, or the bungling of a printer who

might have printed after the Heynian original. Wagner himself shall testify whose the unmitigated barbarism is: "Virgilio esse hos versus censeo; retinui tamen, quum ipsum Aeneidis opus hoc versu inchoetur ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO, typorum diversitatem, qua Heynius exprimendos curaverat." As if the "ipsum opus Aeneidis" commenced with the latter half of a sentence! Far be from you, future editors, such preposterous proceeding, such stultification of your own selves; farther still, the publication of it to the world either by such statement as I have just quoted from Wagner's edition of Heyne, or by such inscription placed over the separated verses as was sometimes placed over them by incunabula editors: "PRINCIPIUM A TUCCA ET VARO [sic] SUBLATUM" (Venice ed. of 1562), a statement by which readers were informed in one and the same breath, both of the displacement of the verses by Varius and Tucca, and of the editor's dereliction of duty in not replacing them. Future editors of Virgil, your path is clear; if, in your deliberate opinion, the verses are Virgil's, give them back to Virgil, restore them to the place from which they were so wantonly removed; if, on the contrary, your deliberate opinion be, that they are not Virgil's, content not yourselves with removing them a few steps with a gentle shove of the hand, but eliminate the intruders altogether and without further ceremony, and let not one of the finest poems in the world, perhaps *the* finest poem in the world, be any longer deformed by a huge, ugly stumbling-block, a "monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum," on the very threshold. Ye have become accustomed to it, no doubt; some of you even hug and kiss it, as a lover the scar on the eyebrow of his mistress; it is not on that account the less a deformity, the disgust and bye-word of the impartial public, the disgrace of Virgilian literature. Disestablish it, get rid of it one way or other — if not by the only right way, consolidation, even by the wrong way, expulsion and elimination — and let worshippers have an open, unobstructed entrance into the temple of the God.

But I have better hopes of you, future editors of Virgil. Ye will, indeed, take care that worshippers have a free, unobstructed entrance into the temple, but it will not be by making a

way with the broken off, dislocated frontispiece; it will be by restoring it to its place; ye are no Tuccas and Variuses, no imperial commissioners charged to remove the builder's (the future God's) name, and substitute for it the despot's coat of arms, the despot's own and despot's ancestors' exploits. The temple is indeed his, nor is the testimony to that effect to be called in question:

. . . "viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam
propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius, et tenera praetexit arundine ripas.
in medio mihi Caesar erit, templumque tenebit.
.
in foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto
Gangaridum faciam, victorisque arma Quirini;
atque hic undantem bello magnumque fluentem
Nilum, ac navali surgentes aere columnas.
addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten,
fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis,
et duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste tropaea,
bisque triumphatas utroque ab litore gentes.
stabunt et Parii lapides, spirantia signa,
Assaraci proles, demissaeque ab Iove gentis
nomina, Trosque parens, et Troiae Cynthus auctor.
Invidia infelix Furias, amnemque severum
Cocyti metuet, tortosque Ixionis angues,
immanemque rotam, et non exsuperabile saxum.
interea Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur
intactos,"

with which compare Ovid, *Trist.* 2, 533 (to Augustus):

"et tamen ille tuae felix Aeneidos auctor
contulit in Tyrios arma virumque toros."

The temple is the despot's, every thing within a despot's dominions is, must be, the despot's, and nobody knew this better than Virgil, nor any one better than Virgil, how to evade the difficulty: "I might venture" (methinks I hear him), "might venture to say who it was, built so magnificent an edifice." He did venture, and inscribed the building with his autograph, *ILLE EGO*, not doubting but in time, when the despot and all the despot's dynasty had gone the way, that only way, which despots and slaves tread alike and together, the temple would

become *his* temple, and he, not the despot, be worshipped in it.
Alas! man proposes, God disposes,

“the best laid schemes o’ mice an’ men
gang aft a-gley,”

and scarcely is the breath out of Virgil when imperial commissioners, appointed “ut tantum opus summatim emendarent,” remove the frontispiece, and forthwith, and so long as there is a Caesar, every eye, whether of worshipper or architect, or mere chance visitor and passer-by, finds the building perfect, nay, gazes enraptured on the despoiled and mutilated front. But ye are neither Tuccas nor Variuses, neither Ovids nor Persiuses, nor Macrobiuses, not even Serviuses; ye have no Caesars either to fear or obey, and your sympathies are all with the poet; neither are ye Heynes, who, coming two thousand years later, take the despoiled and mutilated, for the perfect and aboriginal, front, and finding the broken-off fragment on the threshold, leave it there however unconnected with the building, however obstructive of the entrance, that none may enter without gazing at the venerable relic and wondering what brought it there. Least of all are ye Wagners, who, recognizing the fracture, and acknowledging the piece to be the very broken-off fragment, leave it, nevertheless, exactly where they found it, for every one who enters the temple to stumble over. I have better hopes of you; despair less of the future destiny of the *Aeneis*. Ye will restore the fragment to its place, and no longer suffer the entrance of the temple built by Virgil to his patron beside his native stream, to call up to the mind of the beholder the dilapidated den of Cacus:

. “saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem,
disiectae procul ut moles, ...
. et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.”

Rathgar Road, Dublin, Oct. 1862.

Palazzetta Taddei, ai Cavaleggieri, Livorno, Mur. 1869.

1—5.

ILLE EGO QUI QUONDAM GRACILI MODULATUS AVENA
 CARMEN ET EGRESSUS SILVIS VICINA COEGI
 UT QUAMVIS AVIDO PARERENT ARVA COLONO
 GRATUM OPUS AGRICOLIS AT NUNC HORRENTIA MARTIS
 ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO

imitated both by Spenser and Milton:

"Lo! I, the man whose muse whylome did maske,
 as time her taught, in lowly shepheard's weeds,
 am now enforst, a farre unfitter taske,
 for trumpets sterne to chaunge mine oaten reeds,
 and sing of knights' and ladies' gentle deeds."

Faerie Queene, 1, 1.

"I who erewhile the happy garden sung
 by one man's disobedience lost, now sing
 recovered paradise to all mankind
 by one man's firm obedience fully tried
 through all temptation, and the tempter foiled
 in all his wiles, defeated and repulsed,
 and Eden raised in the waste wilderness."

Parad. Reg. 1, 1.

each, no less than the original from which it is taken, a modest as well as dignified and happy comparison of a present nobler, with a former humbler, subject, and strongly contrasting with the presumptuous comparison, on the one hand, of himself with the authors of the Aeneid and the Odyssey, and, on the other hand, of his hero Domitian with their respective heroes, with which Statius (*Silv. IV, 2, 1*) has the consummate effrontery and bad taste to commence his *Laudes coenae Domitiani*:

"Regia Sidoniae convivia laudat Elisae
 qui magnum Aenean Laurentibus intulit arvis,
 Alcinoique dapes mansuro carmine monstrat
 aequore qui multo reducem consumpsit Ulixen;
 ast ego, cui sacrae Caesar nova gaudia coenae
 nunc primum, dominaeque dedit consurgere mensa,
 qua celebrem mea vota Iyra?"

PARERGON.

Let those who miss, in the poems of Spenser and Milton, such dashing commencement as is afforded to the *Aeneis* by the Augustan onslaught, *ARMA VIRUMQUE*; those to whom the *Aeneis* is no longer the *Aeneis*, not even an epic poem, if it commence with *ILLE EGO*, begin, if they please, an English verse translation of the *Aeneis* with

Arms and the man I sing, who first,

but let not Mr. Conington do so; let not the modest no less than judicious, the judicious no less than honest and honorable author of the best — the only good — commentary on the *Aeneis* which has ever appeared in England, let not the poet whose octosyllabics make youthful ears tingle and youthful hearts throb, in a manner unwonted since the time of Scott's *Marmion*, let not, I say, Mr. Conington, a scholar at once and a poet, hark in with the vulgar cry. Let him rather take into his hand that first strophe of his:

*Arms and the man I sing, who first,
by Fate of Ilian realm amerced,
to fair Italia onward bore,
and landed on Lavinium's shore: —
long tossing earth and ocean o'er,
by violence of heaven, to sate
fell Juno's unforgetting hate:
much laboured too in battle-field,
striving his city's walls to build,
and give his Gods a home:
thence come the hardy Latin brood,
the ancient sires of Alba's blood,
and lofty-rampired Rome.,*

and ask himself, as a poet, if

Arms and the man I sing, who first,

be the dignified commencement of a great epic poem, and not rather the commencement of a sophister's exercise. Let Mr. Conington then ask himself, as a grammarian, is that commencement grammatical, and, if it be, what is the antecedent to the relative *who*. *Arms and the man*? Impossible! unless *Arms* landed on *Lavinium's shore*, unless *Arms* Long tossing earth and ocean o'er, By violence of heaven, unless *Arms* Much laboured too in battle-field, Striving his city's walls to build, And give his Gods a home. *Arms and the man* is not the antecedent to the relative *who*; what then is the antecedent? Of course, *the man* alone. But *the man* is not alone; *the man* is in company, in company with *Arms*, bound to *Arms* by the strongest bond known to grammarians, the copula *and*. In vain you lay hands on him to take him to *Lavinium's shore*, leaving *Arms* behind; he struggles and resists, forbids you to separate parties joined together in grammatical wedlock. You turn beseechingly to *Arms*. *Arms* has a horror of *Lavinium's shore*, a horror of *Long tossing earth and ocean o'er*, will neither go herself nor let *the man* go without her:—"Those whom grammar has joined, how dare you attempt to sunder?" What 's to be done? Try *Arms* again. *Arms* was not always so

selfwilled, so very headstrong. *Arms* was once before persuaded to go with *the man*:

"contulit in Tyrios arma virumque toros."

Try her again. Well! what does she say now? "She says she will go, but only as she went before; she will not go as one of a pair, but she will go identified with the man. She thinks she could so travel respectably. The entry, then, in the travellers' book would be no longer 'Arms and the man', it would be 'the armed man', 'the warrior.'" That's a capital idea; women have wit after all, no matter what some people say of them. How would it stand then?

The armed man I sing who first,

That would do, wouldn't it? There's high authority for armed:

"She leaned against the armed man,
the statue of the armed knight,"

But you don't like it, I see. You shake your head; and I shake mine too. Identified or not identified, *Arms* must not over the sea, must not *Long tossing earth and ocean o'er*. *Arms* must stay at home, that's poz. Egad! I have it now. Another attachment must be got for *Arms*. *Arms* will let *the man* go without her, if we get her a better man at home, a stronger liaison here. Would that be possible? let me think: INSIGNEM PIETATE VIRUM — GENUS UNDE LATINUM, ALBANIQUE PATRES ATQUE ALTAE MOENIA ROMAE. How can we ever come up to, much less surpass, that? Hercules falls short of that. Stay—let me think; no, it wouldn't do:

"ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus
armis;

hic pietate prior."

It wouldn't do; Hector himself wouldn't do:

"non si ipse meus nunc afforet Hector."

We must have a God for her: a God would do. Gods sometimes condescend in this way. Mars might answer. What would you think of Mars? Mars is the very thing; you would swear, Mars was made for her; Mars, the patron God not of Rome only, but of gallantry; chivalrous Mars, the paramour par excellence, Venus' own cicisbeo. And where had Mars more suitable domina for the nonce than *Arms*, Ἀρμή τευχῆα? Put them together at once: MARTIS ARMA; pat; the very thing; the nail hit on the head; no dictator could have hit it nicer. VIRUM, you may go where you like, bear as much *Long tossing earth and ocean o'er* as you like, as much *Much laboured too in battle-field* as you like, as much *Striving his city's walls to build* And give his Gods a home as you like; not one step MARTIS ARMA goes with you. A pleasant journey and God speed, to you, and don't fret. A rivederci.

This matter thus happily settled, and Mr. Conington, as I hoped, persuaded that ILLE EGO would afford a better beginning for the third edition of his Aeneid than ARMA VIRUMQUE, I was proceeding with my next Remark, and had already written "ILLE EGO—IRAE; the proem, preface, or argument of the poem," when I heard a voice calling me back, and inquiring whether I had nothing further to say concerning that remarkable work of which I had so suddenly begun, only as suddenly to drop, the

discussion, Mr. Conington's "Translation of the Aeneid of Virgil into English verse." I was conscience-struck, put my pen back into the ink-bottle, and began to muse. An excursus, thought I to myself, is always a delightful thing, whether it be on paper or on terra firma:

... "iuvat ire iugis, qua nulla priorum
Castallam molli divertitur orbita clivo,"

and—I remember well—the joyous exultation with which I used to set out with Heyne on one of his excursus into the environs of the Aeneis, was nothing less than that with which I so often set out from the Capitol, or the Emporio, or the Ponte Molle, with Pietro, worthy scion of Salvator, Rosa, on an exploration of the Campagna di Roma. Yes, I will make an excursus into "The Aeneid of Virgil translated into English verse by the Corpus Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford."

The reader, no less than the author, of the Aeneidea, will be refreshed and amused by such an excursus, and go through, only with the more alacrity, afterwards, the graver, drier work which is before him. Allons! But softly, softly. Mr. Conington and I are friends.* Is it right for a friend to break into, and disport himself in, a friend's preserve? Yes, perfectly right, the preserve having been, as this preserve of Mr. Conington's has been, previously assigned over to the public, made publici iuris, and so become a common. In this common I will take my pleasure, and if Mr. Conington by chance come across me in it we will shake hands. chat together, and part as good friends as ever. Allons! allons! So taking up my pen again, I proceeded forthwith in reply to the voice which had, so apropos and at the right moment, called me back from the new Remark I was just commencing.

EXCURSUS.

"THE Aeneid of Virgil translated into English verse by the Corpus Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford," is a poem which will be read with pleasure by persons unacquainted with the original, but it is not the Aeneis. It is the story of the Aeneis told over in English by

a troubadour or minnesinger, a tale of which the incidents alone are Virgil's, the rhythm, style, and embellishments not only not Virgil's, but as different from, as opposite to, Virgil's, as can well be conceived, as un-Virgilian an Aeneis as ever was presented to the public under

* Written in Leghorn in the spring of 1869, my much respected friend being then not only living and well, but in the prime of life. Alas! in the autumn of the same year

"multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
nulli flebilior quam mihi."

the proud title of a translation of the *Aeneid* of Virgil. Mr. Conington's work is a translation, if I must so call it, which does not even so much as pretend to represent either the sense or the form of the original. Mr. Conington himself tells you so, plainly enough, in his preface: "A translator not so constituted" [i. e. of a different mental constitution from Virgil, who has nothing at all in him of Virgil] "will be better employed in endeavouring to bring about resemblance to his author by applying a principle of compensation, by strengthening his version in any way best suited to his powers, so long as it be not repugnant to the genius of the original, and trusting that the effect of the whole will be seen to have been cared for, though the claims of the parts may appear to have been neglected"; in other words: if anywhere in my translation, the reader find I have given him less than Virgil, don't let him be uneasy, he shall in another place have more than Virgil. And so faithfully, so conscientiously, has Mr. Conington kept his word, so liberally and ingeniously supplied with matter not Virgilian the deficiency of Virgilian matter manifest everywhere throughout the work, that the reader unacquainted with Latin, and therefore without a touchstone wherewith to inform himself whether the metal with which he is presented, be gold or pinchbeck, asks himself the question: Which of the two improbabilities am I to choose, the improbability that Virgil, living two thousand years ago

in a totally different country and climate, among totally different circumstances, under totally different institutions, social, civil, political and religious—used in his writings by mere accident the identical rhythm, style, thoughts, images, and even turns and forms of expression, which we have seen used in our own times by Sir Walter Scott in his lays of border chivalry, or the improbability that the Lady of the Lake, Marmion, and the Lord of the Isles are not original poems but mere copies of the *Aeneis*, the Virgilian thoughts, the Virgilian imagery, the Virgilian rhythm, adapted to Scotch stories? The reader who accepts Mr. Conington's work as a veritable *Aeneis* in English, has no escape from the dilemma. Either Virgil's immortal soul, when Virgil died, transmigrated incog through sixty generations of men, to reveal itself again to the world in the airs and melodies which were all at once heard thrilling from that

"Harp of the North, that mouldering long
had hung
on the wych elm that shades Saint Fillan's spring."

or Sir W. Scott was base enough to foist himself upon the world as the composer of those delicious airs and melodies of which he was no more than the performer on that harp of the north, which had so long hung mouldering by Saint Fillan's spring. But nobody now believes in the transmigration of souls, and as little does now, or did ever, any one believe in any alloy of baseness in Sir W. Scott; the reader, therefore, of Mr. Conington's translation, however

illiterate he may be, finds himself under the necessity of regarding Mr. Conington's work, not as the Aeneis of Virgil faithfully done into English (if I may use that rather antiquated, but more genuinely English expression than translated), but as the Lady of the Lake, Marmion, and the Lord of the Isles carefully done into the Aeneis; in other words, as a valuable accession to English poetical literature, in which the incidents of the Aeneis, stripped of a garb which the lapse of two thousand years had made look a little grim and old-fashioned, and tastefully dressed up in the picturesque costume of Metrical Romance, need not be ashamed to take their place on the drawing-room or boudoir table, between Lalla Rookh and Hiawatha. Hear Mr. Conington himself: "It is true of course that if Homer's heroes are, as my friend Mr. Arnold so strongly contends, not mosstroopers, Virgil's have still less of the Border character; but it is better to run the risk of importing a few unseasonable associations than to sacrifice the living character of the narrative by making it stiff and cumbrous." And again: "Even the simpler peculiarities of Virgil's style, such as his fondness for saying the same thing twice over in the same line, I have not always been at pains to copy. What is graceful in the Latin will not always be graceful in a translation; and to be graceful is one of the first duties of a translator of the Aeneid. It has often happened that by ignoring a repetition I have been able to include the entire sense of a

hexameter in a single English line of eight syllables; and in such cases I have been glad to make the sacrifice." I am sure Mr. Conington's well known candour and openness of heart will excuse me, if, in reply to these observations, which (unintentionally on his part, I doubt not) bear rather hardly on some translations of mine in which gracefulness has been invariably postponed to faithfulness, I quote a very high authority: "*Infimarum virtutum apud vulgus laus est, mediarum admirationis, supremarum sensus nullus.*" I will not believe that the Baconian maxim influenced Mr. Conington in his deliberate preference of gracefulness to faithfulness. The author of the Commentary on the Aeneis was independent of the applause of the vulgar, had no occasion to seek, where it was not to be found, that fame which is dearer than life itself to the noble-minded, was already in possession of it, had already found it there where only it is ever to be found, among the noble-minded. That already won fame among the noble-minded, that only fame worth seeking or having, was little likely to be increased by the sacrifice of the fortiter in re to the suaviter in modo, and still less by the substitution of a suaviter in modo foreign not only to Virgil but to Virgil's times, for that singular, most singular and most extraordinary combination of suaviter in modo and fortiter in re, which has made Virgil the theme and admiration of the cultivated of all ages and all nations from his own time down to the present. The

experiment was a dangerous one, and may cost Mr. Conington dear. I am sorry he staked his solid reputation as a scholar, against the ephemeral laurels of a fashionable poet, and hope he may not be visited, in a severer age, with the reproach of having added one to the already too numerous unfaithful, unscholarly translations of the *Aeneis* — he who, had he only judged less diffidently of himself, had nobly rendered a noble poem into a noble language, and so, not only filled up a void in the literature of his country, but established his title to that perpetual seat in the Upper House of Helicon, which is the birthright of gentle poetic blood, and, in company with Surrey and Milton, looked down from thence on clouds and mists and lakes and lake poets far below.

But let me not wander from my subject, which is neither Mr. Conington, his merits or demerits, nor Mr. Conington's *Aeneis*, its perfections or imperfections, but the commencement of Mr. Conington's *Aeneis* as compared with the commencement of Virgil's. Having noticed in Mr. Conington's commencement that grammatical solecism which is so distinguishing a feature of all commencements of the *Aeneis* with the words *Arms and the man*, and which is indeed inherent in, and inseparable from, even a Latin *Aeneis* commencing with *ARMA VIRUMQUE*, let us now see whether that solecism, forced on Mr. Conington by his unfortunate preference of *ARMA VIRUMQUE* to *ILLE EGO* as the commencement of Virgil's *Aeneis*, is not in company with,

and kept in countenance by, similar solecisms in grammar or in sense, forced on him by his still more unfortunate preference of rhyme to blank verse, of octosyllabic to decasyllabic, and of the flippant, romantic cast of thought and expression, to the staid and dignified heroic — the staid and dignified heroic, sole English representative of that hexameter so inalienably consecrated not only by the example first of Homer and then of Virgil, but by the judgment of Horace, to the celebration of the exploits of heroes:

"res gestae regumque ducumque et
tristia bella
quo scribi possent numero, monstravit
Homerus."

Far be from me the invidious task of ransacking Mr. Conington's *Aeneid* for such solecisms. For aught I know practically of it, they may be there or not. Theoretically I know but too well, they must be there. The work came into my hands only yesterday, when it was obligingly lent to me, by a friend who had just imported the second edition from England into Leghorn where I write, as a work which could not be overlooked in my *Aeneidea*. I have as yet read with attention the first thirteen verses only, am prevented by the printing obligations of my own work from proceeding further at present; but the first thirteen verses are enough, and, seated in my easy chair beside my desk, as on a royal throne, I receive and deal with them as an emperor of the west, or sultan of the east, receives and deals with thirteen plenipotentiaries of a great and mighty nation — China, suppose,

or Japan — of which, however much he may have heard, he knows practically little or nothing; or — for, odious as comparisons are said to be, I love comparisons — I sit in my study in my easy chair and sift and examine these thirteen verses, as a farmer in a remote part of the country, before he leaves his breakfast table, sifts and examines, while he smokes his pipe, a sample of wheat he has just received by post, and determines by it the quality of the far distant heap. Let us proceed, beginning with verse second, verse first having been already disposed of. *Amerced* is a misrepresentation of the sense. *Amerced* is fined, punished by a fine or mulct. In the original there is neither punishment nor fine, either expressed or implied, either literal or figurative. Aeneas is represented as *profugus*, fugitive before superior force, not as a culprit. Nothing was farther from Virgil's mind, nothing more directly opposed to the whole meaning and intention of Virgil, than to introduce and recommend his hero as a culprit. Virgil has not so stultified himself. But that Mr. Conington has represented Virgil as so stultifying himself, and has not used *amerced* ignorantly or supposing himself at liberty to use it in the loose sense of deprived — deprived simply, and not by way of punishment — is placed beyond doubt by the passage of Milton quoted by Mr. Conington as authority for, and exemplification of, his use of the term:

"millions of spirits for his fault amerced of heaven."

Paradise Lost, I, 609.

where the meaning is: for his fault punished with the loss of heaven. Now how does it happen that Mr. Conington, who knows the meaning both of *profugus* and of *amerced* as well as I do, adds to the injustice done to Virgil in his first verse, this new injustice in his second? Is it that he has been betrayed into this new injustice, as he was betrayed into the former, by an injudicious choice between two commencements of the original poem? No; he was here beyond the two commencements, had no second reading to mislead him: he was not misled or betrayed here, he was compelled, compelled by his rhyme. Rhyme is the rhymester's lord, and, no matter how frivolous or impertinent a lord he is, must be obeyed. Rhyme sent Mr. Conington in search of a word which should chime with *first*, and should also, if possible to find such a word, mean *profugus*. No word would be accepted which did not chime with *first*, but a word would be accepted which did not mean *profugus*; for Rhyme, however frivolous and impertinent, is not so utterly unreasonable as to insist on the finding of words which are not to be found. Let the word but chime with *first* and its not meaning *profugus* might be put up with, provided it came within a certain length of meaning *profugus*, and in the far distant *amerced*, such a word was at last found. Rhyme was contented, *amerced* installed in its position, and Mr. Conington left at liberty to proceed to his next couplet, for who could for one moment suppose that *Fate of Ilian realm* would raise any

difficulty, or that the reader, who had by natural and irresistible instinct so connected those words, would not, as soon as he arrived at *amerced*, and found that the words so connected afforded no intelligible sense, stop short, and, casting his eye back, discover, at a single glance, that the connexion *fate of* was a mere optical illusion, and that the connexion required by the sense and intended by Mr. Conington was *amerced of*! There was, therefore, no occasion for Mr. Conington to delay, in order to guard against this unavoidable mistake of every reader; many readers could, and some readers would, correct the mistake for themselves almost as soon as they had made it, and for those who could not, or did not choose to be at the trouble, it was hard Mr. Conington should be obliged to take the other order:

of Ilion realm by fate amerced,

an order which, although presenting no trap into which a reader must fall without fault of his own, might on close examination be found to be quite as objectionable on other grounds as the order which Mr. Conington had — not, of course, without due consideration, here in his very first couplet — adopted. So Mr. Conington proceeds to his second couplet, and, with his hero,

*to fair Italia onward bore,
and landed on Lavinium's shore: —*

whether from east, west, north, or south, Mr. Conington does not say, either because he has thought it mere supererogation in Virgil to inform the reader that his hero was coming from Troy, or because he is in such

a press of rhymes as to be obliged to attach to his first hurriedly yoked pair, a *πρῆτος*, and set off at once three abreast:

*to fair Italia onward bore,
and landed on Lavinium's shore: —
long tossing earth and ocean o'er.*

But if superabundance is little less inconvenient to Mr. Conington here than just now was famine — this is a strange, ill-constructed world, and we are always out of one extreme into the opposite — yet it is not by difficulty of this kind Mr. Conington feels himself most embarrassed. He is in the still worse predicament, that while Virgil authorizes him only to bear onward to Italia, his octosyllabic verse insists he shall bear onward either to far Italia or near Italia, or long Italia or short Italia, or square Italia or round Italia, or rich Italia or poor Italia, or great Italia or small Italia, or fair Italia or foul Italia, or black Italia or white Italia, or gray, green or blue Italia, or any Italia he pleases, so it be an Italia with a monosyllable before it. No use in remonstrances; Octosyllabic is a master no less imperious than Rhyme, and must be obeyed no less implicitly. Virgil's bidding, to Italia onward bore, is too incompatible with Octosyllabic's supreme will and pleasure to be taken into consideration, even for a moment, and Mr. Conington, having passed in rapid review before him the suggested monosyllables, and found them all, and especially "foul", inconvenient and objectionable, fixes on the least inconvenient and least objectionable and

*to fair Italia onward bore,
and landed on Lavinium's shore:—
long tossing earth and ocean o'er,*

— But what do you stop me so short for? What puts you so out of breath?—"Where in the name of heaven was he going to? Is Lavinium another name for America, that he was so *Long tossing earth and ocean o'er* going to it? Does Virgil say that, or is it all Mr. Conington's? Do tell me, don't keep me in suspense." What a silly question! Why, if it had been to America he was going, he would hardly have got there yet, considering it took him seven years to go from Troy to Italy. To America! Lavinium another name for America! Are you dreaming? Where's your common sense? Do you make no allowance for the difficulty, the next-to-impossibility, of turning Latin hexameter into English octosyllabic, blank verse into rhyme, ancient thought into modern, epic into romance? I say: making due allowance for the difficulty of the task, the performance is wonderful. I would like to see you or any one else do better, or half as well. "But what does Virgil say about the ocean? Tell me that." Virgil says nothing about it, good or bad. The ocean was as far from his mind as the antipodes. It was of the Mediterranean he was thinking. It was over the Mediterranean he was bringing Aeneas, that being the readiest way from Troy to Italy, and if he does not say Mediterranean but ALTO, what wonder? the sea not having in his time got its present sobriquet, and, even if it had, Mediterraneo being a

long, sprawling word, hardly manageable in a hexameter, while smart, tidy little ALTO looks, for all the world, as if it had been cut out by nature for a spondee in the sixth place. To be sure the ocean was an altum as well as the Mediterranean, but it was an altum which Virgil, with all his knowledge, knew little about. He had never been on it, never even near it, had rarely even so much as heard of it. All outside the pillars of Hercules was to him if not fable-land at least fable-sea. He had no occasion, not even a pretext, to use the fine sounding word oceano. You may be sure he would have used it if he could, the word being so grand and fine sounding, and oceano would have cut a great figure where ALTO cuts little or none. But the case was different with Mr. Conington, almost the child of the ocean, living all his life in a little island on the edge of it, seeing and hearing daily of shipfuls of people crossing it to and fro as if it were a frith, and having himself crossed it, not impossibly, more than once. The ocean was as fit a place for him to toss his hero on—or o'er (for I perceive it is o'er and not on)—as it was an unfit place for Virgil, who had himself never been outside the basin of the Mediterranean, to toss his hero o'er. With Mr. Conington ocean and the deep were all but synonymous;—with Virgil altum was the Mediterranean; oceanus, all the almost wholly unknown sea beyond. When you are reading Mr. Conington's Aeneis, you must always bear in mind that it is Mr. Conington, not

Virgil, who is speaking, and you will not make such mistakes. It will then not be Virgil's Aeneas, but an Aeneas fashioned by Mr. Conington, you see crossing the ocean to America or Australia; not Virgil's Aeneas, but an Aeneas of Mr. Conington's, who is *amerced by fate of his Ilian realm*, for his sins. It will then be a Tyber of Mr. Conington's, not Virgil's Tyber, you see flowing through the Scotch Highlands; a Dido of Mr. Conington's, not Virgil's Dido, you see wooed and won in Glen Tilt and basely deserted in the port of Leith.

But to leave the thought and come back to the grammar. Bad grammarian as I have always been, I never distrusted myself as I do now; never before was at so complete a nonplus. Priscian, help me; Lindley Murray, help me; Zumpt and Bopp, help me. I invoke you all four in my distress; if there were grammatical Gods, I would invoke them, but never having heard of any, and never having had a grammatical gift from heaven, worth the office-fees it cost me, I conclude that there are no grammatical Gods, and feel confident that even if there be, they will not take it ill of one to whom they never vouchsafed even so much as to reveal themselves, if he address himself to the next highest grammatical thrones, dominations, principedoms, virtues, powers, of which he has any knowledge, the grammatical demigods, Zumpt, Bopp, Lindley Murray, and Priscian. Hear me then and listen to my prayer, and turn not deaf ear to my request: if there is any grammar at

all in *tossing*, tell me what it is; if there is none, say so at once and don't let me stand puzzling here and racking my brain for nothing: *hoc tantum*. I knew it. I was right. There is no grammar at all in it. It is a Sir Anthony Absolute, dependent on nothing, yet not able to stand by itself; neither nominative, possessive, objective nor vocative; without concord, without government, a profugus, like Aeneas himself, and amerced by fate of its realm for its sins. And now for thought again. There is a spirit of equity within me, which commands me to divide fairly, forbids me to bestow all my attentions on grammar, as if it were no matter about thought, as if there were no such thing as thought in the world. But there is such a thing, plenty of it too, and especially here in this work of Mr. Conington's, in which, however great occasionally may be the dearth of Virgil's thought, there is always such foison plenty of thought not Virgil's, that a considerable deficit, an alarming void, is of as rare occurrence in it, as in the budget of a chancellor of the exchequer, equally up to the principle of "compensation" so luculently set forth in Mr. Conington's preface, and equally ambidexter to reinforce failing right hand with fresh left, and when Direct Taxation teat is dry, fill up and overflow the pail from swollen and bursting Indirect,

"or vice versa, as the case may be."

Here however, in Mr. Conington's sixth and seventh verses, I find neither Virgil nor Mr. Conington, neither epic nor romantic poet,

neither Milton nor Sir Walter Scott. I say to myself: thought of some kind there must be here, if only I could find it out. I look from Mr. Conington to Virgil, from Virgil to Mr. Conington, and from Mr. Conington back again to Virgil. Light begins to glimmer at last; it is Virgil shining on Mr. Conington, the original on the translation, not the translation on the original. *VI SUPERUM* is joined with *IACTATUS* by Virgil; therefore Mr. Conington's *by violence of heaven* belongs to *tossing* not to *sate*. The dawning opinion is confirmed by the undoubtedly infinitesimally-better sense which *tossing by violence of heaven* makes, than *by violence of heaven to sate*. I give the junction of *by violence of heaven* with *tossing*, the benefit of the infinitesimally better sense, and fix as firmly as I can in my mind: *tossing by violence of heaven*. Success encourages, "*possunt quia posse videntur*," and I push on. Something, some person or thing, is, or has been, or will be, *tossing*; there can be no doubt of that. Now if we could find out who or what that person or thing is, it would be another step. Can it be *Arms and the man*? I doubt it; Mr. Conington himself forbids us to think of it, has placed at *shore* not merely a colon, but a colon followed by a dash, to prevent our entertaining even for a moment any such notion. It must be something, some person or thing, at this side of the colon and dash, which is *tossing*, or has been, or will be, *tossing*. I have again recourse to the original and find there a sign-post with outstretched finger pointing to *VIRUM*.

Delighted, I return to the translation, and, kicking down with my foot the double barrier which the illiterate printer had set up between *the man* and *tossing*, join the two, hand in hand, as I now see it was Mr. Conington's intention to join them. Elated with continued success, I begin to imagine myself irresistible, and ask myself, as a great conqueror asked himself once before, why might not one who has conquered Tigris and Euphrates, conquer Indus and Ganges also, the whole east, the whole world? *Audentes Fortuna iuvat*. Before setting out on a new conquest however, it is the part of a prudent general, to complete and secure his last, and the affairs of my last conquered province, *the man tossing*, are anything but satisfactory. I don't quite understand this *tossing* yet, said I to myself. Though I no longer doubt but it is *the man* who is *tossing*, and though I have ascertained to a moral certainty that *earth and ocean o'er* is no more than Mr. Conington's way of saying earth and the deep o'er, still I have but a dim, confused notion what either *tossing earth and ocean o'er* or *tossing earth and the deep o'er* is. Is it *tossing earth and ocean o'er*, as hay-makers toss hay o'er? No; for *cui bono* the man's tossing earth and ocean o'er, as if they were hay, even granting he were able, which we all know he was not? Grammatically, however, this is the only meaning the words bear. No matter; it is not their meaning here, for Mr. Conington is not the man to write nonsense. If the words have no other meaning

grammatically, they have some other ungrammatically. Let us turn to Virgil; he who helped us before, may help us now. What does Virgil say? *IACATUS*. There it is! *tossing* is used for *tossed*. Poets, and especially octosyllabic poets, are fond of such licenses, and if the prince and patriarch of octosyllabic poets has used, in one of his most exquisite passages, the past participle passive, for the present participle active —

"and thus an airy point he won,
where gleaming with the setting sun,
one burnished sheet of living gold,
Loch Katrine lay beneath him rolled,"

where, in as much as it is impossible by any stretch of imagination to conceive a lake rolled beneath him on an airy point, and by a great stretch of imagination it is possible to conceive a lake rolling beneath him on an airy point, it is but fair towards Sir Walter Scott to regard "rolled" as used by poetic licence for rolling—I do not know what is to prevent the catechumen from using in a passage in no respect inferior to his master's, *tossing*, the present participle active, in place of *tossed*, the past participle passive. So far therefore is the man from *tossing* earth and ocean *o'er* as if they were so much hay, that it is the man himself who is *tossed o'er* earth and ocean. This is another lift for which we ought to be grateful to Virgil. But let us not halloo till we are out of the wood. It is certainly *the man* who is *tossing earth and ocean o'er*, i. e. who is *tossed earth and ocean o'er*, there is no doubt of that, but what picture

does a man *tossed earth and ocean o'er*, present? I find it difficult to realize any picture of him, to fix any picture of him steadily in my mind's eye. I have something dancing there. Let me try to fix it. It won't stand steady. I think I see something tossing like a cork or buoy on agitated water. That is not Mr. Conington's picture; he says quite plainly, *o'er* not *on*; the man is *o'er*, not *on*, earth and ocean, the cork is *on*, not *o'er*, the water; tossed like a cork on agitated water is not the picture, and, even if it were and perfectly represented *the man tossing ocean o'er*, would very imperfectly represent *the man tossing earth o'er*, and however *tossing ocean o'er* might be winked at or ignored (all that species of tossing being now at the back of *the man*, who has just landed on Lavinium's shore) *tossing earth o'er* is neither to be winked at nor ignored, it being precisely that species of tossing which is before *the man* just landed on Lavinium's shore. Let us therefore, turning our backs too on *tossing ocean o'er*, fix all our attention on that *tossing earth o'er* which is before us. The difficulty of *tossing* has been already surmounted; we have ascertained it to be a mere poetical equivalent for *tossed*; so, to simplify and facilitate matters, let us take *tossed* instead. Now *tossed* is as clear as daylight. There is not a child has not seen a pancake tossed, and if few of us have seen, all of us have heard of, "tossed in a blanket", and some of us even have by heart:

Cloncurry, Cloncurry,
why in such hurry
to see the disgrace of the squire?
I am sure unto you
such a sight can't be new,
for a blanket has tossed you much
higher.

There is, therefore, no difficulty whatever in *tossed*; the picture it affords is as clear as it is striking; but *tossed earth o'er* is less easy to manage. To be sure a pancake may be tossed earth o'er, or a man may be tossed in a blanket earth o'er, but I doubt either of these is exactly the picture we have here. Much more likely the picture we have here is that of *the man tossed earth o'er* like a shuttlecock, huc et illuc. Still however there is the objection, that we hear almost as seldom of a shuttlecock tossed o'er anything as we hear of a pancake, or a man in a blanket, tossed o'er anything. Disheartened but not despairing we turn again to Virgil for help, and finding he has neither per, nor super, nor insuper, nor supra, nor other equivalent for *o'er*, nothing but simple *IACTATA*, we perceive at once the whole rationale of *o'er*, perceive at once that *o'er* is a chime which has forced itself in, despite Virgil, perhaps even despite Mr. Conington himself, for we saw just now how chimes of *litera latrans* and broad *o* swarmed in about him from all quarters, crowding, squeezing, crushing, and tumbling over each other, as soon as they heard the "Harp of the North" twang *oars*; a sight to delight the soul of Dryden, if ever "*pius vates qui Phoebodigna locutus*" gets a peep back

into this sunny world out of those dismal Elysian subterranea. *O'er* thus happily disposed of, set down neither to Virgil nor to Mr. Conington, but to forward, intrusive, impertinent Rhyme, and set down to the same vast and comprehensive account, both *sate* and *hate*, of neither of which, more than of *o'er*, is trace to be found in our original, but of both of which the "linked sweetness" is every where to be found in another original never not present to the mind of our translator:

"nor doubt of living foes to *sate*
deepest revenge and deadliest hate,"

I come back, for "*suum cuique*" is my motto, to grammar, and interpose my *VENI-VIDI-VICI* shield between Mr. Conington and the redoubtable *ferulae* with which the whole four grammatical demigods are laying on him at once. "What have I done?" he cries, as soon as, crouched under the broad buckler, he has a little recovered his breath—"what have I done to deserve this punishment? how have I unwittingly offended your most mighty mightinesses? *quo numine laeso Quidve dolentes?*

non ego cum Cockneybus Grammaticam
exscindere gentem
Londini turavi. classemve Pariefam misit,
nec patris Harrisii cinerem manesce revelli—"

"No; but if you have not done that, you have done what is just as bad," cried they all, striving which would be the loudest; "you have dared, not having the fear of us before your eyes, and in open contravention both of common law gramma-

tical and the statute in that case made and provided, whereby it is enacted that every finite verb shall agree with its own nominative in number and person, a thing plainly impossible unless the finite verb have a nominative provided for it—you have audaciously dared to leave your finite verb without all such provision, to use your finite verb infinitively, to use your finite verb as if it were not finite but infinite and required no nominative at all, thereby wantonly disturbing the established order of things in this our realm of Grammar, setting an example of insubordination—the worst example which can be set to those tender minds which it is your special duty to guide in the narrow paths of grammatical truth and righteousness—and disappointing and frustrating, as far as in you lies, all our so strenuous and unceasing efforts to outlaw, and banish beyond our confines, those fantastic licenses, those barbarous solecisms, those vulgar patois-isms, which are the sworn enemies of all grammatical concord, and render all grammatical government impossible. So great was the hubbub, increased as it was by Mr. Conington's cries for help, that it was with the greatest difficulty I was able to collect and reduce into connected sense the simultaneous exclamations of four voices, each at its loudest, each issuing from a wide open mouth, a real *os rotundum*, not one of our English slits, better adapted by nature for making pasta lasagna or tapeworm, than for giving passage to full fledged *επεα πτερόεντα*.

After a lull scarcely sufficient for my jotting down as much as I had collected, the storm was beginning again, "*extremaque Conington Parcae fila legunt*," when thoroughly alarmed, and scarcely less for myself than for Mr. Conington —

"*nec sopor illud erat, sed coram agnoscere
vultus
velatasque comas, praesentiaque ora vide-
bar;
tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor*"—

I cried out: "Hold! read the motto on the shield." They all paused at once, and I saw Mr. Conington was saved; and one of them, I think it was Priscian, stooping down, read in a loud voice for the others: "*VENI. VIDI. VICI*." "What 's that to the purpose?" cried Bopp. "What relation has that to Mr. Conington, more than to Ariman or Vishnu?" "It is a fine alliteration," said Zumpt, who had become more composed, and was twirling his ferula as a dandy twirls his cane. "It 's Latin, and Latin 's not my province," said Lindley Murray, gruffly enough. "May I be permitted to explain to your grammatical highnesses?" said I submissively, as I motioned Mr. Conington to be off: "Here are three verbs, not one of them a bit better provided with a nominative than Mr. Conington's *laboured*." "True," said Priscian, "very true. I begin to think we have been precipitate." "Anything but precipitate," said Lindley Murray, who had been all along the most furious of the four; "Latin 's no rule for English; a nice language we 'd have of it, if it were. Suppose an English general were to send home a despatch consisting of

the three words, *CAME. SAW. CONQUERED.*, what would the secretary at war make of it? What member of the cabinet council before whom the secretary at war laid it, would understand one word of it? All measures to be taken on the despatch, should be postponed until a committee of grammarians had decided who it was *CAME. SAW. CONQUERED.*, the enemy, or the writer of the despatch, or who else. There would be a variety of opinions, each with more or less show of probability on its side, and while with each member it was a point of honor not to surrender as long as he could hold out, the despatch would remain unanswered, and matters be left to settle themselves on the field of operations, the best way they could. No, no; Latin has its own rules and English has its own. *VENI. VIDI. VICI.* is no excuse for Mr. Conington. But there is an excuse for him. I perceive it now at last, and am sorry I allowed myself to be put into so unseemly a fury. *Laboured* is not a verb finite and, therefore, requiring a nominative. *Laboured* is a participle, and not only can do, but ought to do, and must do, without a nominative. Have patience with me for one moment and I'll make this clear to you. *Laboured* once installed as verb finite and supplied with a nominative before it—no matter whether that nominative be *who* expressed, or *who* understood, or *he* understood—*Striving* becomes, by unavoidable necessity, *laboured's* nominative after, and we have the structure *who laboured striving*, or *he*

laboured striving, and the sense: the man's labour in the battle-field consisted in striving to build his city's walls there, viz. in the battle-field, and give his Gods a home there, viz. in the battle-field. Now to that sense, or that nonsense—for what but nonsense is: *laboured* in the battle-field striving to build his city's walls there and give his Gods a home there?—I will never agree, so long as I have the better sense, say rather, the less nonsense, open to me: [*the man*] *laboured* [participle] *in the battle-field*, [*the man*] *Striving his city's walls to build*, — the man belaboured [harassed] in the battle-field, the man striving his city's walls to build; *laboured* and *Striving* being coordinate, the former past participle passive, and the latter present participle active, and both agreeing with the substantive *man*. No, no; it is we who are wrong, not Mr. Conington. *Laboured* is as good a Participle as it is an Imperfect, and you might as well ask what is its nominative in that verse of Comus:

“what time the laboured ox

in his loose traces from the furrow came,”
as ask what is its nominative in this verse of Mr. Conington's. To be sure the structure is a little scabrous: [*the man*] *laboured* (= belaboured, harassed, done up with labour) *in the battle-field*, not perfectly smooth, easy, fluent, and plain to a child, but it is, on the one hand, quite as smooth, easy, fluent, and plain to a child, as either of its fellow structures, *By Fate of Ilian realm amerced*, and *Long tossing earth and*

ocean o'er, and, on the other hand, affords a sense very much preferable to that afforded by the rival structure [who] *laboured too in battle-field, Striving*, and therefore I not only myself adopt this structure in preference to the other, but warmly recommend it to my learned colleagues for their adoption also." "There's reason in what the author of the English Grammar says, as there always is," said Bopp, "and I am inclined to agree with him; but there's something else here, which offends me as much as or even more than *laboured*." "What's that?" cried Zumpt; "what's that?" cried Lindley Murray; "what's that?" cried Priscian; while I, relieved from all apprehension for Mr. Conington, who was already out of both sight and hearing, leaned forward all agog and listened with undivided and increasing attention:—"I'll tell you," said Bopp; "*laboured* might pass, if it were not for *field*. It's *field* does the mischief; for which of the whole four of us, being told, in one and the same breath, of labouring in a field, and of striving to build the walls of a city, does not, by a natural instinct, identify the labouring with the striving, and figure to himself the city's walls a-building up before him in the field? Now if it is so with us demigods, notwithstanding our superior education, penetration, and means of knowledge, how will it not be with mortal men, so much inferior to us in every one of these respects? how will it not be with mortal women, for whose still less enlarged intellects

this, I must acknowledge, most charming, most enticing, most captivating little lay, this "only readable of all the English versions of the Aeneis", seems to have been expressly designed and executed? I shudder to think of it." "Don't shudder, Bopp," said Zumpt. "Shuddering does no good to any one, least of all to the shudderer. I, for my part, have never shuddered since I got the ferula into my own hand, and out of my master's. Besides, what is there to shudder at in that, certainly no less true than graphic, picture to which you have just invited the attention of your colleagues? Where's the harm if ladies, or even gentlemen, don't understand one word in twenty, of a poem they are reading, especially if it be a lay, or idyl, or ballad? They read the poem neither for the sake of picking holes in it, as you or I would, nor for the sake of being made wiser or better by it, as that redoubtable Quixote there with his *VENI-VIDI-VICI* shield would; they read it solely for the sake of the pleasurable feelings it excites in them. Let it excite those feelings, and their object is gained; it is exactly the book for them, the best book in the world except the last they read in the same manner. The poet's object too is gained, he has succeeded delectare, edition after edition of his book is called for, let who will, be at the pains prodesse." "Exactly so," said Bopp, while Zumpt paused to recover breath; "populus decipi vult, decipiatur." "That's not it, Bopp," said Zumpt; "populus delectari vult, delectetur.

People don't like grammars and accidences and prosodies; have got enough of them at school. It's stories, they like, and lays and romances and idyls and songs and ballads, and to be transported, in thought, not back to the desk and the form and the task, but

'to shallow rivers, to whose falls
melodious birds sing madrigals;
there will we make our beds of roses,
and a thousand fragrant posies'."

"Then Mr. Conington's is the very book for them," said Murray. "To be sure," said Zumpt; "don't you know it's at the second edition, and a third coming?" "I wonder will the new edition show any signs of the lesson he has got today," said Bopp, drily. "Do you take him for a fool, Bopp," said Zumpt, "or think he has never heard the proverb: 'let well enough alone'? What does he want more than edition after edition, as fast as they can come out?" "But which of his readers," said Bopp, "especially of his lady readers, will be able to understand a single strophe, if we are to judge by the one we have just been examining? To me this very first strophe of his presents more difficulties than an entire chorus of the Prometheus Vinctus." "And to me too," said Zumpt; "but you seem to forget that it's not you and I and Lindley Murray and Priscian who call for the editions, but the people who take pleasure in the poem, the people to whom the poem presents no difficulties." "The people to whom the poem presents no difficulties, Zumpt!" exclaimed Bopp in astonishment; "who are they? I

would like to see some of them. To me it's all difficulties; every word from beginning to end, difficulties." "And to me too," cried out together both Lindley and Priscian. And to me too, thought I to myself, but said nothing, only drew nearer and nearer. "I'd tell you how it is," said Zumpt, "but for that impatient fellow with the shield, there, whom Mr. Conington's cries brought on our backs a while ago. He's listening to every word we say." "Never mind him, Zumpt," said Bopp; "he is one of ourselves, as the ladies say of the doctor." "No, he is not," said Lindley; "he is an interloper, and I for one would be easier if he were out of that: 'The Lord preserve me from my petters'." "Let him stay," said Priscian; "he's a very old friend of mine, and I'll be accountable for anything he says or does. Go on, Zumpt." So I was let stay, and Zumpt proceeded. "Well, I'll tell you how it is. Not one of us grammarians knows how to read a book. The first thing any one of us does when he takes up a book, is to set about to parse it, to make out the grammar; if he pays any attention at all to the sense, it is only as a help to making out the grammar. Now this is a preposterous way of reading a book, nothing short of putting the cart before the horse. I say, the reader of a book has nothing whatever to do with the grammar; the sense is all he wants; let him attend to that and he will have few difficulties or none." "How is he to get at the sense," said Priscian, "except through the grammar? Grammar

is the only door; a narrow one, no doubt, but the only one. Before I allowed one of my Constantinople pupils even so much as to guess at the sense of any one of Virgil's verses, I made him parse twenty." "To be sure," said Zumpt, "for they were at school, learning Latin. The readers of Mr. Conington's *Aeneis*, or of any other lay or idyl, are not at school; their object is not to learn grammar but to apply the grammar they have learned, or, if they have learned none, to get on, as well as they can, without it; to be amused, pleased and delighted with the plot and the images and the rhythm and especially with the rhyme; if there are errors, to condone them; if there are difficulties, not to break their shins on them but avoid and go round them; and, above all, never to stop or hesitate or inquire or look about, but go smoothly and swimmingly on to F for figs, J for jigs, N for knucklebones, J for jackstones, and S for stirabout. To get at the sense, Priscian, and that through the grammar! It's not at the sense the reader wants to get, but at the pleasure. Let him get the pleasure, and who will, take both sense and grammar. You might as well ask a man to inquire into the grounds of his faith, as ask him to examine into either the sense or the grammar of his romance. He begs you not to disturb him, not to awake him out of his delicious dream. He doesn't want to be informed, wants only to enjoy. You're troublesome, be off out of that." "Othello's occupation's gone, if what Zumpt says

be true," sighed Murray. "It's too true," said Bopp; "the more grammar, the less pleasure; every school-boy knows that." "In the whole range of literary pleasures," continued Zumpt, growing excited with his theme, "there is none to be compared with the delight with which an illiterate man reads a rhymed romance the thoughts of which are sufficiently like his own to be mistaken by his illiterate, undiscerning, easily-imposed-on mind, for his own. In case the author is of reputation, such ignorant reader, flattered to find so eminent a person agreeing entirely with him on all points, begins to entertain a higher opinion of himself; if he has a good memory, revels in an almost perpetual citation of some of the most striking verses; if he has a full purse, buys the book, lays it on his drawing-room table, makes presents of it to his friends, and is continually inquiring after the newest edition. In the opposite case, the same illiterate reader wonders how it is possible so sweet, so touching, so natural, so true a poet is so little known, inveighs against the bad taste and want of discernment, of the times, and predicts a career of glory to a poet who requires only to be known, to be appreciated; a prediction which seldom fails to fulfil itself, and *Hiawatha*, *The Course of Time*, *The Idyls of the King*, and *Evangeline* rapidly reach fifth and tenth editions." "I'll not throw away my ferula yet, for all that, Zumpt," said Murray. "It's no doubt very pleasant to find our thoughts reflected back to us from

every book we read, and I know no surer or speedier way of becoming enamoured both of one's own self and one's author; neither do I doubt that most of the favorite authors we hear so much of, are authors who have been read exactly in the manner you have so vividly pictured; nevertheless I, for one, will never use my book as a looking-glass wherein to contemplate my own face; my book shall be to me a telescope and microscope, wherewith to bring into view, objects either too remote or too minute for my unassisted vision; my book shall show me my author's thought, not reflect me back my own. For this reason my author shall be grammatical, it being grammar alone which enables my author to express his thought, grammar alone which enables me to understand it. I will therefore neither throw away my ferula, nor read such books as Mr. Conington's." "Bravo! Lindley," said Bopp. "A whiff of that old, sturdy, quaker spirit which established American Independence, is something refreshing in these soapy, idyllic times; refreshing to me, I mean, for as to the public, we are only wasting our breath on them; they'll take their own way without minding what either you or I say. Come away, Lindley, it's growing late: 'Nox ruit. Lindleie, nos flendo ducimus horas.'" "I wonder how Mr. Conington has that?" said Priscian. "I'll tell you," said Lindley, "first thanking Bopp for his compliment. No one knows how to pay compliments like Bopp. Mr. Conington says:

*Aeneas, night approaches near:
while we lament, the hours career."*

"Any bad grammar there, Lindley?" said Zumpt. "You wouldn't have both bad grammar and misrepresentation of Virgil's thought in the same sentence, would you?" said Priscian. "Why not?" said Bopp. "It would be no so great miracle for Mr. Conington. Have you so soon forgot *Long tossing earth and ocean o'er, and Much laboured too in battle-field.*?" "For myself," said Priscian, "I am hardly English scholar enough to pronounce with certainty whether there is, or is not, bad grammar in the couplet, but it's plain there is very little Virgil. Both *approaches near* and *the hours career* are Mr. Conington's." "Compensations, I suppose, for night falls and we pass the hours," said Bopp. "I must say I approve of that principle of compensation, founded, as it is, on the broad, firm basis of eternal, immutable justice: *Iustitia fiat, caelum ruat.*" "Which you know means, not, let justice be done and the sky fall, but, let justice be done and the sky approach near," said Zumpt. "Don't be too hard on Mr. Conington, Zumpt," said Bopp. "Perhaps he knew, what you don't seem to know, that whenever Virgil's Night 'ruit', she is always rising, and whenever Virgil's Night falls, it is just day-break:

*'et iam nox humida caelo
praecipitat, suadentque cadentia sidera
somnos.'*

It's not Mr. Conington's fault, but his rhyme's. Put the saddle on the right horse." "Mr. Conington's

rhyme's fault is Mr. Conington's own fault," said Lindley stoutly; "for whose is the rhyme but Mr. Conington's? not Virgil's, I'm sure." "No matter whose fault it is," said Priscian, "let Zumpt go on; we should not have interrupted him. Go on, Zumpt; I beg your pardon for my unseasonable question; go on." "The poet's mission," continued Zumpt, "is to give, the reader's, to take, pleasure. Both missions are accomplished every time a book is read through from beginning to end with pleasure. What matter if, from beginning to end, the thoughts and images called up in the reader's mind have not been those which the author intended to call up, but others more or less different, others which in the reader's mind are so closely connected with the words as alone to be called up by them? The reader, unaware of his misconception, goes on no less pleased, often more pleased, than if the less familiar, stranger thoughts and images intended by the author, had been evoked, finds no hitch, and all goes smooth and easy until we, spoil-sport grammarians, come in between with our apple of discord; we grammarians, whose pleasure is less to learn and know, than to show how little others have learned or know; we grammarians, who search for warts and pimples with magnifiers, and for dimples with diminishers; we grammarians, who neither use the manger ourselves nor let the horse use it." "I did not expect to hear that from you, Zumpt," said Bopp. "It's an ill bird 'fles its own nest." "Zumpt's

not serious," said Lindley. "No one knows better than Zumpt that it's not grammar is in fault; that it's not with grammar we are to fall out, but with Mr. Conington whose grammar is bad." "Right, Lindley," said Bopp; "the fault's not in grammar, but in *the* grammar, in Mr. Conington's grammar, which is indeed, as we're all agreed, execrable. But we must never forget the cause of this most execrable, most abominable — I can never get a bad enough name for it — this 'monstrum-horrendum-informe-ingens-cui-lumen-ademptum' grammar of Mr. Conington's, his octosyllabic rhyme." "And whose fault but Mr. Conington's own, is Mr. Conington's octosyllabic rhyme?" said Lindley, warmly. "Drunkenness is an aggravation of, not an excuse for, the outrages of the drunkard; rhyme is an aggravation of, not an excuse for, the outrages of the rhymester. Rhyme! the monkish invention which forces you to say what you ought not to say, what you do not intend to say, aye, what you neither think nor believe. Faugh! I hate both rhyme and rhymesters. I am ashamed of Mr. Conington, that he stooped to have anything to do with it. I expected better of him, better of the erudite professor and commentator, better of the University of Oxford." "That's all very fine talk, very virtuous indignation, Lindley," said Zumpt, "but there are few Herculeases now-a-days, to prefer the toilsome road to the pleasant. Mr. Conington's octosyllabics shine bright on the drawing room table; Surrey's and

Milton's heroics gather dust on the shelf. 'Marmion', said Mr. Conington to himself before he sat down to translate the Aeneis, 'has been read by multitudes who would find the perusal of the Paradise Lost too severe an undertaking', and, when he had finished his work, stereotyped the reflection in his preface, lest any one should mistake his motive for caricaturing the Aeneis, lest any one should accuse him of holding the opinion that the Aeneis were better represented in octosyllabic rhyme than in heroics. You're quite too one-sided, Lindley; all for Virgil, and nothing at all for the reader. You forget there are two parties in court. The reader begs a little of your attention. Besides, the reader's is a living interest, Virgil's a dead one. Do take the reader a little into account, be it ever so little. You surely wouldn't inflict on him all Virgil's repetitions, wouldn't make him go through Which man if the fates preserve alive, if he feed on the ethereal effluence, if he do not yet lie down in the cruel shades, when the whole pith and essence of the rigmarole might be put, and has been—and, as I think, most judiciously — put, by Mr. Conington, into a nutshell:

*if he still looks upon the sun,
no spectre yet."*

"Virgil's rigmarole! Zumpt," said Priscian; "Virgil's rigmarole put into a nutshell by Mr Conington, judiciously put into a nutshell! That is the last reproach I ever expected to hear of Virgil, the last

praise I ever expected to hear of Mr. Conington. Why, it is Virgil's brevity makes him so difficult to be either unders'ood or translated; it is of Virgil's brevity Mr. Conington himself so feelingly complains: 'Not the least of the evils of the measure I have chosen, is a tendency to diffuseness: and, in translating one of the least diffuse of poets, such a tendency requires a strong remedy. Accordingly, the duty of conciseness has always been present to my mind.' "Exactly so, Priscian", replied Zumpt; "Mr. Conington's measure being so diffuse, there was no possibility of keeping the translation within limits, of preventing it from looking, when placed beside the original, pretty much as an ox looks standing beside a frog, except by lopping-off" — "Ha! ha! ha!" interrupted Priscian, "except by lopping-off the limbs of the frog to bring him down to the dimensions of the ox. Ha! ha! ha! Virgil's rigmarole judiciously put into a nutshell!" "Take care you're not premature with your laugh, Priscian," said Bopp. "How do we know but this lopping-off here may be compensated, and more than compensated, elsewhere, by grafting-on? How do we know but it may have been precisely this omission which made room for the insertion of that exquisite original figure into the third Book:

*'tis sweet to feel
fate's book is closed and under seal.
for us, alas! that volume stern
has many another page to turn. ?*

Persuaded, as we all are, of Mr. Conington's inexorable justice, knowing, as we all do, how rigidly he

adheres to his self-imposed principle of compensation, why should we hesitate to accept an entire original chapter about fate's book, as payment, with interest, for any omission of fate, any squeezing into a nutshell, any lopping-off of frog's legs there may be here?" "I will accept no compensation, no interest," said Lindley. "Virgil's corpus must be respected, must be kept illaesum et inviolabile. That is my sine-qua-non. I would as soon think of a compromise with a man who had struck his father or robbed his client, as with a man who had violated the corpus of Virgil." "And I too", said Priscian: "Qui corpus Virgilii violaverit, sacer esto. We have had enough of Tuccas and Variuses, enough of Peerlkamps and Gruppés. We must have no more Ronsards, no more Franciades, no more idyllic Aeneids, no more translators of Virgil touring with Dr. Syntax in search of the picturesque." "Nor any more bloody dukes of Alba among Aeneas's descendants, I hope," said Lindley. "No fear of that," said Bopp. "*The ancient sires of Alba's blood* are far enough off from the bloody duke. Fair play for Mr. Conington, however little fair play Mr. Conington shows Virgil." "You forget, Bopp", replied Lindley, "that the octosyllabic Aeneis is neither for you nor Zumpt nor Priscian nor even for me, but for the drawing-room table; for the unlettered, for the wholly ignorant in such matters. Now where in that large class of readers is there one, who has any image of Alba Longa, the Latian city, in his mind, ready to be called

up by these words of Mr. Conington's?" "Let whoever has not, go to his gazetteer," said Bopp. "It's not to his gazetteer, but to his biographical dictionary, the words send him," said Lindley. "The words are:

*thence come the hardy Latin brood,
the ancient sires of Alba's blood.*

Now *hardy Latin brood*, *ancient sires*, and *Alba's blood*, being all suggestive, not of places but persons, the illiterate reader who has any doubt of the correctness of his first impression, that the bloody duke of Alba of whom he has so often heard, is meant, goes to his biographical dictionary to inquire who this Alba of Virgil's was, and finding no Alba there except the bloody duke of that name, has his first impression confirmed, and hastens on, expecting soon to hear more, either of the bloody duke himself, or of his sires, or of the sires of his blood." "Exactly so," said Zumpt, "and what harm, or why not? The phantom affords as much pleasure as the reality, nay more, being both more lively and less strange, the reader is satisfied, and the translator saved trouble and perhaps blame." "The reader has my hearty congratulations," said Bopp, gravely:

"where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise."

"I don't know which is most to be congratulated," said Zumpt, "the reader who is made so happy, or the translator who puts on the victor's crown without having experienced either the fatigue or the sweat or the dust, of the circus." "More to be congratulated than either," said Priscian, "is Virgil himself, to whose

glory of having predicted Christ in his Pollio is now to be added the new wreath of having predicted the bloody duke of Alba in the exordium of his Aeneis. 'Sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo.' I greatly fear, this bloody duke of Alba will ruin Mr. Conington's book." "Just the contrary," said Zumpt, "he will recommend it. While the well informed go round the pitfall smiling, the ill-informed, quae maxima turba est, will lose themselves with pleasure in the delicious bottom." "Let the maxima turba take care of themselves," said Priscian; it's not for them I am concerned, but for the pauci, the well informed, amongst whom give me leave to class you, my respected colleagues, as well as myself. Of our falling into the pitfall there is indeed as little danger, as there is of our losing ourselves in the delicious bottom; but we are not at all unlikely to stand, like so many perplexed sheep, on the brink, and say to each other as I say to you now: fair and softly; like as this is to the duke of Alba's blood, it is not the duke of Alba's blood at all — *nimum ne crede colori* — it is Longa Alba's blood: and then to ask each other as I ask you now: what is Longa Alba's blood?" "What is Longa Alba's blood?" said Bopp, repeating the question. "Yes," said Priscian, "what is Longa Alba's blood? I wait for information." There was a long pause. "Longa Alba's blood is the blood of Longa Alba," said Lindley at last, confidently. "It is," said Bopp; "there is no doubt of it." "Agreed", said Zumpt; "all agreed," said Priscian;

"now what 's the blood of Longa Alba?" Another long pause. "Does Virgil say nothing about it?" said Lindley. "Not one word," said Priscian; "I wonder where Mr. Conington got it." "Of course in Marmion," said Zumpt:

"De Wilton and Lord Marmion woo'd
Clara de Clare of Gloster's blood."

"It 's a wise son knows his own father," said Lindley, "but if there 's any virtue in likeness,

the ancient sires of Alba's blood,

is certainly a much nearer relative of

'Clara de Clare of Gloster's blood'

than of ALBANIQUE PATRES." "Zumpt 's quite right," said Bopp; "he was thinking more of Clara de Clare than of ALBANIQUE PATRES, when he was inditing

the ancient sires of Alba's blood."

"What wonder if he was," said Lindley, "or that the same jade got between him and his ALBANIQUE PATRES, that got between the dying Marmion and his?"

'the monk, with unavailing cares
exhausted all the Church's prayers.
ever, he said, that, close and near,
a lady's voice was in his ear,
and that the priest he could not hear.'

what wonder? I say,

'for ne'er,

he did by Mary swear,
a form so witching fair
as Clara's of de Clare,
in work-day world was seen;
some love-lorn say she might have been,
or, in romance, some spell-bound queen.'

Thank you, Zumpt, for a clue which can hardly fail to lead us to the meaning of *Alba's blood*; we might

have looked long in Virgil for one." "What way does the clue go, Lindley?" said Priscian; "take care you don't break it." "No fear," said Lindley, "it's not so slender.

'Clara de Clare of Gloster's blood'

means Clara de Clare who had Gloster's blood in her veins, so

the ancient sires of Alba's blood

means the ancient sires who had Alba's blood in their veins." "I'm not so sure," said Priscian. "Clara de Clare might have some of Gloster's blood in her veins, Gloster having been a man and her ancestor, but I find some difficulty in the ancient sires' having any of Alba's blood in their veins, Alba being, as we have already seen and are all agreed, not a man, not the Duke of Alba, but Alba Longa, the Latian city. I fear there's little good in your clue. I cannot digest blood of a city." "It's a pity he did not keep to Virgil and Alban," said Bopp, "when he might so easily. There is no excuse either of rhyme or rhythm for *Alba's*. He had the very word Alban put into his mouth, and would not take it; nothing would do him but *Alba's*." "One would be almost tempted to think," said Priscian, "that he rejected the right word because it was the right word and Virgil's own, and adopted the wrong word because it was the wrong word and so like Sir Walter Scott's." "An old trick of his," said Zumpt, "which if we are not well up to, we may sometimes mistake the happy introduction of some unknown or unnoticed gem of a great master, for an awkward blunder of the intro-

ducer, as in the case before us, or even for arrant nonsense, as in the case of the sheer descent upwards of the tower on the top of Priam's palace:

*with sheer descent a turret high
rose from the roof into the sky,*

where nothing, not even Virgil's own 'in praecipiti', can save the reader to whose rescue does not come on the instant:

*'but from the eastern battlement
a turret had made sheer descent
and, down in recent ruin rent,
in the mid torrent lay.'*

"I think almost worse of him for *blood* than for *Alba's*," said Lindley. "*Alba's* is at least like Alban, and Alban is Virgil's own word, but *blood* is entirely Mr. Conington's and Sir Walter Scott's; not one trace of it in Virgil." "On the contrary," said Bopp, "I excuse *blood*, which though not in Virgil, is required both by the rhythm and the rhyme, while *Alba's* is required by neither. He might perhaps have found a word which would have chimed-in better than *blood*, but hardly a word fitter for him to introduce suo Marte, where the subject was genealogy. In respect of the sense, *blood* was far and away to be preferred to wooed, or stewed, or chewed, or spewed, or mewed, or crude, or lewd, or feud, or any other more perfect chime for *brood* which he could easily have found." "Let us excuse both," said Zumpt; "*humanum est errare, divinum est errores condonare*; and which of us is so iron-hearted as not to feel for a man pressed by the hard, double-fist-

ed Necessity of octosyllabic and rhyme,

"nunc dextra ingeminans ictus, nunc illa sinistra."

"He deserved all the pommeling he got, and more," said Lindley, "for going into the way of that hard, double-fisted Necessity at all. He might have known how she would treat him, how she treats all who come near her or have anything to do with her." "You don't know how sweet, how enticing, how siren a song she sings, Lindley," said Zumpt, "or you would not say that." "I beg your pardon, Zumpt, I know very well," replied Lindley, "and in its proper place I have many a time listened to it with pleasure. Mr. Conington too was free to listen to it, and even to sing it himself if he pleased, and chorus away with Sir Walter Scott and Clan-Alpine's boatmen, but he was not free to set Virgil a-chorusing with them:

*we thought them to Mycenae flown,
and rescued Troy forgets to groan.
wide stand the gates: what joy to go
the Dorian camp to see,
the land disburthened of the foe,
Roderigh Vich Alpine, ho! ho!
the shore from vessels free.*

It does not come well out of Roman lips; least of all, well out of Virgil's. What! Virgil, who sang even bucolic in hexameter, to sing epic in octosyllabic rhyme! Fie! fie! It is Henry the Eighth dancing a horn-pipe to the lascivious pleasing of a lute." "You are quite too severe on poor Mr. Conington," said Zumpt. "One would think you had some spite at him. Did he ever offend you?" "Never," replied Lindley,

"except by this one act." "This act has offended us all," said Zumpt; "but remember: 'Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.'" "The sun shall not only go down on my wrath, but rise on it too," said Lindley, "if it rises on me." "Bravo! again, Lindley," said Bopp; "if you're not an Englishman, you're worthy to be one. Blow the rebels from the cannon's mouth." and he clapped Lindley on the shoulder until the blood mounted into, and animated, the features of the honest American. "Mercy's twice blessed," said Zumpt, "and droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven." "And more than that," said Priscian, "Mr. Conington's clear off. But what's this, he has left behind him?" and, stooping down, he took up a piece of paper, soiled and crumpled as if a regiment of soldiers had marched over it. "What is it?" said Bopp. "Let me see it," said Zumpt, taking it out of Priscian's hand. "There's writing on it. There, do you read it, Lindley." "Heroics!" said Lindley, after conning it for a few moments: "by the ghost of Milton, heroics!" "Can you make them out, Lindley?" said Bopp. "I'm longing for a draught of something, no matter what, to put the taste of that treacly emulsion, that mawkish colostrum we have been swallowing all morning, out of my mouth." "Read them out, Lindley," said Priscian: "You don't intend to keep them all to yourself, do you?" But Lindley read on, never lifting his eyes off the paper, nor seeming to hear a word that was said to him. "I say, Lindley," shouted Bopp, "what are you dreaming about? you seem to forget

there's any one here but yourself." "Blessed be God that I have lived to see this day!" said Lindley, walking slowly on, with the paper in his hand and without taking notice of any one; "I'm now content to die whenever it pleases heaven to take me. Nunc dimittis." "The man is mad," said Priscian. "Halloo, Lindley! where are you going? give me that paper," cried Bopp, following, and taking the paper out of Lindley's hand, and beginning to read:

I, the same I, who on Pandean terse
tuned once the lay, and, issuing from the
woods,
pressed the near arable into the clown's
covetous service, and my work pleased well
the agriculturist—but now I sing
bristling arms martial and the man whom
fate
brought from the Trojan border refugee
primal to Italy's Lavinian shore;
the man so tossed about on land and sea
by might of heaven, and made to feel war's
woes
— all on account of vixen Juno's wrath
retentive memoried — while he built his city
and into Latium introduced his Gods;
germ of the Latin race and Alban sires,
and haughty-towering, castellated Rome.

"That is more Virgilian," continued Bopp, handing Zumpt the paper, "than anything ever yet thrilled, or ever will thrill, from that

'harp of the north that mouldering long had
hung
on the wych elm that shades Saint Fillan's
spring'."

"Whoever has done this," said Lindley, "has performed a far more difficult task than was ever the composition of the original verses." "Certainly," said Bopp; "the author takes his ease; writes what he likes, and as he likes; if one word,

or one thought, displeases him, sends it away and takes another instead; but the unfortunate translator, bound down with a chain of iron to the author's words and thoughts, must take what he gets—bad, good, or indifferent—transplant it to a foreign soil and climate, and make it grow and flourish there as if it were at home:

'hoc opus, hic labor est. pauci, quos æquus
amavit
Iupiter, aut ardens exivit ad æthera virtus,
dis geniti potuere.'

Yet this is exactly what this heroic translator has done, taken Virgil's words and thoughts and handled them as if they were his own, made them sound in his English mouth as well as ever they sounded in Virgil's Roman, persuaded you that it is Virgil you hear speaking, palmed nothing on Virgil, spirited away nothing from Virgil, presented Virgil not in a domino, but in his own Roman tunic and toga, to England. Which of us all, without an Aladdin's lamp in his hand, or a Fortunatus's cap on his head, could have done it? All Virgil, and nothing but Virgil; the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. No guillotining of the Æneis, no chopping off of the head at the fourth vertebra; no *Arms and the man I sing who first*; no *By fate of Ilion realm amerced*; no *Long tossing earth and ocean o'er*; no *to sate Fell Juno's unforgetting hate*; no *Much laboured too in battle-field*, *Striving his city's walls to build*; no *hardy Latin brood*; no *ancient sires of Alba's blood*; no romantic octosyllabic; no rhyme whether couplet, triplet or alternate; no strophe; no anything but plain,

unpretentious, unsophisticated English heroic. The feat has been achieved, the Virgilian longitude found at last. Long life to him, whoever he be, the author of this translation." "Sir John Falstaff's translation of Ford's wife was nothing to it, eh Bopp?" said Zumpt, jocosely: "Studied her well and translated her well"—"Have a care, Zumpt," cried Bopp, "Pistol's pistol's leveled askew, and if it goes off, it's Mr. Conington will be shot, not the heroic translator. The corruption, the seduction, the translation out of honesty into English—and bad English too—are all Mr. Conington's, not our new acquaintance's, who, whoever he be, has translated Ford's wife, as an honest, virtuous woman deserves to be translated, honestly and virtuously into honest, virtuous English." "I shrewdly suspect," said Zumpt, "if Mr. Conington be shot, the heroic translator will be shot too, and yet not two birds be knocked down with the one stone either." "No fear of that, Zumpt," said Bopp. "Epic fruit doesn't readily grow on romantic bushes." "Nor so very unready either," said Zumpt, "if Paradise Lost grew on a bush which was romantic enough while in the nursery to produce Comus, and if a certain other bush, with which we are all very well acquainted, produced both 'Tityre tu patulae,' and *ILLE EGO QUI QUONDAM*." "But neither Virgil nor Milton ever travestied epic, ever turned epic into romance," said Bopp. "No matter," said Priscian, "I advise you to give up, seeing the bush itself is against you, and tells you in plain terms how clever it is at turn-

ing: *ILLE EGO QUI QUONDAM*." "You may as well give up with a good grace, Bopp," said Zumpt; "you have not a foot to stand on. Look at the handwriting; Mr. Conington's all the world over; Mr. Conington's *I*, Mr. Conington's *the*, Mr. Conington's *same*. Peas were never liker, than these three words and Mr. Conington's." "And I picked up the paper," said Priscian, "exactly where Mr. Conington was standing, when that impudent fellow, there, with the shield, came between us and him. Give up, Bopp." "I do give up," said Bopp:

"cedo equidem, nec, Zumpti, tibi comes ire recuso."

The verses are Mr. Conington's, and cover, like charity, a multitude of sins. "It's all as it should be," said Priscian, "and after the most approved fashion; lay, first, and epic after:

'Tityre, rura prius, sed post cantabimus arma'."

"I add my calculus," said Lindley, relaxing a little from his severity and harking-in with the general sophos:

'his prentice han' he tried on man,
and then he made the lasses, O!'

Long live Mr. Conington and bring to a conclusion as happy as the beginning, his *Aeneis* in English heroic." So said, and hats doffed, they walked off, each his own separate way, leaving me there to pick up, and treasure in my pocket, the piece of paper they had thrown away, and meditate at leisure in my easy chair on the strange vision I had just seen

"qua se
 plena per insertas fundebat luna fenestras."
 So full was I of it, that, while strip-
 ping for bed, I continued to see be-
 fore me, less clearly than in the vi-
 sion, but still clearly and un mistake-
 ably, the four demigods with their
 ferulas, filleted hair, knit brows, and
 severe, classic features. Two or three
 times I put on, and as often took off,
 my nightcap, and when I lay down
 at last, it was my *VENI-VIDI-VICI*
 shield I had under my head, not my
 pillow; octosyllabic rhymes, with
 less either of sense or grammar than
 even Mr. Conington's, kept chiming
 in my ears till a late hour of the
 night, and just as I went to sleep
 and began to forget myself, had
 taken somewhat of the following
 form:

I do not like you, Juno fell;
 the reason why, I know full well:
 Juno's vixen and not fell,

as Mr. Conington knows well
 and will, if you ask him, tell,
 I do not like you, Juno fell.

I do not like you, Juno fell;
 the reason why, I know full well:
 saeva's vixen and not fell,
 as Mr. Conington knows well
 and will, if you ask him, tell.
 I do not like you, Juno fell;
 why should I like you, Juno fell?
 vixen Juno I like well;
 you I don't like, Juno fell.

Vixen Juno, is it well
 Mr. Conington should tell
 of Aeneas made to sate
 fell Juno's unforgetting hate,
 seeing it wasn't her hate at all,
 but your anger did it all,
 and—when at last he onward bore,
 and landed on Lavinium's shore:—
 long tossing earth and ocean o'er,—
 made him much dig in battle-field,
 striving his city's walls to build.

and give his Gods that home,
 whence come the hardy Latin brood,
 the ancient dukes of Alba's blood,
 and lofty-rampired Rome?

1—15.

ILLE — IRAE

The proem, preface or argument of the poem—the prelude, as it were, of the song—consisting of three parts, of which the first, ILLE EGO—AGRICOLIS, introduces the author himself, the second, AT NUNC—ROMAE, introduces the poem and specifies of what the poem treats, while the third, MUSA—IRAE, invokes the Muse. The poem proper, or actual story, commences only with URBS ANTIQUA FUIT.

1 (a).

ILLE EGO

The proof which the first two words of the *Aeneis* afford of the obscurity, to us moderns at least, not merely of Virgil's style, but of the Latin language itself, is startling, almost sufficient to deter from the study both of Virgil and Latin. Of these two words there are no fewer than three different interpretations involving as many different structures.

The first is that of those commentators who insist that ILLE and EGO are the nominatives, one before and the other after, of the verb *sum subauditum*, and that the sense is: *I am he who*, i. e. *I am the man, who*: "EGO ILLE [sum]," Ruæus. 'Will man aber wirklich dem satze eine form geben, so muss man zu ILLE EGO suppliren sum,' Süpfle. To this, the most generally received interpretation, I object, first, the absolute inapplicability both of this interpretation and the analysis on which it is founded, to the great majority of the cases in which the formula *ille ego* occurs elsewhere, ex. gr. to Ovid, *Trist.* 4, 10, 1; *Met.* 1, 757; *Amor.*

3, 8, 23; 2, 1, 1; *Heroid.* 12, 105; Tibull. 3, 4, 71; Vespa, *Iudicium coci et pistoris* (Wernsdorf); *Anth. Lat.* (Meyer) 209, 1; 1373, 3; 1274, 3; *Anth. Lat.* (Burm.) 4, 32; 4, 40; Vavassor, *Eleg.* 1, 1, all cited below; secondly, the great improbability that Virgil would commence his *Aeneis* with the prosaic thesis: I am he who; and, thirdly, the contrary analysis and interpretation of each of the three ancient grammarians, Sergius, Pompeius and Priscian, for which see below.

To the second possible interpretation and analysis, viz. that of those who—quoting, with Thiel, as parallel and similar, the younger Pliny's (*Ep.* 1, 6) not only unparallel and dissimilar but actually inverse “ego ille quem nosti, apros tres cepi,”—regard ILLE and EGO as placed in apposition and as affording the sense: *I, he who*, i. e. *I, the man who*, there is the perhaps even graver objection that ILLE EGO QUI, so understood, expresses no more than EGO QUI; in other words, that the very first word of the *Aeneis* contributes nothing to the sense—is, so far as the sense is concerned, utterly useless and supererogatory.

The third and last interpretation is that of those who, with Forcellini, Heyne, and Caro, regard ILLE as performing the part of an article or demonstrative to EGO, i. e. as added to EGO in the same manner as it is commonly added to a substantive, viz. for the sake of specification and emphasis, and interpret: *That I, that same I, who*: “Aliquando emphasim habet[ille], et ponitur ad ostendendam insignem aliquam personam aut rem. . . Medea illa; . . Pittacus ille; . . . Magno illi Alexandro. . . Hac ratione iungitur cum ego, Virg. 1 Aen. 1: ILLE EGO.” Forcellini. “Sententia integra: ILLE EGO . . . NUNC HORRENTIA MARTIS ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO. Bene autem, tam longa oratione interiecta, poterat illud AT in apodosi praefigi, quod toties factum videmus; quod adeo reprehendi, aut AT in et mutari nolim.” Heyne.

“Quell' io, che già tra selve, e tra pastori,
di Titiro sonai l'umil sampogna,”

Caro.

With these last-mentioned critics I take my decided stand, **first and mainly** because of the so general practice of the Greeks

to add an article or demonstrative to a personal pronoun for the purpose of specification and emphasis; Hom. *Od.* 24, 321 (Ulysses recognizing his father):

κεινος μεν τοι οδ' αυτος εγω, πατερ, ον συ μεταλλας,
ηλυθον εικοστω ετει ες πατριδα γαιαν.

Hom. *Od.* 21, 207:

ενδον μεν δη οδ' αυτος εγω, κακα πολλα μογησας,
ηλυθον εικοστω ετει ες πατριδα γαιαν,

where not only is it plain that οδ', no less than αυτος, is added to εγω for the sake of emphasis and clear specification (*this very I*), but there is, for those who require authority for everything, the express testimony of Eustathius to that effect: εκ παραλληλου προς ενδειξιν σαφους αναγνωρισμου, οι τρεις κεινται συνδεσμοι' το οδε, το αυτος, και το εγω., explicit testimony concerning the expression in a particular passage, which is confirmed by the no less explicit testimony of Apollonius Alexandrinus (*de Syntax.* 3. ed. Sylburg. p. 207) concerning the expression in general: παλιν γαρ ακωλυτον το οδ' εγω, και ουτος εγω, καθως προειπομεν., as well as by the testimony of the same grammarian (*ibid.* p. 65) concerning the inflexions of the same expression, τον εμε and τον σε: μη δε εκεινο γε παραλείπειθω, ως εξαιρετως η Αττικη χρησης, ου δεοντως, επι μονης αιτιατικης το αρθρον παρελαμβάνεν' ως εν τω τον εμε, τον σε, αυτιχα γουν και παρα Καλλιμαχῳ, τον σε Κροτωπιαδην.

Hom. *Od.* 1, 76:

αλλ' αγεθ', ημεις οιδε περιφραζόμεθα παντες
νοστον, οπως ελθῃσι.

let all these we here (all these of us here) discuss. Soph. *Philoct.* 261:

οδ' ειμ' εγω σοι κεινος, ον κλυεις ισως
τιων Ηρακλειων οντα δεσποτην οπλων,
ο του Ποιαντος παις Φιλοκτητης·

this I am he. Soph. *Antig.* 867 (ed. Dind.):

ΑΝΤΙΓ. προς ους αραιος, αγαμος, αδ' εγω μετοικος ερχομαι.

to whom this I emigrate. Anth. Graec. (Leipz. 1829) 7, 172:

ο πριν εγω και ψηρα, και αρπακτειραν ερυκων
σπερματος, υψιπετη Βιστονιαν γερανον,
ρινου χερμασθηρος ευστροφα κωλα τιταινιων,
Αλκιμενης, πτανων ειργον απωθε νεφος.

ibid. 338:

Ἄδε τοι, Ἀρχῖου υἱε Περικλῆες, α λιθῖνα ἴγω
εστακα σταλα, μναμα κυναγεσίας·

ibid. 145:

Ἀδ' ἐγὼ α τλαμῶν ἀρετὰ παρὰ τῆδε καθῆμαι
Αἰάντος τυμβῶν κειρομένα πλοκαμούς·

ibid. 324:

Ἀδ' ἐγὼ α περιβώτος ὑπο πλακί τῆδε τεθαῖμαι,
μουνῶ ἐνὶ ζωνῶν ἀνερὶ λυσαμένα.

with which compare Eurip. *Hippol.* 1364:

οδ' ο σεμνος ἐγὼ καὶ θεοσεπτῶρ,
οδ' ο σωφροσύνη πάντας ὑπερσχιών,
προυπτὸν ἐς Ἄδαν στείχω κατὰ γὰρ,
ὀλεσας βίον.

i. e. οδ' ο σεμνός καὶ θεοσεπτῶρ ἐγὼ, οἱ οδ' ἐγὼ ο σεμνός καὶ θεοσεπτῶρ. Theocr. *Idyll.* 1, 120:

Δαφνὶς ἐγὼν ὁδὲ τήνος, ο τὰς βῆας ὠδὲ νομειῶν,
Δαφνὶς ο τοῖς ταυροῖς καὶ πορτίας ὠδὲ ποτισδῶν.

also Eurip. *Hecub.* 1262:

οὗτος σὺ μαινεῖ, καὶ κακῶν ἐρᾶς τυχεῖν;

not "heus tu, insanis?" but *hic tu, insanis?* and 1109: οὗτος, τι πασχεις; not "heus, quid pateris?" but *hic [tu], quid pateris?*; Soph. *Ajax*, 1047: οὗτος, σε φωνῶ, not with Stephanus (in *Thesaur.*) "heus tu, te appello", but *hic [tu], te appello*; and 71 (Minerva calling to Ajax):

οὗτος, σε, τὸν τὰς αἰχμαλωτίδας χεράς
δεσμοῖς ἀπευθύνοντα, προσμολεῖν καλῶ.

not "heus tu, te voco", but, with Stephanus (in *Thesaur.*) οὗτος [σὺ], σε, τὸν . . . καλῶ. *hic [tu], te voco*; and 89 (Minerva to Ajax):

ὦ οὗτος, Αἴας, δευτέρων σε προσκαλῶ,

not "heus tu, Ajax," but *o hic tu, Ajax*, ὦ οὗτος [σὺ], Αἴας. Aristoph. *Aves*, 1199:

αὐτῇ, σὺ ποὶ ποὶ ποὶ πετεῖ;

not "heus tu, quo, quo, quo volas?" but *haec tu, quo, quo, quo volas?* Aristoph. *Vespae*, 1364:

ὦ οὗτος οὗτος, τυφεδανε,

not "heus, heus tu, decrepite," but *o hic, hic tu, decrepite*.

Apollon. Alexand. *de Syntax.* 1, p. 69 (ed. Sylburg.): και αυτη δε εστιν αποδειξις του ω μη ειναι αρθρον καθοτι προτιθεται εσθ' οτε δευτικως της ουτος., where της = της αντωνυμιας, and where after ουτος is added in Sylburg's Latin translation: ω ουτος.

and, secondly, because the Latin ille ego elsewhere (except in those cases in which the substantive verb is either expressed, as in Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 1, 2, 131:

"Ille ego sum, qui te colui; quem festa solebat
inter convivas mensa videre tuos."

and *Met.* 4, 226 (Sol speaking):

. . . "ille ego sum qui longum metior annum."

or, as in Ovid, *ex Ponto* 1, 2, 133 and 138, clearly inferrible from the context) seems, to me at least, insusceptible of other satisfactory analysis than: personal pronoun rendered emphatic by demonstrative; or of other satisfactory interpretation than: *that I, that same I*; ex. gr. Sil. 11, 177:

"ille ego sanguis
Dardanius, cui sacra pater, cui nomina liquit
ab Iove ducta Capys, magno cognatus Iulo,
ille ego, semihomines inter Nasamonas, et inter
saevum atque aequantem ritus Garamanta ferarum,
Marmarico ponam tentoria mixtus alumno?"

shall that I . . . that I . . . pitch my tent? Stat. *Silv.* 5, 3, 7
(ed. Markl.):

. . . "fugere meos Parnasia crines
vellera, funestamque ederis irrepere taxum
extimui, trepidamque (nefas) arescere laurum,
ille [*vulgo certe*] ego, magnanimum qui facta attollere regum
ibam altum spirans, Martemque aequare canendo."

that I who used to go . . . was very much afraid. Stat.
Silv. 5, 5, 38:

"Ille ego, qui toties blandus matrumque patrumque
vulnera, qui vivos potui mulcere dolores,
ille ego, lugentum mitis solator, acerbis
auditus tumultis et descendantibus umbris,

deficio, medicasque manus, fomentaque quaero
vulneribus (sed summa) meis."

*that I who was able so often to soothe wounds, . . . that I, the
mild solacer of mourners . . . faint, and require the healing hand.*
Ovid, *Trist.* 4, 10, 1 (of himself):

"Ille ego, qui fuerim, tenerorum lusor amorum,
quem legis, ut noris, accipe, posteritas,"

who that I, whom you are reading, was. Ovid, *Met.* 1, 757
(Phaeton speaking):

. "ille ego liber,
ille ferox tacui,"

that free I, that high-spirited I. Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 8, 23:

"Ille ego Musarum purus Phoebique sacerdos
ad rigidas canto carmen inane fores,"

that I, pure priest. Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 1, 1:

"Hoc quoque composui, Pelignis natus aquosis,
ille ego nequitiae Naso poeta meae,"

that I, Naso, poet of my own naughtiness. Ovid, *Her.* 12, 105
(Medea to Jason):

"illa ego, quae tibi sum nunc denique barbara facta,
nunc tibi sum pauper, nunc tibi visa nocens,
flammea subdixi medicato lumina somno,
et tibi, quae raperes, vellera tuta dedi."

Tibull. 3, 4, 71:

"sed perlucenti cantus meditabar avena,
ille ego, Latonae filius atque Iovis."

that I, son of Latona and Jove. Vespa, *Iudicium coci et pistoris*
(Wernsdorf):

"Ille ego Vespa precor, cui, Divae, saepe dedistis
per multas urbes, populo spectante, favorem,"

that I, Vespa. Ael. Hadrian. *Epitaph. Sorani Batavi*, *Anth.*
Lat. (Meyer) 209, 1:

"Ille ego Pannoniis quondam notissimus oris,
.
Hadriano potui qui iudice vasta profundi

aequora Danubii cunctis tranare sub armis,

 hic situs, hic memori saxo mea facta sacravi."

Epitaph. ibid. 1373, 3:

"Ille ego, qui vixi bis deno circine solis,
 flore genas tenero vernans et robore pollens,
 miles eram, sum deinde cinis de milite factus."

Epitaph. Homonoeae, ibid. 1274, 3:

"Illa ego, quae claris fueram praelata puellis,
 hoc Homonoea brevi condita sum tumulo."

Anth. Lat. (Burm.) 4, 32:

"Ille ego, qui quondam pre . . . paucisque diebus
 praetextatus agri iudex finisque regendi,
 iustitiam colui matremque aequaliter ambas,
 hic sum, quem cernis, nunc Cassius Agrippinus."

ibid. 4, 40:

"Hic situs ille ego sum merulator Publius ipse,
 quod vocitatus eram Baebius cognomine patris."

Vavassor, *Eleg. I, 1* (the town Rupella to its conqueror):

"Illa ego dura silex flector, naturaue planctus
 imperat, et forti victa dolore fleo."

with which compare Terent. *Adelph. 5, 4, 17:*

. . . "ille alter sine labore patria potitur commoda."

Terent. *Eun. 2, 3, 8:*

"Hic vero est, qui si amare occeperit, ludum iocumque dices
 fuisse illum alterum, praeut huius rabies quae dabit."

Terent. *Adelph. 1, 2, 27:*

. . . "et tu illum tuum, si esses homo,
 sineres nunc facere, dum per aetatem licet,"

Terent. *Adelph. 1, 2, 59:*

. . . . "iste tuus ipse sentiet
 posterius: nolo in illum gravius dicere."

Cic. *pro Milone*: "Ubi nunc senatus est, quem secuti sumus?
 ubi equites Romani illi, illi, inquit, tui?" *Epitaph. Laevini et*

Pontii, Anth. Lat. (Burm.) 4, 31:

"Vester ego, Insubres, iaceo hic sub marmore, vester
Laevinus, Lyciae gloria gentis eram."

Virg. Aen. 10, 851:

"idem ego, nate, tuum maculavi crimine nomen,"

Aen. 7, 255:

"hunc illum fatis externa a sede profectum
portendi generum,"

Aen. 7, 272:

. . . . "hunc illum poscere fata
et reor, et, si quid veri mens augurat, opto."

and, **thirdly**, on account of the express consentient opinion and judgment of no less than three of the elder grammarians; Sergius, *Explanat. in Donat. 1*, Keil vol. 4, p. 500: "Omnia enim pronomina aut finita sunt aut infinita. finita dicuntur quae definiunt certas personas. quando dico ego, me tantum intellegis; quando dico tu, te tantum intellegis; ideo dicuntur finita. quando dico ille, differentiam habet: si ad praesentem refertur, finitum pronomen est; si ad absentem, incipit esse minus quam finitum. unde adparet quod adiungit sibi aliam personam:

'ille ego sum corpus famosi gloria circi.'

si enim finitum pronomen semper esset ille, cur sibi adiungeret ego?" Pompeius, *Comment.* Keil vol. V, p. 202: "*Ego* penitus finitum est nec habet aliquam dubietatem. finitum autem dicitur pronomen, quando definit personam. ut puta ego: quando dico ego, non potes aliquem intellegere alium, sed me, qui loquor. item tu quando dico, non potes intellegere alium sed ipsum solum, ad quem dirigit sermonem. ille vero habet aliquam differentiam: cum debeat naturaliter finitum esse ille, tamen aliquotiens accedit in minus quam finitum pronomen, et differentiam ipsam sic exprimimus, ut, quando de praesente loquimur, tunc finitum sit pronomen, si autem de absente sit relatio, minus quam finitum sit. hoc etiam significatur elocutione poetarum [et apud oratores invenimus hoc ipsum, tamen et apud poetas invenimus]:

ILLE EGO QUI QUONDAM GRACILI MODULATUS AVENA.

ILLE EGO: si ILLE finitum est pronomen, quid opus fuerat ut interponeretur EGO? sed ex eo quod dixit EGO ostendit hoc ipsum pronomen, id est ILLE, quoniam non satis finitum est." Priscian, *Inst. Gramm.* 17, 144 (ed. Hertz ap. Keil): "Ipse additivum vel appositivum dicitur, quod Apollonius *επιταγματικον* nominat, non quod solum hoc pronomen aliis pronominibus vel etiam nominibus apponitur, sed quod frequentius quam alia, ut ego ipse, tu ipse, ille ipse, Virgilius ipse, Cicero ipse. inveniuntur enim et alia pronomina appositiva [i. e. *επιταγματικα*]: Virgilius:

ILLE EGO QUI QUONDAM GRACILI MODULATUS AVENA.

idem in bucolico:

'nec tuus hic Moeris, nec viveret ipse Menalcas.'

idem [in 1]:

'tunc ille Aeneas' etc.

per excellentiam igitur hoc pronomen, id est ipse, quasi proprium, quod commune est multorum, appositionis nomen possidet. Et sciendum, quod tertiae omnes personae pronominum possunt per supra dictam figuram apponi primae et secundae personae, excepto sui, sibi, se, a se, prima autem vel secunda persona nec invicem sibi, nec tertiae apponi possunt. nemo enim dicit ego tu es vel tu ego sum nec ego ille facit vel tu ille facit; ille autem ego facio et tu ille facis dicitur. nam id est appositivum, quod apponitur illi, ad quod verbum redditur." And again 17, 203: "Pronomen ipse tribus aptissime, ut supra diximus, coniungitur personis. itaque Apollonius *επιταγματικον* hoc vocat, i. e. appositivum, quod aliis pronominibus apponitur, ut ipse ego vel ego ipse, tu ipse, ille ipse. et quamvis inveniantur etiam alia pronomina figurate sic coniuncta per diversas personas, ut ego ille, tu ille, hic ille, ut Virgilius: ILLE EGO—CARMEN. idem in 1 Aeneidis: 'tunc ille—Anchisae.' Terentius in Andria: 'Hic est ille—ludere.', non tamen quomodo ipse sine alio pronomine possunt primae et secundae personae verbis adiungi, ut ipse facio, ipse facis. Virgilius in II: 'quaeque ipse miserrima vidi.' idem in

bucolicon: 'cum faciam—ipse venito.' alias autem voces tertiae pronominum personae per se sic verbis primae et secundae personae non possumus copulare. nemo enim dicit ille facio et ille facis nisi addas et pronomina primam et secundam demonstrantia personam, ut Cicero invectivarum II: 'hic ego vehemens ille consul, qui verbo cives in exilium eicio, quaesivi a Catilina.' sed ille ego vel ille tu cum dicimus, relationem significamus antecedentis cognitionis, ipse ego vero discretionem, id est ipse ego per me et non alius."

How much more nobly Virgil's poem is commenced by ILLE EGO regarded as an intensive EGO and pronounced by necessary elision ILLEGO, than by the two separately insignificant words ILLE and EGO, and especially by those two words regarded as factors of the common-place thesis ego sum ille, I need not point out.

The words ILLE EGO thus analyzed stand altogether without a verb, the sentence being abruptly broken off at AGRICOLIS, and a new sentence begun with AT NUNC, an anacoluthon of which our author's writings afford but too many examples; see Rem. on "Progeniem sed enim," *rr.* 23—26, ad fin.

1 (b).

AVENA

Perhaps no word in the whole Aeneis has been more universally misunderstood by commentators, translators, and imitators of Virgil, than this word, occurring in the very first verse. By some it has been understood to signify the fife or single-tubed pipe (Gr. *μοναυλος*, *μονοαλαμος*), the piffero of the Italians, and to be used to signify that instrument, because the avena, culmus, or straw-halm of the fields, resembles the fife in shape, being, like it, long, cylindrical, and hollow ("GRACILI AVENA, bescheiden, wie calamus und arundo, als einröhrige hirtenflöte, die einfachste gattung des idyllischen gesanges, die niedrigste stufe der kunst bezeichnend," Thiel. "Avena, not a straw (which would be absurd), but a reed, or

perhaps a pipe of reeds, hollow like a straw," Coningt. ad *Ecl.* 1, 2. "Die einfachste röhre war die einröhrige halmpfeife (avena, *E.* 1, 2; calamus, *E.* 1, 10; fistula, *E.* 3, 22; arundo, *E.* 6, 8; cicuta, *E.* 2, 36; 5, 85); die siebenröhrige syrinx (*E.* 2, 36) gehörte schon zu den künstlicheren," Ladewig, vol. 1, p. 15. 1865). Others will not allow avena even this poor honor, insist that it is no more than the simple straw-halm itself, the mere culmus or avena of the fields, formed into a pipe "Tenui avena; culmo, stipula: unde rustici (plerumque) cantare consueverunt. Alibi (*Ecl.* 3, 27): 'stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen.' Dicendo autem tenui avena, humilis stili genus (humilis) latenter ostendit; quo (ut supra dictum est) in bucolicis utitur." Serv. ad *Ecl.* 1, 2 (ed. Lion). "Gracili culmo aut calamo," Ascens. ad *Ecl.* 1, 2.

"I that my slender oten pipe in verse was wont to sound" Phaer.

"I the ilk umquhillis, that in the small ait rede
toned my sang," Douglas.

"Pollux: 'παρά δε Αιγυπτίοις, πολυφθογγος αυλος, Οσιριδος ευρημα, εκ κλαμης κριθνης.' tibia ex stipula hordeacea. inde erat et pastorum tibicinium. tenuis avena poetæ dicitur et calamus agrestis et stipula: 'Stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen.' cui opponitur fistula iuncta disparibus cannis, η ευρυξ," Salmas. ad *Solin.* p. 124, col. 2 (Paris, 1629). "Pomponius avenam pro calamo vel stipula frugis posuit. ut apud poetam: 'carmen tenui meditaris avena.' i. e. calamo," Id. *ibid.* p. 386, col. 1. "Avena; haec tibia est calamina: conficitur enim ex calamo segetis, quod monet Dalecamp. in Plin." La Cerda.

"Tityrus, du, im gewölbe der spreizenden buche gelehnet,
sinnst mit waldgesange den schwächtigen halm zu begeistern,"

Voss, translating *Ecl.* 1, 1 and 2.

"Diesen gesang, dessen inhalt die schöne Amaryllis ist, dichtet Tityrus bald singend, bald auf der einröhrigen pfeife von haber- oder gerstenhalm, die im spott, 3, 27, der siebenröhrigen syringe entgegengestellt, ein schnarrender strohhalm heisst, die melodie versuchend. Dieselbige halmpfeife wird v. 10 calamus genannt, weil κλαμος nach Hesychius auch ein kornhalm und eine pfeife ist," Voss, ad *Ecl.* 1, 1 and 2), an interpretation so congenial to the fancy of lexicographers and poets

(who seem as little as the commentators to have asked themselves how were it possible with such an instrument to make the woods resound, "silvas resonare") that we have Spenser, in fancied imitation of Virgil, changing his "oaten reeds" for "trumpets" (*Faerie Queene*, 1, 1: "For trumpets sterne to chaunge mine oaten reeds"), Dryden making Virgil himself sing to an "oaten pipe" ("Sung to my oaten pipe"), and Danneley (*Encycl. of Music*, London, 1825, sub voc. flute) informing us that "Several species of flutes have been named from their forms, or from the materials of which they were composed; thus the avena was merely an oaten straw; the calamus, hollow reeds of different lengths united together.", while others either doubt not at all that avena is a depreciating, disparaging metaphor for the pastoral pipe, the σὺρυξ, or fistula ("Tenui avena, ut culmus pro fistula sit," Heyn. ad *Ecl.* 1, 2. "Avena pro fistula pastoricia, ut infra v. 10, calamus, et *Ecl.* 3, 27, cum contemptu, stridens stipula," Forbiger, ad *Ecl.* 1, 2), or, uncertain, enquire whether it may not be so ("nisi quis velit pro fistula sumi," La Cerda, ad *Ecl.* 1, 2, in continuation, as above).

Let us see whether there are not sufficient data for determining to a perfect certainty, not only that avena is none of all these, but what avena is. Our author represents himself here as he has represented himself in the first Eclogue, v. 2:

"silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena,"

and as he has represented Gallus in the tenth Eclogue, v. 51:

. . . "pastoris Siculi modulabor avena."

as playing on the avena, or on an avena, — which, it is impossible to fix precisely, the Latin language always wanting the precision afforded by the article. But no matter which; our author represents himself as playing on avena. Now shepherds and other rustics, but especially shepherds, are continually represented as playing on avena;

Ecl. 10, 51:

. . . "pastoris Siculi modulabor avena."

Tibull. 2, 1, 51:

"agricola assidue primum satius aratro
cantavit certo rustica verba pede:
et satur arenti primum est modulatus avena
carmen; ut ornatos diceret ante Deos."

Calpurn. 8, 27 (to Tityrus):

"sed quia tu nostrae musam deposcis avenae,
accipe, quae super haec cerasus, quam cernis ad amnem,
continet, incisio servans mea carmina libro."

and again the same eclogist in his epicedion for Meliboeus, further on in the same eclogue:

"mella ferunt Nymphae, pictas dat Flora coronas,
manibus hic supremus honos, dant carmina Musae,
carmina dant Musae, nos te modulamur avena."

and are so represented not only without any disparagement, either of the instrument or of the music, but with the greatest praise:

Calpurnius, in the same epicedion:

"saepe etiam senior, ne nos cantare pigeret,
laetus Phoebea dixisti carmen avena.
felix o Meliboe, vale; tibi frondis odora
munera dat, lauros carpens, ruralis Apollo."

Sil. 14, 466:

... "Daphnin amarunt
Sicelides Musae. dexter donavit avena
Phoebus Castalia, et iussit, proiectus in herba
siquando caneret, laetos per prata, per arva
ad Daphnin properare greges, rivosque silere.
ille ubi, septena modulatus arundine carmen,
mulcebat silvas, non unquam tempore eodem
Siren assuetos effudit in aequore cantus:
Scyllaei tacuere canes: stetit atra Charybdis:
et laetus scopulis audivit iubilant Cyclops."

Avena is, besides, the instrument of the shepherd's God, Pan, its inventor,

Calpurn. 10, 1:

"Nyctilos atque Mycon; nec non et pulcher Amyntas
torrentem patula vitabant ilice solem;
quum Pan venatu fessus recubare sub ulmo
coeperat, et somno lassatas sumere vires,
quem super ex tereti pendebat fistula ramo.
hanc pueri (tamquam praedam pro carmine possent
sumere, fasque esset calamos tractare Deorum)
invadunt furto: sed nec resonare canorem
fistula, quem suerat, nec vult contexere carmen;
sed pro carminibus male dissona sibila reddit.
Tum Pan excussus sonitu stridentis avenae,
iamque videns: 'pueri, si carmina poscitis, inquit,
ipse canam; nulli fas est inflare cicutas,
quas ego Maenalis cera coniungo sub antris.
iamque ego, Bacche, tuos ortus et semina vitis
ordine detexam: debemus carmina Baccho'.
haec fatus, coepit calamis sic montivagus Pan."

and, so far from being a simple, single pipe or tube, consists of several pipes or tubes, united together in a certain order with

wax (i. e. waxed cord; see Pollux, quoted below; also Spano, quoted below; also Calpurn. 4, 19: "iam puerum calamos et odoraē vincula cerae iungere non cohibes," and compare the use of "cera" for tabula cerata, Propert. 4, 6, 3: "cera Philetæis certet Romana corymbis,").

Calpurnius (just quoted) referring to the avena of his eleventh verse:

... "nulli fas est inflare cicutas,
quas ego [Pan] Maenaliis cera coniungo sub antris."

But fistula (συριγξ) is also the rustic's and especially the shepherd's musical instrument;

Virg. Ecl. 2, 36:

"est mihi disparibus septem compacta ciculis
fistula, Damoetas dono mihi quam dedit olim,
et dixit moriens: te nunc habet ista secundum."

Ecl. 3, 25:

"cantando tu illum? aut unquam tibi fistula cera
iuncta fuit? non tu in trivis, indocte, solebas
stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?"

Ecl. 8, 33:

"dumque tibi est odio mea fistula, dumque capellæ,"

Ecl. 10, 31:

... "cantabitis, Arcades, inquit,
montibus hæc vestris: soli cantare periti
Arcades. o mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant,
vestra meos olim si fistula dicat amores!"

Aen. 3, 661 (of the shepherd Polyphemus):

... "de collo fistula pendet."

Copa 9:

"est et, Maenaliæ quæ garrît dulce sub antro,
rustica pastoris fistula more sonans."

Hor. Carm. 4, 12, 9:

"dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium
custodes ovium carmina fistula,
delectantque deum, cui pecus et nigri
colles Arcadiæ placent."

Hom. Il. 18, 525:

δυω δ' αμ' ἐποντο νομῆες

τερπομένοι συριγί:

Longus, 4, 11: παρῶσα τοῖς λεγομένοις τῇ κλεαρίστῃ, πειραν ἐπεθυμῆσε τοῦ λεγθέντος λαβεῖν, καὶ κέλευει τὸν Δάφνιν ταῖς αἰξίνων εἰωθε συρίσαι, καὶ ἐπαγγέλλεται συρίσαντι χάρισσθαι χιτῶνα καὶ γλαῖναν καὶ υποδήματα. Ὁ δὲ καθίσας αὐτοὺς [αἱ αὐτὰς] ὥσπερ θεάτρον, στας ὑπο τῇ φῆγῳ, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πηρᾶς τὴν συριγγὰ κομίσας, πρῶτα μὲν ὀλίγον ἐνεπνεύσει· καὶ αἱ αἰγὲς ἐστήσαν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἄραμναι. εἰτα ἐνεπνεύσει το νομίον· καὶ αἱ

αιγες ενεμοντο, νευσασαι· κατω. αυθις λιγυρον εδωκε· και αθροαι κατεκλι-
θησαν. εσυρισε τε και οξυ μελος· αι δε, ωσπερ λυκου προσιοντος, εις την
υλην κατεφυγον. μετ' ολιγον ανακλητικον εφθεγγατο· και εξελθουσαι της
υλης, πλησιν αυτου των ποδιων συνεδραμον. ουδε ανθρωπους οικετας
ειδεν αν τις ουτω πειθεμενους προσταγματι δεσποτου.

is played on by Pan;

Calpurnius (just quoted):

"quem [Pana] super ex torēti pendebat fistula ramo."

Lucret 4, 590:

"et genus agricolū late sentiscere, cum Pan,
pinos semiferi capitis velamina quassans,
unco saepe labro calamos percurrit hiantes,
fistula sylvestrem ne cesset fundere musam."

is invented by, and sacred to, Pan;

Ovid, *Met.* 1, 687:

"quaerit quoque [Argus], namque reperta
fistula nuper erat, qua sit ratione reperta.

Panaque, quum pressam sibi iam Syringa putaret,
corpore pro nymphae calamos tenuisse palustres;
dumque ibi suspirat, motos in arundine ventos
effecisse sonum tenuem, similemque querenti:
arte nova vocisque Deum dulcedine captum,
'hoc mihi concillium tecum, dixisse, manebit.'
atque ita disparibus calamis compagino cerae
inter se iunctis nomen tenuisse puellae."

Pausan. 8, 38: και Πανος ιερον εν αυτοις εστι Νομίου, και το χωριον ονομα-
ζουσι Μελπειαν, το απο της συριγγος μελος ενταυθα Πανος ευρεθηναι
λεγοντες· Plin. *N. H.* 7, 56, 57: "Fistulam, et monaulum Pan Mer-
curii." Achill. Tat. 8, 6: Η συριγξ αυλοι μεν εισι πολλοι, καλαμοι δε των
αυλων εκαστος· αυλουσι δ' οι καλαμοι παντες ωσπερ αυλος εις . . .
Τεμνει δη τους καλαμους υπ' οργης ο Παν, ως κλεπτοντας αυτου την ερω-
μενην. Επει δε μετα ταυτ' ουκ ειχεν ευρειν, εις τους καλαμους δοκων
λειυσθαι την κορην, εκλαε την τομην, νομιζων τεθνηκεναι την ερωμενην.
Συμφορησας ουν τα τετμημενα των καλαμων ως μελη του σωματος, και
συνθεις εις εν σωμα, ειχε δια χειρων τας τομας των καλαμων, καταφιλων
ως της κορης τραυματα. Εστεινε δ' ερωτικον επιθεις το στομα, και ενεπνει
ανωθεν εις τους αυλους αμα φιλων Το δε πνευμα δια των εν τοις καλα-
μοις στενωπων καταρρεον, αυληματα εποiei, και η συριγξ ειχε φωνην.
Tibull. 2, 5, 29:

"pendebatque, vagi pastoris in arbore votum,
garrula silvestri fistula sacra deo."

Servius, ad *Ecl.* 2, 32: "Fistulam septem calamorum habet [Pan].

Pan, secundum fabulas, amasse Syringam nympham dicitur:
quam cum sequeretur, illa, implorato Terrae auxilio, in calamum con-
versa est; quem Pan ad solatium amoris incidit, et sibi fistulam

fecit." Philargyrius, *ibid.*: "Pan, pastoralis deus; per cornu solem significat et lunam; per fistulam septem planetas stellas." Servius, ad *Ecl.* 8, 24: "[Pan] qui fistula canere primus invenit, quia calamos in usum cantilenae adducens inertes esse non passus est." Probus, ad *Ecl.* 4, 58: "Pan . . . fistulam carmenque composuit."

and consists of several pipes or tubes, united together with wax, i. e. waxed cord.

Calpurn. (just quoted); Iul. Poll. 4, 69: ἐπὶ δὲ συριγγὸς εἰποῖς ἀν παραγεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὸ στόμα καὶ παραφέρειν, καὶ διασπείρειν τὸ πνεῦμα. ἡ μὲν οὖν καλαμῶν ἐστὶ συνθήκη, λίνω καὶ κηρῷ συνδεδεῖσθαι, ἡ γὰρ αὐτοσχέδιος, ἀνθοὶ πολλοὶ, ἑκάστος ὑφ' ἑκάστῳ κατὰ μικρὸν υπολὴγοντες εἰς τὸν ἐλαχίστον ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου, etc.; Serv. and Philarg. ad *Ecl.* 2, 32, (just quoted); Serv. ad *Ecl.* 8, 24 (just quoted); Virg. *Ecl.* 2, 36, and 3, 25 (just quoted); Lucret. 4, 590 (just quoted); Ovid, *Met.* 1, 687, (just quoted); Tibull. 2, 5, 31:

"fistula, cui semper decrescit arundinis ordo;
nam calamus cera iungitur usque minor."

In our text, therefore, the word *avena* is used, not in its primary sense of hollow vegetable stalk, 'halm, or reed (Plin. *N. H.* 24, 18, 103 (ed. Sillig): "Scarabaeum haec [eriphia] in *avena* habet susum deorsum decurrentem cum sono haedi, unde et nomen accepit." Plin. *N. H.* 19, *sect.* 1 (of the plant *linum*): "Denique tam parvo semine nasci quod orbem terrarum ultro citro portet, tam gracili *avena*, tam non alte a tellure sublata, neque id viribus suis nexum, sed fractum tunsumque et in molli-tiam lanae coactum iniuria naturae ac summa audacia, et . . . pervenire."), but in its secondary sense of musical instrument (Mart. 8, 3, 21:

"angusta cantare licet videaris *avena*,
dum tua multorum vincat *avena* tubas",

where nothing can be plainer than the contrast between two musical instruments known respectively by the names of *avena* and *tuba*) composed of several *avenae*, or hollow stalks, halms, or reeds, united together;

Claud. *Epith. Pall. et Celer.* 34:

. . . "platano namque ille [Hymenaeus] sub alta
fusus inaequales cera texebat *avenas*,
Maenaliasque modos, et pastoralia labris
murmura tentabat relegens, orisque recursu
dissimili tenuem variabat arundine ventum."

Ovid, *Met.* 1, 677 (of Mercury):

. . . . "et structis cantat *avenis*,"

where "avenas" and "avenis" are respectively the assemblage of hollow stalks, halms, or reeds, of which the musical instrument, called a *vena* from its consisting of an assemblage of *avenae*, or hollow stalks, halms, or reeds, consists.

exactly as *fistula* (Ovid, *Met.* 8, 189 [of Daedalus making the wings]):

. . . . "ponit in ordine pennas,
a minima coeptas longam brevior sequenti,
ut clivo crevisse putes: sic rustica quondam
fistula disparibus paulatim surgit *avenis*."

Calpurn. 10, 5; Virg. *Ecl.* 2, 37; 3, 25; 8, 33; 10, 34; *Aen.* 3, 661; *Copa* 10; Hor. *Carm.* 4, 12, 10; Lucret. 4, 593; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 688; Plin. *N. H.* 7, 57, 13; Tibull. 2, 5, 30; Serv. and Philarg. ad *Ecl.* 2, 32; Serv. ad *Ecl.* 8, 24; Probus, ad *Ecl.* 4, 58; all quoted above) is not taken in its literal sense of hollow stalk, reed, tube (Varro *L. L.* 5, 123: "Fons unde funditur e terra aqua viva, ut *fistula* a qua fusus aquae"), but in its secondary sense of musical instrument, called *fistula* on account of its consisting of an assemblage of *fistulae* or hollow stalks, halms, reeds, or *avenae*;

[Ovid, *Met.* 8, 191:
"sic rustica quondam
fistula disparibus paulatim surgit *avenis*."

and *fistula* and *avena* are but two different names of, or terms for, one and the same instrument played on by rustics and shepherds, and especially by the rustic's and shepherd's God Pan, its inventor, and consisting of several (seven) pipes or tubes, *fistulae* or *avenae*, united together with waxed cord.

In like manner *calamus* (καλαμος) is the rustic's and especially the shepherd's musical instrument;

[*Culex*, 71:
"atque illum [pastorem], calamo laetum recinente palustri,
otiaque invidia degentem ac fraude remota,
pollentemque sibi, viridi cum palmito ludens
Tmolia pampineo subter coma velat amictu."

Ecl. 1, 10:
"ludere quae vellem calamo permisit agresti."

Ecl. 2, 34:
"nec te poeniteat calamo trivisse labellum."

is played on by Pan,

[Calpurn. 10, 7:
"faeque esset calamos tractare deorum [viz. Panos]."
id. 10, 17:
"coepit calamis sic montivagus Pan."

is invented by, and sacred to, Pan,

Eur. *Iph. in Tauris* 1123:

καὶ σε [Iphigeniam] μὲν, ποτνί, Ἀργεῖα
 πεντηκοντερός οἶκον ἀζει·
 συρίζων δ' ὁ κηροδέτας
 καλάμος οὐρείου Πάνος
 κωπαῖς ἐπιθώύξει·

Virg. *Ecl.* 2, 32:

"Pan primus calamos cera coniungere plures
 instituit."

Ecl. 8, 24:

"Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertos."

Ovid. *Met.* 1, 709 (quoted at full, above):

"arte nova, vocisque Dæum [Pana] dulcedine captum,
 'hoc mihi concilium tecum, dixisse, manebit.'
 atque ita disparibus calami compagine cerae
 inter se iunctis nomen tenuisse puellae."

and consists of several pipes, tubes, or calami, united together with waxed cord.

Longus, 1, 4: ὁ δὲ [Daphnis], καλάμους ἐκτεμὼν λεπτούς, καὶ τρήσας τὰς τῶν γονατῶν διαφύας, ἀλλήλους τε κηρὶ μαλθακῇ συναρτήσας, μέχρι νυκτὸς συρίζειν ἐμελεῖται. *Calpurn* 8, 58:

"tu calamos aptare labris et iungere cera
 hortatus, duras docuisti fallere curas."

Ovid. *Met.* 1, 711:

"atque ita disparibus calami compagine cerae
 inter se iunctis nomen tenuisse puellae."

Tibull. 2, 5, 32:

"nam calamus cera iungitur usque minor."

Virg. *Ecl.* 5, 1:

"our non, Mopse, boni quoniam convenimus ambo,
 tu calamos inflare leves, ego dicere versus."

Senec. *Hippol.* 296:

"Thessali Phoebus pecoris magister
 egit armentum, postoque plectro
 impari tauros calamo vocavit."

Calamus therefore is a third name of, or term for, the musical instrument otherwise called *avena* or *fistula*.

In like manner, *arundo* (δονυζ) is the rustic's and especially the shepherd's musical instrument;

Virg. *Ecl.* 6, 8:

"agrestem tenui meditabor arundine musam."

Culex 97:

"talibus in studiis baculo dum nixus apricas
pastor agit curas, et dum non arte canora
compacta solitum modulatur arundine carmen:"

Claud. Epith. Pall. et Celer. 34:

. . . "platano namque ille [Hymenaeus] sub alta
fusus inaequales cera texebat avenas,
Maenaliaque modos, et pastoralia labris
murmura tentabat relegens, orisque recursu
dissimili tenuem variabat arundine ventum."

is played on by Pan;

Ovid, Met. 11, 153:

"Pan ibi dum teneris iaciat sua carmina nymphis,
et leve cerata modulatur arundine carmen,"

Hom Hymn. in Pana, 14:

τοτε δ' εσπερος εκλαγεν [Pan] οιος
αγρης εξανιων, δονακων υπο μουσαν αθυρων
νηδυμων.

Epigr. Myrini, Anth. Graec. (De Bosch) 3, 26, 5:

Θυρσις ο κωμητης, ο τα νυμφικα μηλα νομειων,
Θυρσις ο συριζων Πανος ισον δονακι,

is consecrated to Pan,

Theocr. Epigr. 2:

Δαφνης ο λευκοχρως, ο καλα συριγγι μελισδων
βουκελικους υμνους, ανθετο Πανι ταδε
τους τρητους δονακας, το λαγωβολον, οξυν ακοντα,
νεβριδα, ταν πηραν, α ποκ' εμαλοφορει.

Epigr. Eratosthenis, Anth. Pal. 6, 78:

τως τρητως δονακας, το νακος ταδε, ταν τε κορυναν
ανθεσο Πανι φιλω, Δαφνι γυναιοφιλα.
ω Παν, δεγνυσο δωρα τα Δαφνιδος: ισα γαρ αυτη
και μολπαν φιλεις και δυσερως τελεθεις.

and consists of several pipes, tubes, hollow stalks, reeds
(arundines, avenae), united together with waxed cord.

Aesch. Prom. 574 (Io speaking):

υπο δε κηροπλαπτος οτοβει δοναξ
αγετας υπνοδοταν νομον

Coluth. Rept. Helen. 124:

και χορον ευκελαδων δονακων επι φηγον ερεισας.

Epigr. Leonidae, Anth. Pal. 5, 206:

η φιλερως Σατυρη δε τον εσπερον οינוποτήρων
συγκλωμον, κηρυ ζευξαμενη, δοναχα,
ηδυν συριστηρα.

Claudian (just quoted):

. . . "inaequales cera texebat avenas,
. . . dissimili tenuem variabat arundine ventum."

Culex, 99 (just quoted):

"compacta solitum modulatur arundine carmen".

Ovid, *Remed. amor. 181:*

"pastor inaequali modulatur arundine carmen;"

Arundo (δοναχ) is therefore a fourth name of, or term for, the same instrument, the συριγξ, or shepherd's pipe.

Not to be tedious, not to overwhelm with citations, I shall not ask my reader to go with me, step by step, through a proof as detailed and particular with respect to canna and cicuta, as that through which we have just gone is detailed and particular with respect to avena, fistula, calamus, and arundo, but shall content myself with the presentation to him of a few passages from which he can hardly fail to deduce for himself the conclusion that those terms are (one of them) a fifth and (the other) a sixth term usual among poets for the συριγξ or shepherd's pipe, played on by Pan, invented by, and sacred to, Pan, and consisting of seven avenae, seven fistulae, seven calami, seven arundines, seven cannae, or seven cicutae united together with waxed cord, and called, par excellence, at the pleasure of the poet, *the avena, the fistula, the calamus, the arundo, the canna, the cicuta*, in the same way as the trumpet is called, par excellence, *the tuba* (i. e. *the tube*), and our most deadly instrument of warfare, *the canon* (i. e. *the barrel*); Sil. 7, 437:

"Laomedontegs Phrygia cum sedit in Ida
pastor, et errantes dumosa per avia tauros
arguta revocans ad roscida pascua canna,
audivit sacrae lentus certamina formae."

[What else can the canna of the Laomedontian shepherd be, than the
[συριγξ, the shepherd's pipe?

Stat. *Theb.* 6, 337 (ed. Müller):

. "illo
de grege [equorum], Castaliae stupuit qui sibila cannae
laetus et audito contempsit Apolline pasci."

The canna with which Apollo, when he is a shepherd in the service of Admetus, so charms the horses of his master that they forget to feed, what can it be, other than the σιρυγξ, or shepherd's pipe? Let Ovid say, whose Apollo, when a shepherd in the service of Admetus, carries in one hand the crook and in the other the seven-tubed fistula (σιρυγξ, or shepherd's pipe); *Met* 2, 680:

"illud erat tempus, quo te [Apollinem] pastoria pollis
texit, onusque fuit dextrae silvestris oliva;
alterius, dispar septenis fistula cannis."

Philarg. ad *Virg. Ecl.* 2, 32: "Pan, pastoralis deus . . . per cannam [significat] ventos."

What else can the canna of Pan, the shepherd's God, be, than the σιρυγξ, fistula, or shepherd's pipe? If there be any doubt let Servius remove it, who informs us, ad *Ecl.* 2, 32, that Pan "fistulam septem calamorum habet propter harmoniam caeli."

Calpurn. 4, 43:

"scilicet extremo nunc villis in orbe iacerem,
ah dolor! et pecudes inter conductus Iberas
irrita septena modularer sibila canna."

What can the sevenfold canna on which a hireling shepherd whistles, be, other than the shepherd's σιρυγξ, fistula, or sevenfold pipe? Let the author of the *Culex* answer, whose shepherd at one and the same time tends his sheep and tunes his accustomed song on his compacted arundo (σιρυγξ, fistula or shepherd's sevenfold pipe, see above); verse 97:

"talibus in studiis baculo dum nixus apricae
pastor agit curas, et dum non arte canora
compacta solium modulatur arundine carmen."

Politian, *Rustic.* 223:

. "non iubila Fauni
fundere, non iunctis Satyri dare sibila cannis,
nec querulae cessant tenerum tinnire volucres."

What can the iunctae cannae on which the Satyrs whistled, be, other than the fistula, σιρυγξ, or shepherd's pipe? Let Calpurnius and Virgil answer, who inform us (*Virg. Ecl.* 2, 36; 3, 25; Calpurn 40, 5 and 13) that the fistula, σιρυγξ, or shepherd's pipe, consists of seven cicuta compacted together with waxed cord.

Lucret. 5, 1381 (ed. Wakef.):

"et Zephyri, cava per calamorum, sibila primum
agresteis docuere cavae inflare cicutas.
inde minutatim dulcis didicere querelas,
tibia quas fundit, digitis pulsata canentum,
avia per nemora ac sylvas saltusque reperta,
per loca pastorum deserta, atque otia dia."

What but the *σφγξ*, fistula or shepherd's pipe were the *cicuta*e which the whistling of the breeze in the hollow reeds ("cava calamorum") taught the rustics to construct? Let Ovid answer, who informs us (*Met.* 1. 667, quoted above) that it was from the whistling of the wind in the reeds, Pan caught the first notion of the *σφγξ*, fistula, or shepherd's pipe.

Virg. *Ecl.* 5, 85:

"hac te nos fragili donabimus ante cicuta.
haec nos, Formosum Corydon ardebat Alexin:
haec eadem docuit, Culum pecus? an Meliboei?"

What can the fragile *cicuta* with which Virgil in the character of Menalcas presents Mopsus, that *cicuta* on which he had played *Formosum Corydon*, and *Culum pecus*, be, other than the *avena* (the *σφγξ*, the shepherd's sevenfold pipe, see above) on which he played not only *Formosum Corydon* and *Culum pecus*, but all his bucolics?

Sid. Apollin. *Carm.* 1, 9:

"Castalidumque chorus vario modulamine plausit,
carminibus, cannis, pollice, voce, pede.
sed post caelicolas etiam mediocria fertur
cantica semideum sustinuisse deus.
tunc Faunis Dryades, Satyrisque Mimallones aptae,
fuderunt lepidum rustica turba melos.
alta cicuticines liquerunt Maenala Panes,"

What else but a *σφγξ*, a fistula, or shepherd's pipe, was the *cicuta* of the *cicuta*-playing Panes who came all the way from Maenalus to perform before high Jove? Sidonius Apollinaris himself in the very next verse informs you it was nothing else:

"postque Chelys placuit fistula rauca Jovi."

Calpurn. 4, 19:

"iam puerum calamos et odoraе vincula cerae
lungere non cohibes, levibus quem saepe cicutis
ludere conantem vetuisti fronte paterna?
dicentem, Corydon, te non semel ista notavi:
frange, puer, calamos, et inanes desere musas;

i, potius glandes rubicundaque collige corna,
 duc ad muletra greges, et lac venale per urbem
 non tacitus porta; quid enim tibi fistula reddet
 quo tutere famem?"

The light cicutæ on which Calpurnius's Corydon so often forbade Meliboeus to play, what were they? Calpurnius himself informs us: the *incerati calami*, the *fistula* (σφηγξ, or shepherd's pipe) which could not earn as much bread for Meliboeus as would keep him from starving.

How perfectly equivalent one to another are these six names or terms, in their application to the σφηγξ or shepherd's pipe, appears from the use the poet makes of any one of them, according to his pleasure, to designate the identical instrument which he has just previously, or even in the selfsame sentence, designated by another of them; ex. gr. *Diræ*—the *fistula* of v. 75 is the *avena* of v. 7 and the *avenæ* of v. 19; Lucret. 4—the *fistula* of v. 593 is the *calami* of v. 592; Ovid, *Met.* 11—the *arundo* of v. 154 is the *calami* of v. 161 and the *cannæ* of v. 171; Virg. *Ecl.* 1—the instrument denominated *avena* at v. 2, is denominated *calamus* at v. 10; *Ecl.* 10—the instrument denominated *fistula* at v. 34, is denominated *avena* at v. 51; *Ecl.* 2—the *calamus* of v. 34 is the *fistula* of v. 37; Calpurn. 1—the instrument which at v. 16 is called *calami* and at v. 17 *fistula*, is called *avena* at v. 93; Calpurn. 2—the instrument called *avenæ* at v. 28 is called *fistula* at v. 31; Calpurn. 4—the instrument called *calami* at vv. 19 and 23, is called *cicutæ* at v. 20 and *fistula* at v. 26; Calpurn. 7—the instrument which at v. 8 is called *fistula*, is at v. 12 called *cicuta*; Calpurn. 8—the instrument called *arundo* at v. 3, is called *calami* at v. 4; V. Flacc. 4—the *fistula* of v. 384 is the *avena* of v. 386; Politian, *Rusticus*—the *fistula* of v. 3 is the *arundo* of v. 6; among which examples the occasional occurrence of plural instead of singular, is owing to the necessity the poet—who had already designated the instrument by one of the six terms so liberally placed at his disposal by the language—felt himself under when he had occasion immediately afterwards, perhaps even in the selfsame sentence, to refer a second time to the instrument, to use not a mere synonyme of

the term already used, but—sometimes for the sake of variety, sometimes for the sake of ease of versification—a word indicative of the structure of the instrument, viz. either *avenae*, or *calami*, or *cannae*, or *arundines*, or *cicutae*, by any one of which plurals the sometimes more, sometimes less numerous—usually (see above) seven—tubes or pipes constituting the *avena*, *calamus*, *canna*, *arundo*, *cicuta*, or *fistula* already spoken of, are presented vividly to the imagination. The following are no less striking examples of the same practice; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 677 (of Mercury playing on the *fistula*):

. . . . "structis cantat avenis."

ibid. 683 (of the same, playing on the same):

. . . . "iunctisque canendo
vincere arundinibus servantia lumina tentat."

(in the former of which passages "*avenis*," and in the latter of which passages "*arundinibus*", is the hollow tubes, pipes, or reeds, of which the "*fistula*," *ibid.* v. 688 [quoted above] consists); Calpurn. 10, 7:

. . . . "fasque esset calamos tractare deorum."

id. 10, 17:

. . . . "coepit calamis sic montivagus Pan."

id. 10, 13:

. . . . "nulli fas est inflare cicutas,
quas ego Maenaliis cera coniungo sub antris."

(where "*calamos*," "*calamis*," and "*cicutas*" are, respectively, the hollow stalks, tubes, or reeds, of which the instrument denominated at v. 5 of the same passage "*fistula*," and at v. 11 "*avena*," consists); Sidon. Apoll. *Carm.* 4, 1 (ed. Sirmond):

"Tityrus ut quondam patulae sub tegmine fagi
volveret inflatos murmura per calamos,"

and Calpurn. 9, 82:

"nec sumus indocti calamis: cantamus avena,
qua Divi cecinere prius, qua dulce loquutus
Tityrus e silvis dominam pervenit ad urbem."

(in the former of which examples "*calamos*," and in the latter of which examples "*calamis*", is the reeds or pipes of which, not any *avena* merely, but this very *avena* of Virgil's, consists); Calpurn. 4, 58:

"quod si tu faveas trepido mihi, forsitan illos
 experiar calamos, here quos mihi doctus Iolas
 donavit, dixitque: truces haec fistula tauros
 conciliat, nostroque sonat dulcissima Fauno.
 Tityrus hanc habuit, cecinit qui primus in istis
 montibus Hyblaea modulabile carmen avena."

(where "calamos" is the reeds or pipes of which not any *avena* merely, or any *fistula* merely, but this very *avena* of Virgil's, this very *fistula* of Virgil's, consists).

AVENA being thus, as I think, satisfactorily shown to be a name proper of the pastoral pipe, and synonymous with *fistula*, *calamus*, *arundo*, *canna* and *cicuta*, and GRACILI here—no less than "tenui" in the first Eclogue—expressing (see next Remark) neither the slenderness or tenuity of the instrument, nor the slenderness or tenuity of the music, but the fineness and delicacy both of the instrument and of the music, it follows that our author using the term AVENA (even with the adjunct GRACILI) throws no slur either on his own former pastoral song or on pastoral song generally, and that such judgments as those expressed by Thiel: "GRACILI AVENA, bescheiden, wie calamus und arundo, als einrührige hirtенflöte, die einfachste gattung des idyllischen gesanges, die niedrigste stufe der kunst bezeichnend.", and by Forbiger: "Caeterum animadvertite, quam submissee poeta dicat de Bucolicis, quam ornate de Georgicis, quam graviter de bellicis rebus Aeneidis.", are mistaken judgments; a conclusion at which those excellent commentators, one of them my own particular and respected friend, would easily have arrived, even without the trouble of the long argument through which we have just traveled, if they had happened to call to mind either the

"laetus Phoebea dixisti carmen avena.
 felix o Meliboeae, vale; tibi frondis odora
 munera dat, lauros carpens, ruralis Apollo."

of Calpurnius, quoted above, or the

"rustica credebam nemorales carmina vobis
 concessisse deos, et obesis auribus apta:
 verum, quae imparibus modo concinuistis avenis,
 tam liquidum, tam dulce sonant, ut non ego malim,
 quod Peligna solent examina lambere, nectar."

of the same Calpurnius (4, 147), or our author's own bucolic Gallus, that divine poet ("divine poeta") with whose unhappy loves not the rustic gods alone, Pan and Silvanus, but Apollo himself, came to sympathize:

. "venit Apollo:
Galle, quid insanis?"

that bucolic Gallus in honor of whom the whole Phoebean choir rose up from their seats, and by the hand of Linus (the shepherd with the divine song) presented him with those very calami, which they had formerly presented to the Ascræan senex, those very calami with which the Ascræan senex had sung the stiff manna-ashes down from the mountains, and bade him celebrate with them the Grynean grove, that so Apollo might become still fonder of it and frequent it more than ever:

"tum canit, errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum
Aonas in montes ut duxerit una sororum:
utque viro Phoebi chorus assurrexerit omnis:
ut Linus haec illi, divino carmine pastor,
floribus atque apio crines ornatus amaro,
dixerit: Hos tibi dant calamos, en accipe, Musae,
Ascræo quos ante seni, quibus ille solebat
cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos.
his tibi Grynei nemoris dicatur origo:
ne quis sit lucus, quo se plus iactet Apollo."

or, if they had asked themselves: what good purpose had a depreciation of bucolic poetry, of poetry as perfect in its kind as the epic, served here, where the sole object is to identify the author of the present poem with the author of former well known and greatly and justly admired poems of a different kind? Happily, there is no such depreciation here, implied or expressed, whether of the rustic Muse or of the author's self; and had there been, such depreciation, instead of recommending the poet, had tended rather to excite a suspicion that one who had spent his youth so very low down on Parnassus, was not exactly the fit person to undertake a great national epic, a suspicion that the blower of the petty avena, the oaten straw, had neither chest sufficient nor cheek sufficient canere (αειδεῖν, μουσιζειν, see Rem. on "cano" v. 5) HORRENTIA MARTIS

ARMA VIRUMQUE. But there is no depreciation; the instrument is not an oaten straw, not a miserable stipula (Virg. *Ecl.* 3, 25:

“aut unquam tibi fistula cera
iuncta fuit? non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas
stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?”),

it is the fistula itself, the sweet reed; Ovid, *Met.* 1 (quoted above):

“dumque ibi suspirat [Pan], motos in arundine ventos
effecisse sonum tenuem, similemque querenti:
arte nova vocisque deum dulcedine captum,
‘hoc mihi concillium tecum,’ dixisse, ‘manebit;’
atque ita disparibus calamis compagine cerae
inter se iunctis nomen tenuisse puellae.”;

that sweet reed or fistula classed by Horace not merely with the flute but with the lyre; *Carm.* 3, 19, 18:

“insanire iuvat; cur Berecynthiae
cessant flamina tibiae?
cur pendet tacita fistula cum lyra?”;

that sweet reed or fistula which one of a group of Graces applies to her mouth, while another holds in her hand the lyre, and another, the flute; Plutarch, *de musica*, 14: και η εν Δηλω δε του αχλαματος αυτου [Apollinis] αφιδρυσις εχει εν μεν τη δεξια τοξον, εν δε τη αριστερα Χαριτας, των της μουσικης οργανων εκαστην τι εχουσιν· η μεν γαρ λυραν κρατει, η δ' αυλους, η δ' εν μεσω προσκειμενην εχει τω στοματι συριγγα.; that sweet reed or fistula played on by Daphnis and Bion and Theocritus and Moschus, nay, even by Apollo himself, who, when in the service of Admetus, took so much delight in it as to allow the herds to go home untended while he remained behind in the field, absorbed in the music; Ovid, *Met.* 2, 680:

“illud erat tempus quo te pastoria pellis
texit, onusque fuit dextrae silvestris oliva;
alterius, dispar septenis fistula cannis.
dumque amor est curae, dum te tua fistula maulcet,
incustoditae Pylios memorantur in agros
processisse boves.”;

that sweet reed or fistula so often celebrated, under one or other of its ancient names even by the later Italian poets; Macchiav. *Capitolo Pastorale*:

“Se mai, fistula dolce, il tuo concento
 fè gir li sassi, fè muover le pianti,
 fermar li fiumi, e racchetare il vento,
 mostra ora i tuoi valori uniti e tanti
 che la terra ammirata e lieta resti,
 e rallegrisi il ciel de' nostri canti.
 benchè altra voce ed altro stil vorresti;
 perchè a laldar tanta beltade appieno
 più alto ingegno convien che si desti.
 che d' un giovan celeste e non terreno,
 di modi eccelsi, di divin costumi,
 convien per uom divin le laudi sieno.”

and Sanazzaro (*Ecl. 10*), Tasso, and Metastasio, quoted below; that sweet reed or fistula, invented by a God, and consisting of seven pipes as the lyre of seven strings, each producing its different note, and all together in the course of time to culminate in the organ of Saint Cecilia; *Epigr. Julian. Imperat. Anth. Graec.* (De Bosch) 1, 86, 8:

αλλοιην ορω δονακων φυσιν ηπου απ' αλλης
 χαλκειης ταχα μαλλον ανεβλαστησαν αρουρης
 αγριοι ουδ' ανεμοισιν υφ' ημετεροις δονεονται,
 αλλ' υπο ταυρειης προθορων σπηλυγγοσ ατηις
 νερθεν εϋτρητων καλαμων υπο ριζαν οδευει.
 και τις ανηρ αγερωχος, εχων θαα δακτυλα χειρας,
 ισταται αμφαφων κανονας συμπραδομονας αυλων
 οιδ' απαλον σχιρτωντες αποθλιβουσιν αοιδην.;

and the musician is not a shrill, squeaking hedge-piper or fifer, but a favorite rural minstrel who begs you to hear *him* canentem (κειδοντα, μουσιζοντα, see Rem. on “cano” v. 5) HORRENTIA MARTIS ARMA VIRUMQUE, who had so often delighted you with the trilling of his delicate *avena*; that *tenuis*, *gracilis avena* on which he performed so exquisitely that the beasts of the forest, and even the forest itself, came to listen, the lyre was outdone, Calpurn. 4, 64:

“magna petis, Corydon, si Tityrus esse laboras;
 ille fuit vates sacer, et qui posset avena
 praesonuisse chelyn, blande cui saepe canenti
 allusere ferae, cui substitit advena quercus.”;

and the fortune of the rural minstrel made by the acquaintance his performance procured for him with the ruler of the world; Calpurn. 9, 82:

. . . "cantamus avena
qua divi cecinere prius, qua dulce locutus
Tityrus e silvis dominam pervenit ad urbem;"

nor of the many-exquisite passages of the *Arcadia* of Sanazzaro is that the least exquisite, in which (*Prosa 10*) the cinquecento poet, to the shame and confusion of the scholars, no less than of the poets, of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, represents Virgil, when he took in hand the tromba in order to celebrate with it the exploits of Aeneas, as hanging up on a tree the sampogna which he had received from Pan through the hands of Daphnis, and with which he had made the woods echo his Amaryllis: "Dinanzi alla spelunca porgeva ombra un pino altissimo e spazioso; ad un ramo del quale una grande e bella sampogna pendeva, fatta di sette voci, egualmente di sotto e di sopra congiunta con bianca cera; la cui simile forse mai non fu veduta a pastore in alcuna selva: della quale dimandando noi qual fosse stato l' autore (perchè da divine mani composta ed incerata la giudicavamo) il savio sacerdote così ne rispose: Questa canna fu quella, che 'l santo Iddio, che voi ora vedete, si trovò nelle mani, quando per queste selve da amore spronato seguì la bella Siringa: ove (poi che per la subita trasformazione di lei si vide schernito) sospirando egli sovente per rimembranza delle antiche fiamme, i sospiri si convertirono in dolce suono: e così solo in questa sola grotta assiso, presso alle pascenti capre, cominciò a congiungere con nova cera sette canne, l' ordine delle quali veniva successivamente mancando, in guisa che stanno i diti nelle nostre mani, siccome ora in essa medesima vedere potete, con la qual poi gran tempo pianse in questi monti le sue sventure. Indi pervenne (e non so come) nelle mani d'un pastore Siracusano; il quale prima che alcuno altro ebbe ardire di sonarla senza paura di Pan, o d' altro Iddio, sopra le chiare onde della compatriota Aretusa Il quale poi da invidiosa morte sovraggiunto, fe di quella l' ultimo dono al Mantoano Titiro . . . Per la qual cosa Titiro lieto di tanto onore, con questa medesima sampogna diletlandosi, insegnò primieramente le selve di risonare il nome della formosa Amarillida . . . Ma avendo costui dalla Natura lo ingegno a più alte cose disposto, e non contentandosi di sì

umile suono, vi cangiò quella canna, che voi ora vi vedete più grossa, e più che le altre nova, per poter meglio cantare le cose maggiori, e fare le selve degne degli altissimi Consoli di Roma: il quale poi che, abbandonate le capre, si diede ad ammaestrare i rustichi coltivatori della terra, forse con isperanza di cantare appresso con più sonora tromba le arme del Trojano Enea, l'appiccò quivi, ove ora la vedete, in onore di questo Iddio, che nel cantare gli avea prestato favore: appresso al quale non venne mai alcuno in queste selve, che quella sonare potuto avesse compitamente."

Assuming the above argumentation to be correct, we should expect to find, in languages derived from the Latin, some traces either of *avena* used as a proper name of the Pandean pipe, *sampogna*, *chalumeau*, or *flute de Pan*, or of *avenae* used to signify the reeds or tubes of which the Pandean pipe, *sampogna*, *chalumeau*, or *flute de Pan*, consists, exactly as we find in those languages *fistula*, *canna*, and *calamus*—other proper names of the same instrument—subsisting in the scarcely changed forms of *fistola* or *fischio*, *canna*, and *chalumeau*. Nor is our expectation disappointed, for, while we have in the Italian not merely *avena* and *avene*, corresponding to the Latin *avena* and *avenae*,

Sanazzaro, *Arcadia*, *Ecl.* 10:

"che sotto gli alti pini e i dritti abeti
si stavan mansueti a prender festa
per la verde foresta a suon d'avena;"

Tasso, *Ger. liberata*, 7, 6:

"ma son, mentre ella piange, i suoi lamenti
rotti da un chiaro suon che a lei ne viene,
che sembra, ed è, di pastorali accenti
misto, e di boscherecce inculte *avene*."

but incerate *avene*,

Metast. *Cantat. La pesca*:

"Il giorno al suon d'una ritorta conca,
che nulla cede alle incerate *avene*,
se non vuoi le mie pene,
di Teti e Galaten, di Glauce e Dori
ti capterò gli amori."

almost exactly Claudian's "*inaequales cera texebat avenas*," quoted above.

we have in the Logudoro dialect of Sardinia this very instrument, the shepherd's pipe, at this very moment known by the identical proper name *avena*, either wholly unaltered and precisely as it existed in the time of Virgil, or variously modified into the forms, *benas*, *enas*, *aenas*, *avenas*, *benas*, *enas*, *aenas*; Zuccagni-Orlandini, vol. 12, p. 270: "Ne' dì festivi prima e dopo i divini uffici, nelle feste popolari, nel giovedì grasso, e negli ultimi giorni di carnevale i paesani [i. e. the Sardinian peasants] danzano pubblicamente, ora presso la chiesa, ora in qualche piazza. Nella Sardegna meridionale si balla all' armonia delle canne (*launeddas* o *avenas*) o del piffero e del tamburino; nella settentrionale al coro di quattro o cinque voci." and again; *ibid*: "Su coritone o stracasciu è una scatola rotonda di fino sovero col suo coperchio, tutta rivestita di pelle nera, che si tiene sospesa per una tracolla, e contiene vari concerti per l' allegro, il grave e gli intermedii. L' allegro dicesi dai suonatori di sampogna concerto delle fanciulle (*deis bagadias*); il grave, concerto delle vedove. Ogni concerto è composto di tre canne a molti fori; la più piccola (*sa mancosedda* cioè la piccola di mano manca) canta il *mi*; l' altre due sono unite, e di queste la maggiore (*su tumbu*) canta il *do*, la minore (*sa mancosa*) il *sol*. Questi flauti che sono nominati generalmente come sopra indicammo, e in alcuni luoghi *fistulas*, sono fatti di canna sottile più o meno, e hanno la imboccatura di cannelina sottilissima per potervi far la linguetta, sulla quale attaccano alcuni pezzi di cera per ingrossare o assottigliare il suono." Spano, *Ortogr. Sard. part. 2, p. 14*: "Nulla di meno pare che anche in Sardegna sia antichissimo questo verso, perchè adattato ad una naturale modulazione ed al suono del flauto (*merid. liuneddas*; *logud. benas, enas, aenas*) e siccome è antichissimo questo pastorale stromento, perciò anche il verso che è naturalmente accomodato a quello sarà antico, che appartiene alla musica ipofrigia, così detta per esser strepitosa e sonora, e perciò è propria dei ditirambi Le fistole che adopransi dai sardi sono tre, fatte di canna sottile che il suonatore imbecca a guancie gonfie respirando dalle narici con continuo fiato che molti protraggon a due e tre ore di seguito. Le imboccature

sono cannelline (cabissa) che vanno ad introdursi nel tubo (linguazzu); sonp legate fra se (allega) due con ispago incerato; pezzi di cera sovrapposti alla linguetta della cannellina servono al comun' accordo, facendo abbassare o assottigliare il suono. La più grossa cannella (tumbu) fa il *do*, la media (mancosa manna) il *sol*, e la più sottile mezza voce (mancosedda) il *mi*. La voce ena o aena nel Logudoro è una corruzione di avena (fistola)." Boullier, *Le Dialecte et les chants populaires de la Sardaigne, Paris 1864*: "Dans le logudoro le chalumeau s'appelle aena ou ena."

Not that I at all mean, in the preceding argument, to insinuate that shepherds never, at any period of the world, piped on literal avenae or straw-halms, or that they may not still do so in primitive countries, or even in our own country in remote localities. On the contrary, the straw-halm is the very first instrument put into the lonely shepherd's hand by mother Nature; upon the straw-halm the lonely shepherd has piped in old times, pipes still,

Notes and Queries, March 26, 1870. p. 330, article, Oaten pipes:
 "I remember, many years ago, an old Oxfordshire man who used to pay an annual visit after harvest, to London, and who sold oaten pipes at a penny each." C. S. I.

and in the absence of a better instrument, will always pipe; the lonely shepherd's performance on such instrument has been, and will always be, celebrated by poets in their Arcadian visions;

Chaucer, *House of Fame*, 3, 133:

"and many flowte and liltyng borne,
 and pipes made of grene corne,
 as han thise lytel herde gromes,
 that kepen bestis in the bromea."

Shakesp. *Midsom. Night's Dream*, 2, 2:

"and in the shape of Corin sat all day,
 playing on pipes of corn, and versing love
 to amorous Phyllida."

Milton, *Lycidas*, v. 32:

"meanwhile the rural ditties were not mute,
 tempered to the oaten flute."

and Collins, *Ode to Evening*:

"If aught of oaten stop or pastoral song
 may hope, chaste Eve, to soothe thy modest ear."

nay, I have myself, the summer before last, during a foot tour in Germany, been led by the sound of sweet music to a shepherd leaning against a tree and entertaining both his flock and himself with various airs performed on a leaf held between his lips, a leaf—as, observing my surprise, he showed me—of the common pear-tree under which he stood, and on which, as he informed me, or on any similar common leaf, there were few of the shepherds of the neighbourhood (it was about a day's foot-journey from Heidelberg) who could not perform equally well;

compare Chaucer, *The knights Tale*, 979:

“that oon of yow, or be him loth or leef,
he may go pypen in an ivy leef;
that is to say, sche may nought have bothe,
al be ye never so jelous, ne so lothe.”

but the proposition which I have endeavoured to establish is, that the avena of our text, the avena of Virgil, that avena with which Tityrus made the woods resound, was not this primitive avena, but the *συριγξ*, or fistula—the ordinary pipe or pipes of the Greek and Roman shepherd—the material form of which has been described by so many Greek and Roman poets, modeled by so many Greek and Roman sculptors, and (singular, nay unique, compliment to a musical instrument) symbolized in the material form of the enigmatical poemation composed—by Simmias as some say, by Theocritus, as others—in honor of the instrument and its inventor:

Ουδενος ευνατειρα, Μακροπτολεμοιο δε ματηρ,
μιας Αντιπετροιο θοον τεκεν ιθυνηρα·
ουχι Κερασταν, ον ποκα θρεψατο ταυροπατωρ,
αλλ' ου Πιλιπες αιθε παρος φρενα Τερμα σακχους.
ουνομ' Ολον, διζων, ο τας μεροπος ποθον
κουρας γηρυγυνας εχε τας ανεμωδεας·
ος Μοισα λιγω παξεν ιαστεφανω
ελκος, αγαλμα ποθοιο πυρισμαραγου·
ος σβησεν ανορεαν ισαυδα
Παπποφονου, Τυριαν τ' ερρυσατο.
ω τοδε τυφλοφορων ερατον
παμα Παρις θετο Σιμιχιδας.
ψυχαν αι, βροτοβαμον,
στητας οιστρε Σαεττας,
κλωποπατωρ, απατωρ,
λαρνακογυιε, χαροι·
αδυ μελισδοις
ελλοπι κουρα
καλλιοπα,
νηλευστω.

1 (c).

GRACILI

Gracilis in its derogatory sense of *slight, puny, frail* (our *slender*, in its derogatory sense), is so suitable and even usual an adjunct for *avena* in its literal sense of *straw-halm* (Plin. *N. H.* 19, sect. 1, ed. Sillig [of the plant *Linum*]: “denique tam parvo semine nasci, . . . tam gracili avena, tam non alte a tellure sublata,”), that it is not surprising that *slight, puny straw-halm, slender straw-halm* (in the derogatory sense of *slender*) has been so generally taken by commentators and translators to be either literally or figuratively the instrument on which Virgil, here in the commencement of his *Aeneis*, describes himself as having formerly tuned the lay. This most natural and almost unavoidable mistake was established and made all but irrevocable by, *Ecl.* 1, 2:

“silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena;”

to which passage inquirers turning for explanation of GRACILI AVENA, and finding in it the same *avena* termed *tenuis*, doubted not (could indeed scarcely doubt, so deceptive is language) that the meaning in both passages was *slight, puny straw-halm, slender straw-halm* (in the derogatory sense of *slender*), and that the bucolic instrument, not sufficiently depreciated by the derogatory term *avena*, was still further depreciated, here in our text, by the derogatory term *gracilis*, and there in the first Eclogue, by the similarly derogatory term *tenuis*. Having shown, in the preceding Remark, how utterly groundless this interpretation is in respect of *avena*, and that *avena*, so far from signifying oaten straw or straw-halm, is a mere and very ordinary synonyme of *fistula* or *σφύριξ*, let us now see whether the interpretation is not equally groundless in respect of GRACILI in our text, and “*tenui*” in the first Eclogue, both of them *vocabula media* and capable of being taken in *malam partem* or in *bonam*, according to the requirements of the context.

And first with respect to GRACILI. As, in English, delicacy, tenuity, slenderness, is, according to circumstances, a virtue or a vice, so, in Latin, *gracilitas*, according to circumstances, is either a virtue or a vice, conveys either praise or blame; Ter. *Eun.* 2, 4, 22:

“haud similis virgo est virginum nostrarum, quas matres student demissis humeris esse, vincto pectore, ut gracilae sient”

Cic. *de Clar. Orat.* 91: “Erat eo tempore in nobis summa gracilitas et infirmitas corporis, procerum et tenue collum.” The gracility or slenderness indicated by the GRACILI of our text, may, therefore, be either a virtue or a vice; which it is, being to be determined by circumstances only. Now having shown, above, that no dispraise is implied by the term AVENA, it is already probable that no dispraise is meant by GRACILI. This probability becomes a moral certainty when we compare Martial, 8, 3, 21:

“angusta cantare licet videaris avena,
dum tua multorum vincat avena tubas.”

where the highest praise is bestowed on the avena, at the same moment in which it is denominated angusta (narrow or small-bored), so nearly the GRACILI of our text. As little, therefore, is there any dispraise, any slight of the instrument, conveyed by the term GRACILI, as there is by the term AVENA, and the meaning of the two terms together, GRACILI AVENA, is not puny straw-halm, but fine, delicate, slender-bored, and therefore fine- and delicate-toned, fistula or *συριγξ*, an interpretation confirmed (*a*) by the fact that it was of a fine, delicate reed, a reed of a very narrow or slender bore, the avena or fistula was constructed in ancient times (Longus 1. 10: Ο δε Δαρνις κκλαμους εκτεμων λεπτους και τρησας τας των γονατων διαφυας, αλληλους τε κηρω μαλθακω συναρτησας, μεχρι νυκτος συριζειν μελετα) as it is of a fine, delicate reed, the same instrument is constructed at present (Zuccagni-Orlandini [see above]: “Questi flauti che sono nominati generalmente come sopra indicammo e in alcuni luoghi fistulas, sono fatti di canna sottile più o meno, e hanno la imboccatura di cannellina sottilissima per potervi far la linguetta, sulla quale attaccano alcuni pezzetti di cera per

ingrossare o assottigliare il suono”), and (*b*) by the application by Virgil himself (*Ecl.* 5, 85) of the term *fragilis* to the same instrument, in a passage, which, so far from expressing contempt for the instrument on account of its fragility, expresses the very opposite sentiment, viz. that its fragility was owing to its fineness and delicacy:

“hac te nos fragili donabimus ante cicuta.
haec nos ‘Formosum Corydon ardebat Alexin’;
haec eadem docuit ‘Cuium pecus? an Meliboei?’”

this so fine, delicate, fragile reed, on which I played those fine and delicate airs: Formosum Corydon, and Cuium pecus?.

GRACILI in our text is, therefore, not to be understood as conveying a reproach, or as meaning puny, insignificant, or weak, but as meaning delicate and fine, the *fistula* being so denominated not on account of its shape (which, as we have seen in the preceding Remark, is not delicate or fine, long or taper, but broad, the instrument consisting of seven pipes arranged abreast), but on account of the slenderness or narrow bore (“*angusta*,” above), and therefore delicate tones, of the reed of which it is constructed, an interpretation confirmed and established, first, by the application of the term *gracilis* by our author himself, in the first verse of the *Culex*, to his bucolic Muse:

“lusimus, Octavi, gracili modulante Thalia,”

where the resemblance to our text is too strong not to strike the most superficial observer, and where “*gracili*” so far from being contemptuous, or derogatory of the dignity of our author’s *Thalia*, expresses on the contrary her delicacy and refinement.

and secondly, by the very usual and ordinary application of the same term to orators, oratory, and style in general, not at all in the sense of weak, puny, feeble, or contemptible, but in the sense of fine, refined, delicate, terse, subtle; in other words, in order to distinguish the style technically denominated by the Greeks *ισχυος*, from the strong, elevated, bold, sublime style technically denominated by the Greeks *αδρος*; Aul. Gell. 7, 14: “Et in carmine et in soluta oratione genera dicendi probabilia sunt tria, quae Graeci *χαρακτηρας* vocant, nominaque eis fecerunt

αδρον, ισχυρον, μεσον. Nos quoque, quem primum posuimus, uberem vocamus, secundum gracilem, tertium mediocrem. Uberi dignitas atque amplitudo est: gracili venustas et subtilitas: medius in confinio est, utriusque modi particeps. His singulis orationis virtutibus vitia agnata sunt pari numero, quae earum modum et habitum simulacris falsis ementiuntur. Sic plerumque sufflati atque tumidi fallunt pro uberibus, squallentes et jejuni dicti pro gracilibus, incerti et ambigui pro mediocribus. Vera autem et propria hujuscemodi formarum exempla in latina lingua M. Varro esse dicit, ubertatis Pacuvium, gracilitatis Lucilium, mediocritatis Terentium," etc. to the end of chapter. Quintil. *Inst.* 1, 9: "Igitur Aesopi fabellas, quae fabulis nutricularum proxime succedunt, narrare sermone puro, et nihil se supra modum extollente, deinde eandem gracilitatem stilo exigere condiscant." Cic. *Brutus*, 16 (of Lysias): "Sed ille Graecus ab omni laude felicior. Habet enim certos sui studiosos, qui non tam habitus corporis opimos, quam gracilitates consecretentur; quos, valetudo modo bona sit, tenuitas ipsa delectet; quamquam in Lysia saepe sunt etiam lacerti, sic ut fieri nihil possit valentius; verum est certe genere toto strigosior, sed habet tamen suos laudatores, qui hac ipsa ejus subtilitate admodum gaudeant." Aul. Gell. 13, 20: "Praeterea idem Virgilius turrim dixit, non turrem, et securim, non securem:

'turrim in praecipiti stantem.'

et:

'incertam excussit cervice securim.'

Quae sunt, opinor, jucundioris gracilitatis [*elegance*], quam si suo utrumque loco per *e* litteram dicas." Plin. *Epist.* 2, 3: "Sermo Graecus, immo Atticus: praefationes tersae, graciles [*elegant*], dulces, graves interdum et erectae." Propert. 2, 13, 3:

'hic [Amor] me tam graciles vetuit contemnere musas,
iussit et Ascræum sic habitare nemus,'

(where "graciles musas,"=the terse, elegant, fine, delicate style in which Propertius wrote, viz. the elegiac); Quintilian, *Inst.* 12, 10, 35: "non possumus [nos oratores Romani] esse tam graciles [quam Graeci sunt], simus fortiores; subtilitate vincimur,

valeamus pondere; proprietas penes illos est certior, copia vincamus.", in every one of which passages the term *gracilis* is applied to that style of composition to which bucolic poetry belongs, in the same sense in which it is applied in our text to the bucolic instrument, the *avena*, viz. in the sense of fine, refined, elegant, delicate, subtile; not at all in the sense of mean, puny, weak, or contemptible.

The *GRACILI* of the first verse of the *Aeneis* having been thus shown to be not only not a derogatory, but even a laudatory term, we come now to the "*tenui*" of the second verse of the first *Eclogue*, and ask ourselves: Is not this the exact equivalent both literally and metaphorically of the *GRACILI* of the first verse of the *Aeneis*, and—applied in the same construction and in similar context by the same poet to the same instrument—to be understood in the same manner? and which of us does not answer to himself: Certainly, *tenuis* having the same literal and metaphorical meaning as *gracilis*, being no less applicable both in *bonam partem* and in *malam*, being used by Horace to express delicacy of thread,

Epist. 2, 1, 224:

"cum lamentamur non apparere labores
nostros et tenui deducta poemata filo;"

being used both by Persius and Horace to express delicacy of savor,

Pers. 6, 24:

"nec tenuem solers turdorum nosse salivam."

Hor. Sat. 2, 4, 35:

"nec sibi coenarum quivis temere adroget artem,
non prius exacta tenui ratione saporam."

being applied to Catullus by Martial

10, 103:

"nec sua plus debet tenui Verona Catullo,"

(not, surely, the slender, or thin or feeble Catullus, but the fine, the exquisite, the delicate, the terse, the elegant Catullus.)

exactly as we have seen *gracilis* applied in the first verse of the *Culex* to *Thalia*, being applied to orators by Cicero, not merely in the same sense in which, but by the same metonymy by which, we have seen *gracilis* applied to orators by Quintilian,

Cic. *Orator*, 6: "Et contra tenuous, acuti, omnia docentes, et dilucidiora, non ampliora, facientes, subtili quadam et pressa oratione et limata: in eodemque genere alii callidi, sed impoliti, et consulto rudium similes et imperitorum; alii in eadem jejunitate concinniores, id est, faceti, florentes etiam, et leviter ornati."

and being applied to style both by Cicero and Propertius in the precise sense in which we have seen *gracilis* applied to style by the same Cicero, and the same Propertius.

Cic. *de Invent.* 2, 51: "Hi et caeteri omnes loci communes ex iisdem praeceptis sumuntur quibus caeterae argumentationes, sed illae tenuius et acutius et subtilius tractantur; hi autem gravius et ornatius." Cic. *de Orat.* 3, 52: "est et plena quaedam [oratio], sed tamen teres; et tenuis, non sine nervis ac viribus." Propert. 3, 1, 5 (ed. Hertzsb.):

"dicite, quo pariter carmen tenuastis in antro?"

with which compare the application of the similar epithet *subtilis* in the identical sense to his similar poetic thread, and of the identical epithet *tenuis* in the identical sense to his similar poetic woof, by Ausonius, *Mos.* 392:

"tempus erit, quum me studils ignobilis oti
mulcentem curas, senilique aprica foveantem,
materiae commendet honos; quum facta viritum
Belgarum, patriosque canam, decora incluta, mores.
mollia subtili nebunt mihi carmina filo
Florides, tenuique aptas subtemine telas
porecurrent; dabitur nostris quoque purpura fasia."

(not, surely, *the weak*, or *inferior* or *despicable poetry*, or *poetic woof*, but *the subtle*, *the fine*, *the delicate poetry* and *poetic woof*), and the similar application of the identical epithet *tenuis* in the identical sense to Athens by Martial, 6, 64, 16:

"sed tibi plus mentis, tibi cor limante Minerva
acrius, et tenuous sinxerunt pectus Athenae."

(not, surely, *the slender*, or *thin*, or *weak Athens*, but *the acute*, *the subtle*, *the refined*, *the elegant Athens*), and to the spirit of the Graian Camena by Horace, *Carm.* 2, 16, 37:

"mihi parva rura et
spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae
Parca non mendax dedit et malignum
spernere vulgus."

(not, surely, *the slender*, *weak spirit*, but *the refined*, *delicate*, *subtle spirit*); also the application by Callimachus (*Hymn. in Dian.* 242) of the term λεπταλός to express the fine, delicate, *gracilis* music of this very instrument, as contrasted with the louder, stronger, bolder music of the αὐλός or tibia:

υπηεισαν δε λιγειαί
 λεπταλεον συριγγες, ινα πλισσωσιν ομαρτη.
 (ου γαρ πω νεβρεια δι' οστεα τετρηνοντο,
 εργον Αθηναιης, ελαφω κακον),

also the application by Lucian (*Harmon. 1*) of the similar term λεπτος in the identical sense to the music of the αυλος itself: Αρμονιδης ο αυλητης η̄ρετο ποτε Τιμοθεον διδασκαλον αυτου οντα, Ειπε μοι, εφη, ω Τιμοθεε, πως αν ενδοξος γενοιμην επι τη τεχνη; και τι ποιουντα εισονται με οι Ελληνες απαντες; Τα μεν γαρ αλλα ευ ποιων εδιδαξω με ηδη, αρμοσασθαι τον αυλον ες το ακριβες και εμπνειν ες την γλωττιδα λεπτον τι και εμμελες και υποβαλλειν τους δακτυλους ευαφως υπο πυκνη τη αρσει και θεσει και βαινειν εν ρυθμω και συμφωνα ειναι τα μελη προς τον χορον και της αρμονιας εκαστης διαφυλαττειν το ιδιον, της Φρυγιου το ενθεον, της Λυδίου το Βαχικον, της Δωριου το σεμνον, της Ιωνικης το γλαφυρον (not. surely, *the weak, inferior or despicable*, but the very opposite, *the fine, the exquisite, the subtle*).

Thus the "tenui" of the second verse of the first Eclogue and the GRACILI of the first verse of the Aeneis illuminate each other, while each serves to establish and place beyond doubt, that their common AVENA is not and cannot be either straw-halm, or pipe resembling straw-halm, is and can only be the Pandean pipe, the shepherd's chalumeau, the instrument of Daphnis and Theocritus, that instrument the praise of which, and of the kind of poetry which it represents, is so redundant in every verse of the Bucolics,

compare especially 3, 25:

"cantando tu illum? aut unquam tibi fistula cera
 functa fuit?"

that instrument and that bucolic poetry, the praise of which is so emphatically insisted on in the commencement of the *Culex*,

"lusimus, Octavi, gracili modulante Thalia,
 atque, ut araneoli, tenuem formavimus orsum."

(where we have both gracilis and tenuis, the latter being applied at once in both senses, in its physical sense to the delicate spider's web, in its metaphorical, to the delicate verse),

that instrument of which the four commencing verses of the Aeneis—themselves, as far as AT NUNC HORRENTIA MARTIS, a specimen of its style—present so affectionate a reminiscence.

The Greek poetry, the Greek music, the Greek oratory, the Greek intellect, being all of them, in comparison of the Roman,

fine, subtle, refined, elegant—*tenuia*, *gracilia*—it is with a peculiar propriety our author has characterized the *avena*—the Greek instrument which the Greek *Daphnis*, the Greek *Theocritus*, and the Greek *Bion* had rendered so renowned—by both terms, here in the first verse of his *Aeneis* by *gracilis*, and there in the second verse of his first *Eclogue* by *tenuis*.

The observation which we find among the commentaries usually ascribed to *Servius*, viz.: "*Tenui avena; culmo, stipula: unde rustici (plerumque) cantare consueverunt. Alibi (Ecl. 3, 27): 'Stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen.' Dicendo autem tenui avena, humilis stili genus (humilis) latenter ostendit, quo (ut supra dictum est) in bucolicis utitur,*" affords a remarkable example of that better knowledge which *Servius* had of his author's meaning, mixed up with, and obscured by, the absurdities of wholly uninstructed and illiterate hedge-schoolmasters. The better knowledge, on the present occasion, is that there is a reference in the words "*tenui avena*" to the style of writing used in the *bucolics*; the absurdity, that this style is indicated "*latenter*" by "*tenui avena*" used literally in the sense of puny straw-halm. Nor let the reader be led astray by the epithet "*humilis*" in the just quoted observation, or made to doubt the correctness of the argument both of this Remark and the preceding, and to believe that *Virgil* considered either his own *bucolic* instrument, or the *bucolic* music or poetry generally, to be of a weak, low, mean, or despicable kind, the epithet *humilis* as applied to style, not having at all the meaning of low in respect of what style should be (i. e. not at all the meaning of *vile* or *despicable*), but only of low in respect of another style distinguished from the *humilis stilus* by the appellation *altus*, i. e. *high-flown* and *grandiloquent*, exactly as, in our own language and in our own times, *low* applied to church, signifies not at all *low* in respect of what church should be, but *low* in respect of that other church distinguished from *low* church by the appellation *high*. In both cases alike, in the case of style no less than in the case of church, the question which of the two, the *humilis* or the *altus*, is preferable to the other, is left wholly untouched by any application to either

of either term. The Servian observation, therefore, "tenui avena, humilis stili genus ostendit," so far from being at variance, is, let it only be rightly understood, in as perfect harmony with the entire scope and drift both of the Remark on AVENA, and of the Remark on GRACILI, as it is with the eulogy, at once, and description, of bucolic poetry by the scholiast of Theocritus: *πασα ποιησις τρεις εχει χαρακτηρας, διηγηματικον, δραματικον, και μικτον. Το δε Βουκολικον πριημα μιγμα εστι παντος ειδους, καθαπερ συγκεκραμενον· διο και χαριεστατον τη ποικιλια της φρασσεως, μαλλον δε της κρασσεως, ποτε μεν συγκειμενον εκ διηγηματικου, ποτε δε εκ δραματικου, ποτε δε εκ μικτου, ηγουν διηγηματικου και δραματικου, οτε δε ως αν τυχη. εις οσον δ' οιοντ' εστιν, αυτη η ποιησις τα των αγροικων ηθη εκμασσεται, τερπνως πανυ τους τη αγροικια σκυθρωπους τον βιον χαρακτηριζουσα. εκπεφευγε δε και το αγαν αδρον και υπερογκον της ποιησεως.*

Stabile Pezzini, ai Cavaleggieri, Livorno, June 20, 1869.

1 (d).

MODULATUS AVENA

CARMEN

Having shown the true meaning of AVENA, and how egregiously it has been mistaken for oaten straw or oaten pipe, not merely by our English Dryden but by Virgilian translators and commentators generally, let us now turn to MODULATUS CARMEN, and see whether that expression has not been equally misunderstood.

"I, who before with shepherds in the groves
sung to my oaten p'pe their rural loves,"

says Dryden, conveying what picture to the readers and admirers of that translation of Virgil's *Aeneis* which Sir W. Scott informs us, "put all literary England into a ferment of expectation"? of course, of a man singing to his own piping, of a man piping and singing at one and the same moment; an absurdity which Voss avoids by the ingenious device of alternating the

entertainment, making the same musician now *sing* the verse and then *pipe* the accompaniment ("Diesen gesang . . . dichtet Tityrus bald singend, bald auf der einröhrigen pfeife von haber- oder gerstenhalm . . . die melodie versuchend," Voss ad *Ecl.* 1, 1 and 2, for Voss—and no wonder, entertaining such views of their meaning—has not condescended to recognize the four introductory verses) and from which even Forbiger is not able to escape except by the same device ("Hac fistula autem meditari carmina recte dicitur pastor, qui ea utitur ad prooemia vel etiam ad embolia inter singulas strophas canenda"), device as unnecessary as the absurdity from which it is to deliver us is imaginary, exists only in the minds of translators and commentators. For what says Virgil? What single word says Virgil, in our text, of song, or singing, or bucolic poetry, or poetry at all? GRACILI MODULATUS AVENA CARMEN. AVENA is the instrument; GRACILI, the quality of the instrument; MODULATUS, the performing on the instrument; CARMEN, the thing performed, i. e. the melody, the air; and the whole meaning: *tuned or played an air or musical melody on delicate avena*, exactly as in Ovid's account (*Met.* 11, 153) of the contest between Pan and Apollo,

a contest in which Pan plays on the arundo, Apollo, on the lyre, and in which there is no singing, no verses, no poetry, nothing but instrumental music:

"Pan ibi dum teneris jactat sua carmina Nymphis,
et leve cerata modulatur arundine carmen,
ausus Apollineos prae se contemnere cantus,
judice sub Tmoloe certamen venit ad impar.
monte suo senior judex consedit, et aures
liberat arboribus
is que deum pecoris spectans, 'in judice', dixit,
'nulla mora est'. calamis agrestibus insonat ille,
barbaricoque Midan (aderat nam forte canenti)
carmine dellinit. post hunc sacer ora retorsit
Tmolus ad os Phoebi; vultum sua silva secuta est.
ille caput flavum lauro Parnasside vinctus
verrit humum Tyrio saturata murice palla:
instructamque fidem gemmis et dentibus India
sustinet a laeva; tenuit manus altera plectrum.
artificis status ipse fecit. tum stamina docto
pollice sollicitat; quorum dulcedine captus
Pana jubet Tmolus citharae submittere canas.
judicium sanctique placet sententia montis
omnibus."

“arundine,” “calamis,” “cannas” are the instrument on which Pan plays (the *AVENA* of our text); “modulatur,” “insonat,” “canenti,” the playing on that instrument (the *MODULATUS* of our text); and “carmen” and “carmine,” the air or melody played (the *CARMEN* of our text); while “fidem,” “stamina,” “citharæ” are the instrument on which Apollo plays; “pollice sollicitat,” the playing of Apollo on that instrument; and “cantus,” the airs or melodies which Apollo plays on that instrument; and exactly as in the musical contest between Damoetas and Damon,

Ecl. 3, 21:

- D. “an mihi cantando victus non redderet ille,
quem mea carminibus meruisset fistula, caprum?”
M. “cantando tu illum? aut unquam tibi fistula cera
functa fuit? non tu in trivile, indocte, solebas
strident! miserum stipula disperdere carmen?”

“fistula” is the instrument; “cantando,” the playing on that instrument; “carminibus,” the musical airs or melodies performed on that instrument; and “carmen,” the musical air or melody performed on the rival instrument, the “stipula.” Not that *carmen* is not very frequently the words which are set to an air or melody; nay, even the words without the air or melody, as, for instance, the *Carmen seculare* of Horace, or the *Carmina* of Virgil, the latter meaning, as the case may be, either the *Bucolics* or the *Georgics* or the *Æneis*, or all these poems taken collectively, but that *CARMEN* in the context in which it stands in our text, viz. in connexion with *MODULATUS* and *GRACILI AVENA*, cannot signify verses, words, or poetry, can only signify musical air or melody, it being only an air or melody—mere musical sounds, and not words—which can be modulated, played, or tuned on an instrument, especially on a wind instrument blown with the breath.

The following are other examples in which *carmen* is used in this sense and cannot be understood in any other; Cic. *Acad. Prior. 2, 27* (ed. Orelli): “pictor videt, quæ nos non videmus; et, simul inflavit tibicen, a perito carmen agnoscitur.” Ovid. *Heroid. 12, 139*:

“tibiaque effundit socialia carmina vobis,
at mihi funerea flebiliora tuba.”

Ovid. *Trist.* 4, 1, 11:

"fessus ut incubuit baculo, saxove resedit,
pastor arundineo carmine mulcet oves."

Ovid. *Rem. Am.* 181:

"pastor inaequali modulatur arundine carmen."

in the last two of which examples not only is carmen a mere air or melody, and in the last of which examples not only is modulatur the playing or performing of that air or melody (it not being the custom for shepherds to sing but only to play to their flocks), but the arundo, the instrument on which the air or melody is performed, is, as shown by the epithet inaequali in the last example (see Rem. on "avena"), the very instrument of our text, the avena or Pandean pipe. In our text, therefore, our author represents himself, not as both singing and playing (whether, with Dryden, at the same moment, or, with Voss and Forbiger, alternately) but only as playing; plainly represents himself as playing on his gracilis avena or Pandean pipe, and should never have been otherwise understood. No meaning was ever clearer, no picture more lively and intelligible. We see Virgil before us playing airs on his Pandean or shepherd's pipe; in other words Virgil presents himself to us as the quondam shepherd so well known for his skill in playing on the pipe. Virgil, however, was not a shepherd, but a farmer, and most probably had never played upon the shepherd's pipe so much even as once in his life. ¿What, then, does Virgil mean by informing us that he who now canit HORRENTIA MARTIS ARMA VIRUMQUE is the same who formerly played airs on the shepherd's pipe? why, plainly that he is the same Virgil who wrote the bucolic poems which had rendered the name of Virgil so celebrated, MODULATUS CARMEN GRACILI AVENA being a metonymy for *composed bucolics*, or *bucolic poetry*, exactly as Horace's "Romanæ fidicen lyrae" is a metonymy for *composer of Roman lyrics* or *lyric poetry*, and it being no less far both from the actual fact and from Virgil's meaning, that Virgil had ever had a Pandean pipe in his hand, than it was far both from the actual fact and Horace's meaning, that Horace had ever had in his hand a Roman lyre. Compare *Ecl.* 1, 1:

"Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi
silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena:
. . . . tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas."

where *Tityrus under the beech meditating* (i. e. *studying, learning, practising*)

Veget. 1, 1: "Sed adversus haec omnia profuit tironem solerter eligere, ius (ut ita dixerim) armorum docere, quotidiano exercitio roborare, quaecumque evenire in acie atque in praeliis possint, omnia in campestri meditatione praenosceri, severe in desides vindicare."

a muse on his *Pandean pipe* and making the woods resound *Amaryllis*, is not to be understood as equivalent to *Tityrus* singing and playing alternately, still less as equivalent to *Tityrus* singing and playing at one and the same moment, but as equivalent to *Tityrus* studying, learning, or practising, μελετων, εκπονων

Hom. *Hymn. in Mercur. 556*:

μαντειης απκνευθε διδασκαλοι [Parcae], την επι βουσι
παις ετ' εων μελετησα·

Theocr. *Idyll. 7, 50*:

. . . κηγω μεν, ορη φιλος, ει τοι αρεσκει
τουβ' ο τι πρην εν ορει το μελυδριον εξεπονασα.

on his *Pandean pipe* an air or melody

Lucret. 4, 590:

"et genus agricolium late sentiscere, cum Pan,
pinea semiferi capitis volamina quassans,
unco saepe labro calamos percurrit hiantis,
fistula sylvestrem ne cesset fundere musam."

Hor. *Od. 2, 10, 18*:

. . . "quondam citharae [al. cithara] tacentem
suscitat musam, neque semper arcum
tendit Apollo."

Eurip. *Hippol. 1149*:

μουσα δ' αυπνος υπ' αντυγι χορδαν
ληξει πατρων ανα δομον.

Herodian. 4, 8, 19: υποδοχη δε παρεσκευαζετο οιαν μηδενι·πωποτε βασιλει γινεσθαι φασι· πασης τε γαρ μουσης οργανα πανταχου διακειμενα ποικilon ηχον ειργαζετο. the musa and μουσα of which examples can by no possibility be *verses* or *poetry*, not even *vocal air* or *melody*; can only be *instrumental air* or *melody*, *instrumental music*.

for words in praise of Amaryllis, that is to say, is to be understood as a metonymy for Tityrus (i. e. Virgil)—in undisturbed possession of his Mantuan farm — enjoying his ease, and composing pastorals. Compare also *Ecl.* 6, 6:

“nunc ego

 agrestem tenui meditabor arundine musam.”,

where, using a similar metonymy, our author tells us he is going to meditate (study, learn, practise) a rustic muse (air or melody) on his Pandean pipe, and proceeds forthwith neither to use Pandean pipe at all, nor to play or sing at all (for ‘non iniussa cano’ is part of the same metonymy, see Rem. on “cano” below) but to compose or write a bucolic:

“si quis tamen haec quoque, si quis
 captus amore leget, te nostrae, Vare, myricae,
 te nemus omne canet; nec Phoebæ gratior ulla est,
 quam sibi quæ Vari præscripsit pagina nomen.
 pergite, Pierides.”

where Servius, correctly: “Carmen rusticum scribam.”

and *Georg.* 4, 559:

“haec super arborum cultu pecorumque canebam
 et super arboribus,

 carmina qui lusi pastorum, audaxque iuventa,
 Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.”

where, using a similar metonymy, our author informs us that it was he sang or played (canebat) the Georgics, and, before the Georgics, sang or played (cecinit) the Eclogues, as little meaning that he sang or played, in the musical sense of the word, either the Georgics or the Eclogues, as he means in our text that he actually played the Eclogues on Pandean pipe, or as he means in the words NUNC HORRENTIA MARTIS ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO (*v.* 4), that he is now actually, in the musical sense of the word, singing or playing *Mars' bristling arms and the man*, and meaning no more than that it was he composed (wrote) the Georgics and the Eclogues, and that he is now composing (writing) a poem of which the subject is *Mars' bristling arms and the man*.

Let the reader, not yet sufficiently convinced, compare Mart. 8, 3, 21:

"angusta cantare licet videaris avena,
dum tua multorum vincat avena tubas."

where, as, on the one hand, nothing can be plainer than that the "cantare" is not *to* the "avena" but *on* or *with* the "avena," so, on the other hand, nothing can be more certain than that the "cantare" on or with the "avena," and the avena's outdoing of trumpets, are mere metonymies for *the writing of bucolic verse, and the outdoing of epic verse by bucolic*; also Claud. *Cons. Prob. et Olybr.* 197:

"talem nulla refert antiquis pagina libris,
nec Latiae cecinere tubae nec Graeca vetustas."

where the metonymy of "Latiae cecinere tubae" for *Latian epic verse told of*, and of "Graeca vetustas," for *ancient Greek epic*, is no less self-evident; and Prudent. *contra Sym.* 2, 67:

"taliam principibus dicta interfantibus, ille [Symmachus]
persequitur, magnisque tubam concentibus inflat."

where "magnis tubam concentibus inflat" is no less certainly a mere metonymy—not even for *epic verse*, but only—for *the sonorous oratory of Symmachus*.

Dalkey Lodge, Dalkey (Ireland) July 18, 1871.

2 (a).

EGRESSUS SILVIS

In reply to the argument which Peerlkamp has drawn from these words, against the four introductory verses: "Qui per GRACILEM AVENAM significavit carmen bucolicum, et statim per ARVA COLONO PARERE COACTA, georgicum, is ubi se EGRESSUM SILVIS dicit, cogitationem carminis venatici non excitare non potuit," I would only ask (*a*) ¿where but in silvis was it pastor Corydon poured forth his lament? *Ecl.* 2, 3:

"tantum inter densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos
assidue veniebat: ibi haec incondita solus
montibus et silvis studio jactabat inani:

mecum una in silvis imitabere Pana canendo.
Pan primus calamos cera conjungere plures
instituit: Pan curat oves, oviumque magistros."

¿where but in silvis was it pastor Corydon dwelt? *vers. 60:*

"quem fugis, ah! demens? habitarunt di quoque silvas,
Dardaniusque Paris. Pallas, quas condidit arces
ipsa colat: nobis placeant ante omnia silvae."

¿where was it but in silvis, in the woods and on the bark of
trees, bucolic Gallus carved his love song? *Ecl. 10, 52:*

"certum est in silvis, inter spelaea ferarum,
malle pati, tenerisque meos incidere amores
arboribus: crescent illae; crescetis, amores."

¿what was the last, worst disappointment of the same unhappy
bucolic Gallus, but that, returning to his Hamadryads, his love
ditties and his silvae, from those field sports in which he had
in vain sought solace for his unrequited love, he finds that nei-
ther his Hamadryads, nor his love ditties, nor his silvae, com-
fort him? *Ecl. 10, 62:*

"iam neque Hamadryades rursus, nec carmina nobis
ipsa placent: ipsae rursus concedite silvae."

¿of what is it but of the silvae the shepherd poet Damon takes
leave, laying down his flute and about to drown himself? *Ecl.*
8, 58:

"omnia vel medium fiant mare. vivite, silvae:
praeceps aerii specula de montis in undas
deferar: extremum hoc munus morientis habeto.
desine Maenalios, jam desine, tibia, versus."

¿the epitaph of Daphnis (*Ecl. 5, 43*), the first bucolic poet, what
was it but

"Daphnis ego in silvis, hinc usque ad sidera notus,
formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse."?

¿what was it but the silvae which rejoiced in company with
the rest of the country, with the shepherds and the shepherds'
God and the Dryads, at the apotheosis of Daphnis? *Ecl. 5, 58:*

"ergo alacris silvas et cetera rura voluptas
Panaque pastoresque tenet Dryadasque puellas."

¿where was it but in silvis Virgil's first Muse, that Muse which inspired his bucolics, dwelt? *Ecl.* 6, 1:

"prima Syracosio dignata est ludere versu
nostra, nec erubuit silvas habitare, Thalia."

¿where is our first acquaintance with Virgil himself made but in silvis, in the woods where he is liting his pastoral love melody?

. . . "tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas,"

those very silvae out of which EGRESSUS, VICINA ARVA COEGIT UT PARERENT COLONO: (*b*) ¿whose word but Virgil's own is EGRESSUS? *Aen.* 1, 175:

. . . "magno telluris amore
egressi optata potiuntur Troes arena"

3, 79:

. . . "egressi veneramur Apollinis urbem."

9, 314:

"egressi superant fossas" . . .

2, 713:

"est urbe egressis tumulus templumque vetustum
desertae Cereris,"

10, 283:

. . . "egressisque labant vestigia prima."

8, 122:

"egredere o quicunque es" . . .

(*c*) ¿how little removed from Virgil's own (*Aen.* 12, 236)

"nos, patria amissa, dominis parere superbis
cogemur,"

is

COEGI

UT QUAMVIS AVIDO PARERENT ARVA COLONO,?

and (*d*) ¿what three expressions, not exactly the same, could be more similar, more redolent of the same author, than EGRESSUS COEGI, "incipiens edico" (*Georg.* 3, 295) and "digressus iubeo" (*Georg.* 3, 300), the subject of all three being the author himself?

Palazzetta Taddei, ai Cavaleggieri, Livorno, Mar. 28, 1869.

2 (b).

VICINA COEGI

UT QUAMVIS AVIDO PARERENT ARVA COLONO

Our author having referred back in the first verse of his *Aeneis*:

ILLE EGO QUI QUONDAM GRACILI MODULATUS AVENA
CARMEN,

to the first youthful production of his pen, the *Bucolics*, under the figure of airs performed by him on the shepherd's pipe, might have been expected to maintain the figure in his immediately succeeding reference to his next and greater performance, the *Georgics*:

ET EGRESSUS SILVIS, VICINA COEGI
UT QUAMVIS AVIDO PARERENT ARVA COLONO,
GRATUM OPUS AGRICOLIS,

and there are, perhaps, few of his more thoughtful readers who have not, in the profound silence of the commentators, put the question to themselves ¿has he, or not? Let us try if we can inform them, say rather, inform ourselves. He has left the woods — EGRESSUS SILVIS — ¿has he left also his AVENA, or brought it with him? If he has left it ¿how is the musical trope carried on without it? ¿how, or on what instrument, the new music (*viz.* the *Georgics*) performed? If he has brought it with him and with it cogit ARVA ¿in what sense is it that he cogit ARVA with such instrument? ¿in that of drawing the ARVA towards him, of so charming the ARVA with his music that they crowd round him to hear, as the trees crowded round Orpheus and the stones round Amphion? ¿But (*a*) was Virgil a man vainglorious enough to put himself forward as a second Orpheus or Amphion? (*b*) If he was ¿is the crowding of fields round his music even so much as comprehensible? and (*c*) had he been so vainglorious and the crowding of fields round his music as comprehensible as the crowding of trees round Orpheus and of stones round Amphion ¿is such the effect described in the words:

UT QUAMVIS AVIDO PARERENT ARVA COLONO,

"nos quoque vicinis cur non succedimus umbris?"

Calpurn. 3, 94:

"ipse procul stabo, vel acuta carice tectus,
vel propius latitans vicina, ut saepe, sub ara.",

in both which instances as in our text, *vicinus* is *near to the speaker at the time spoken of*. Virg. *Ecl.* 1, 53:

"hinc tibi, quae semper vicino ab limite sepes
Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti
saepe leve somnum suadebit inire susurro,"

where *vicinus* is *near to the person spoken to, at the time spoken of*.

AVIDO COLONO. Ovid. *Fast.* 1, 677:

"frugibus immensis avidos satiate colonos,"

Dalkey Lodge, Dalkey (Ireland), July 25, 1871.

4 (a).

GRATUM OPUS AGRICOLIS

"a poem grateful to the greedy swain,"

Dryden.

It is not in this its secondary, particular, and technical sense, but in its primary and general sense of *work, labor, performance*, *opus* is to be understood in this place; Liv. 40, 51: "Opera ex pecunia attributa divisaque inter se haec confecerunt. Lepidus molem ad Terracinam, ingratum opus, quod praedia habebat ibi, privatamque publicae rei impensam imposuerat. . . Habuere et in promiscuo praeterea pecuniam. ex ea communiter locarunt aquam adducendam, fornicesque faciendos. Impedimento operi fuit M. L. Crassus, qui per fundum suum duci non est passus.", where not only have we "*opus*" used three times in this its general sense, but, the addition to it, at one of those times, of "*ingratum*" (*disagreeable*, viz. to the people) exactly answering to the *GRATUM* of our text (*agreeable*, viz. to the agriculturists), places it beyond doubt that *opus*, in our text, is not used in its special or technical sense of *poem*, but in its general and com-

mon sense of *work, labor, performance*, and refers primarily and directly to the labor or work: COEGI UT QUAMVIS AVIDO PARERENT ARVA COLONO, and only secondarily and indirectly and through the medium of VICINA COEGI UT QUAMVIS AVIDO PARERENT ARVA COLONO, to the poem itself. Compare also Theocr. *Idyll. 22, 40*:

. . . ὑψηλαὶ δὲ πεφυκεσαν ἀγροὶ πευκαὶ
λευκαὶ τε πλατάνοι τε καὶ ἀχροκομοὶ κυπαρίσσοι,
ἀνθεὰ τ' εὐωδῆ, λασιαὶ φίλα ἔργα μελισσαις,
οὗτ' ἑαρος ληγόντος ἐπιβρῦει ἀν λειμῶνας.

Theocr. *Idyll. 10, 22* (Milo speaking):

καὶ τί κορὰς φίλικον μέλος ἀμβάλει· ἄδιον οὕτως
ἐργάζη.

Callim. *Hymn. in Dian. 244*:

οὐ γὰρ πῶ νεβρεῖα δι' ὅσ τεα τετρήνοντο,
ἐργὸν Ἀθηναίης, ἐλαφὺ κακόν.

Aen. 7, 45:

"maius opus moveo,".

To the proofs I have advanced (I, 1 — 4) of the authenticity of the four introductory verses, may be added the exact parallelism of Theocritus's φίλα ἔργα μελισσαις to GRATUM OPUS AGRICOLIS, and the striking similarity in cast and cadence, no less than in position in the verse, of "Maius opus moveo."

Dalkey Lodge, Dalkey (Ireland), July 27, 1871.

4 (b).

AT NUNC HORRENTIA MARTIS

ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO

"Cum hac tuba quam conferas!" exclaims La Cerda, with how much more enthusiasm than right understanding of his author I have endeavoured to show in my Rem. on "cano" v. 5. If, therefore, I quote the commencement of the Orphic Argonautics (vers. 7):

Νυν γὰρ σοι, λυρσεργε, φίλον μέλος αἰδόντα
 θυμὸς ἐποτρυνεῖ λείξαι, ταπερ εὐποτε προσθεν
 ἔφρασ', ὅταν Βακχίῳ καὶ Ἀπολλωνὸς ἀνακτος
 κεντρῶ εἰλαυνόμενος, φρικώδεα κτλ' ἐπιφασκόν,
 θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν ἀχὴ' μετὰ δ' ὄρεια μυσταῖς,

on which follows an account of the previous writings of the author of that poem, it will be readily understood that it is by no means a taking up of the gauntlet thrown down by La Cerda, but for the very different purpose of strengthening the argument already adduced (Rem. I. 1—4) in favor of the four introductory verses, by showing by means of an example, that Virgil was not singular in commencing his epic with a reference to, and short account of, his previous performances.

AT. Let no one ground an argument against the authenticity of the four introductory verses, either on the anacoluthon ILLE EGO QUI . . . AT NUNC—Virgil is unhappily (see Rem. on "id metuens," 1, 27) but too much addicted to anacolutha—or on the apparent insignificance of the word with which the broken-off discourse is recommenced ("At plane otiosum est, et contra morem Latinitatis," Peerlkamp). Not only is AT, according to the general rule that words are significant in the inverse proportion of their length (witness yes, no, if, in, for, I, he, how, who), not an insignificant word, but AT—serving, as it always does, to contrast what follows with what has just been said, or, where nothing has been said, with what has just been thought—is here precisely in its right place; nay, according to Virgil's own practice and the practice of other the best writers, was not too insignificant a word to have been placed first word of the whole passage; *Aen.* 2, 535:

"at tibi pro scelere, exclamat, pro talibus ausis,
 di (si qua est caelo pietas quae talia curet)
 persolvant grates dignas, et praemia reddant
 debita;"

where see Rem.; Ovid. *Fast.* 2, 395:

"at quam sunt similes! at quam formosus uterque!"

or of the whole book:

"At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura"

(with which commencement of the fourth book of the Aeneis with "At", compare the commencement of the third book of the Iliad and the twentieth book of the Odyssey with the Greek *at*, *αὐταρ*); Ovid. *Amor.* 3, 7, 1:

"At non formosa est, at non bene culta puella;
at, puto, non votis saepe petita meis!"

Hor. *Epod.* 5, 1:

"At o deorum quidquid in caelo regit
terras et humanum genus,
quid iste fert tumultus?" . . .

and has even been placed by Apuleius — for however Hildebrand may prefer his own conjectural "En", collators of the MSS. unanimously affirm the reading to be "At" — first word of his *Metamorphoses*: "At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram," etc. Compare the not very dissimilar position and use of the same particle in the ancient *formula deditiois* preserved to us by Livy, 1, 38: "Deditisne vos populumque Collatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, . . . in meam populi que Romani ditionem? Dedimus. At ego recipio" (vide Drakenb. ad locum); also Liv. 24, 37: "Tum Pinarius: At illi, si ad consulem gravarentur mittere, sibi saltem darent populi concilium, ut sciretur" etc. and — the very counterpart and twin brother not merely of the AT NUNC, but of the whole thought and manner of our author in this place — Stat. *Theb.* 10, 827:

"Hactenus arma, tubae, ferrumque et vulnera, sed nunc
cominus astrigeros Capaneus tollendus in axes."

AT NUNC, See preceding paragraph, and Rem. 1, 1 (a), ad finem.

NUNC . . . CANO. *Georg.* 2, 2: "Nunc . . . canam". *Ecl.* 6, 6 :
"nunc . . . meditabor". *Georg.* 3, 294:

"nunc veneranda Pales, magno nunc ore sonandum."

Georg. 4, 149:

"nunc age, naturas apibus quas Iupiter ipse
addidit, expediam."

Aen. 7, 37:

"nunc age, qui reges, Erato, . . .
. . .
expediam,"

7, 641:

"pandite nunc Helicon, deae, cantusque movete,"

Lucret. 5, 510:

"motibus astrorum nunc quae sit causa canamus,"

Propert. 2, 10, 7:

"aetas prima canat Veneres, extrema tumultus:
bella canam, quando scripta puella mea est.
nunc volo subducto gravior procedere vultu;
nunc aliam citharam me mea Musa docet.
surge, anime, ex humili; jam, carmina, sumite vires;
Pierides, magni nunc erit oris opus."

Ovid. *Met.* 10, 149 (Orpheus singing and accompanying himself on the lyre):

. . . . "Iovis est mihi saepe potestas
dicta prius. cecini plectro graviore Gīgantas,
sparsaque Phlegraeis victricia fulmina campis.
nunc opus est leviores lyra; puerosque canamus
dilectos superis; inconcessisque puellas
ignibus attonitas meruisse libidine poenam."

Stat. *Theb.* 1, 33: "Nunc tendo chelyn." *Theb.* 10, 827:

"hactenus arma, tubae, ferrumque et vulnera, sed nunc
cominus astrigeros Capaneus tollendus in axes."

Hom. *Il.* 2, 484:

εσπετε νυν μοι, Μουσai. Ολυμπια δωματ' εχουσαι·

Hom. *Il.* 2, 681:

νυν δ' αυ τους, οσσοι το Πελασγικον Αργος εναιον,

Apoll. Rhod. I, 20:

νυν δ' αν εγω γενετην τε και ονομα μυθησαιμην
ηρωων, δολιχης τε πυρους αλος, οσσα τ' ερεξαν
πλαζομενοι·

Orph. *Argonaut.* 1, 7 (just quoted):

νυν γαρ σοι
θυμος εποτρυνει λεξαι, ταπερ ουποτε προσθεν
εφρασ'

Dalkey Lodge, Dalkey (Ireland), Mar. 25, 1871.

4—7.

HORRENTIA MARTIS

ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO TROIAE QUI PRIMUS AB ORIS
ITALIAM FATO PROFUGUS LAVINAQUE VENIT
LITORA

These words have supplied Valerius Flaccus with the mould in which he has cast the first verses of his *Argonautics*:

"prima deum magnis canimus freta pervia natis,
fatidicamque ratem; Scythici quae Phasidis oras
ausa sequi, mediosque inter iuga concita cursus
rumpere, flammifero tandem consedit Olympo."

where "deum magnis freta pervia natis" corresponds to HORRENTIA MARTIS ARMA, "fatidicamque ratem" to VIRUMQUE, "prima" to PRIMUS, "canimus" to CANO, "quae" to QUI, "Scythici Phasidis oras" to ITALIAM LAVINAQUE LITORA, "ausa sequi" to VENIT, "medios inter iuga concita cursus rumpere", to MULTUM ILLE ET TERRIS IACTATUS ET ALTO, and "flammifero tandem consedit Olympo", if less exactly to CONDERET URBEM INFERRETQUE DEOS LATIO, very exactly to the apotheosis of the hero of the *Aeneis*, 1, 263:

. . . "sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli
magnanimum Aenean,"

and where we can even see so far into the secret heart of the composer, as to perceive why the two objects of "canimus" are not placed as the two objects of CANO, in our text, are placed, viz. before the verb, but one on both sides of the verb — embracing the verb, as it were, — and the other after; viz. on account of the complexity of the first, the unwieldy length of "fatidicam" in the second, and the necessity there was of giving that pregnant word an emphatic position; see Rem. 2, 246.

ARMA, not, with Donatus and Vegetius (see Rem. 1—4, p. 5), and according to our author's own example 11, 652 (where "arma Dianae" is *the weapons of Diana, the weapons*

commonly used by Diana), the arms of Aeneas, in the sense of the arms used by Aeneas, the arms fabricated for Aeneas by Vulcan, but arms metonymically for wars and battles, as *Aen.* 8, 114:

. . . . "pacemne huc fertis, an arma?"

Georg. 3, 26:

"in foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto
Gangaridum faciam victorisque arma Quirini;"

Aen. 7, 440:

"sed te victa situ verique effeta senectus,
o mater, curis nequidquam exercet et arma
regum inter falsa vatem formidine ludit."

Calpurn. *Ecl.* 4, 160 (referring to the very ARMA of our text):

"tu mihi talis eris, qualis qui dulce sonantem
Tityron e silvis dominam deduxit in urbem,
ostenditque deos, et spreto, dixit, ovilli,
Tityre, rura prius, sed post cantabimus arma,"

MARTIS ARMA, wars or battles of Mars; not, literally, wars or battles fought by Mars, or Mars's own wars or battles (of which structure we have an example at *Georg.* 3, 26 (just quoted):

"in foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto
Gangaridum faciam, victorisque arma Quirini;"

the wars or battles fought by victorious Quirinus), but wars or battles presided over by Mars, which are the peculiar province of Mars, which are delighted in by Mars, exactly as Auson. *Epigr.* 1, 14:

"sed carmen non molle modis; bella horrida Martis
Odrysi, Thressaeque viraginis arma retractat,"

where the victorious emperor spoken-of fights over again (viz. in verse) not Odrysian Mars's own wars or battles, but the Thracian virago's wars or battles presided over by Odrysian Mars, or in which Odrysian Mars takes delight; and where — still further parallelism to our text — it may be debated whether "arma" is to be taken literally and as signifying the battle-axe and lunate shield so peculiarly the arms of the Amazon, or figuratively and as a mere variety for "bella", and signifying

wars or battles, exactly as in our text it has been debated whether the same word is to be taken literally and as signifying the arms forged for Aeneas by Vulcan, or figuratively and as signifying the wars of Aeneas with the Latins.

Parallel to our text in meaning, although not parallel either in structure or position in the verse, is (Hor. *Ars Poet.* 402)

. "Martia bella;"

parallel both in structure and meaning, and only not parallel in position in the verse, is (Ovid. *Met.* 8, 20)

. "rigidi certamina Martis,"

and parallel, not only in structure and meaning, but in position in the verse, and even with a similar emphasizing adjective similarly immediately prefixed, is our author's own (*Aen.* 12, 124)

. "aspera Martis
pugna"

HORRENTIA, *bristling*. However illogical and unhappy the metonymy by which an epithet, properly applicable to ARMA only in its literal sense of *instruments of war*, is applied to ARMA in its figurative sense of *war itself*, it is at least neither more illogical nor more unhappy than that by which the same epithet, properly applicable only to the beholder of darkness, or to the place involved in darkness, is applied to darkness itself; *Aen.* 1, 169:

. . . "horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra.";

and 1, 315:

"arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris;"

or than that by which the epithet fugiens, properly applicable only to the fugitive, is applied to the darts discharged by the fugitive; *Aen.* 11, 653:

"illa etiam, si quando in tergum pulsa recessit,
spicula converso fugientia dirigit arcu.";

or than that by which the epithet fulvus, properly applicable only to the lion's skin, is applied to the lion's anger; Claud. in *Prob. et Olybr. consul.* v. 25:

. . . . "tunc fulva leonis
ira perit;"

or than that by which, in English, the epithet shuddering, properly applicable only to the person on whom the impression is made, is applied to the thing making the impression; Milton, *Comus*, 814:

. . . . "a cold shuddering dew
dips me all o'er,"

The addition of HORRENTIA MARTIS to ARMA, has a triple good effect. First, it determines beyond all possibility of doubt or cavil, what kind of arms is meant, viz. that it is *arms* par excellence, *military arms*, in the sense of *wars* or *battles*, and so prevents the blending of ARMA and VIRUM into one conception, viz. that of *armed man*, *warrior*, as they have been blended not only by Ovid, *Trist.* 2, 534:

"contulit in Tyrios arma virumque toros,"

but by so many others to whom the Aeneis begins with those words (see Rem. 1, 1—4) and as the same words have been blended elsewhere even by our author himself; 11, 746:

. . . . "volat igneus aequore Tarchon
arma virumque ferens,"

(*the armed man, the warrior*); secondly, it intensifies the painting, the wars or battles spoken-of being represented not merely as wars or battles, but as bristling wars or battles, and not merely as bristling wars or battles, but as bristling wars or battles of that dreaded and awful god whose very star, Cicero tells us (*de Rep.* 6), shines fiery-red and horrible on the world: "Hominum generi prosperus et salutaris ille fulgor, qui dicitur Iovis; tum rutilus horribilisque terris quem Martem dicitis," and, thirdly, by raising an expectation of something to come in the next verse, it adds emphasis to ARMA already emphatic on account of its position, first word in that verse and separated by a pause from the sequel; see Rem. 2, 246.

Stabüe Pezzini, ai Cavaleggieri, Livorno, Jan. 29, 1868.

Dalkey Lodge, Dalkey (Ireland), Sept. 3, 1871.

4—12.

HORRENTIA — MEMORA

Tasso, *Gerus. Liberata*, 1, 1:

"CANTO l'armi pietose, e 'l capitano,
che 'l gran sepolcro liberò di Cristo:
molto egli oprò, col senno, e con la mano,
molto soffrì nel glorioso acquisto;
e in van l'Inferno a lui s' oppose, e in vano
s'armò, etc.
o Musa, tu, etc.

And such, from beginning to end, is the *Gerusalemme Liberata*; a modernized copy, even to the individual stones, of the Virgilian edifice.

5.

C A N O

"GRACILI MODULATUS AVENA opposuit illi CANO. Est enim hoc verbum longe illo præstantius; idcirco Musarum Calliope regina, quia ceterae modulantur, illa canit." Iul. Scalig. *Poet.* 3, 26. "Cum hac tuba quam conferas?" La Cerda; and so Voss, in his translation:

"Waffen ertönt mein gesang"

and Spenser, in his imitation:

"for trumpets sterne to chaunge mine oaten reeds,"

all, as I doubt not, erroneously, and in continuation and perpetuation of the extremely false view commonly taken of the commencement of the *Aeneis*, viz. that it contains in the words GRACILI, MODULATUS, and AVENA, a depreciation of bucolic poetry, and in CANO an exaltation of epic. Having already shown the falsehood of that view with respect to GRACILI, MODULATUS, and

AVENA, I have now only to show its falsehood with respect to CANO, an easier task, for ¿with what verisimilitude can it be asserted that exaltation of his present or epic Muse at the expense of his former or bucolic, is contained in, or implied by, the very term which he, the same Virgil, is never tired of applying to his bucolic Muse herself? ¿Who forgets, or ever can forget

“carmina qui lusi pastorum, audaxque iuventa,
Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.”
OR
“carmina nulla canam; non, me pascente, capellae,
florentem cytisum et salices carpētis amaras.”
OR
“si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae.”
OR
“incipē; sollicitos Galli dicamus amores,
dum tenera attondent simae virgulta capellae.
non canimus surdis; respondent omnia silvae.”?

No, no; canere (αἰδεῖν) is a middle term (medium vocabulum of the grammarians) which takes high or low meaning from, not imparts high or low meaning to, the context, and which, having in itself no higher meaning where it is used in our text than it has where it is used in the passages just cited — viz. that of *musically celebrating* (no matter with what kind of music, high or low, vocal or instrumental; Sil. 11, 432 [ed. Ruperti]:

“imprimis dulcem, Poeno laetante, per aures
nunc voce infundit Teuthras, nunc pectine cantum.”),

of *musicizing*, if I may invent a term suggested by, and corresponding to, the Greek μουσιζειν

Eurip. *Cycl.* 488 (of the Cyclops):

καὶ δὲ μεθυῶν
ἀγαρὶν κελαδὸν μουσιζόμενος
σκαιὸς ἀπὸδος καὶ κλαυσομένος
χωρεὶ πετρῖνων ἐξὼ μελαθρῶν.

Theocr. *Idyll.* 8, 37:

αἰπερ ὁμοῖον
μουσισθεὶ Δαφνὶς ταισὶν ἀηδουσίν.

and the German musiciren — comes, nevertheless, in our text, in consequence of its immediate connexion with AT NUNC

HORRENTIA^a MARTIS ARMA VIRUMQUE, to signify *musicize* (μουσιζειν, musiciren, It. cantare) *in the lofty, heroic style*, it being only in the lofty, heroic style, such subjects as HORRENTIA MARTIS ARMA VIRUMQUE are sung; celebrated, or musicized. The following are passages in which, from a similarly elevated context, the same word takes a similarly elevated meaning; *Aen.* 9, 525:

"vos, o Calliope, precor, aspirate canenti,"

9, 774:

. "amicum Crethea Musis,
Crethea Musarum comitem, cui carmina semper
et citharae cordi, numerosque intendere nervis;
semper equos atque arma virum pugnascue canebat."

Claud. *de Prob. et Olyb. Cons.* 198:

"nec Latiae cecinere tubae, nec Graeca vetustas;"

Stat. *Theb.* 1, 32 (to Domitian):

"tempus erit, cum Pierio tua fortior oestro
facta canam; nunc tendo [*al.* tento] chelyn. satis arma referre
Aonia et geminis sceptrum exitiale tyrannis"

and *Theb.* 10, 827:

"hactenus arma, tubae, ferrumque et vulnera: sed nunc
cominus astrigeros Capaneus tollendus in axes.
non mihi jam solito vatium de more canendum.
major ab Aoniis sumenda audacia lucis:
mecum omnes audete Deae."

while, from the low context in which it stands in these other, following passages, it takes even so low a meaning as *croaking, cawing, and crowing*; *Georg.* 1, 378:

"et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querelam."

Cic. *Divin.* 1, 7: "Jupiterne cornicem a laeva, corvum a dextra canere jussisset." *ibid.* 2, 20: "Democritus quidem optimis verbis causam explicat cur ante lucem galli canant." Except, then, for the reflex of the context on it, our author, in the CANO of the fifth verse of his Aeneis, neither **blows on a trumpet**, nor even so much as **plays** or **sings**, but only **musicizes** Mars' bristling arms and the man; exactly as, in his first Georgic, he neither **blows on a trumpet**, nor even so much as **plays** or **sings**, but only **musicizes** what makes glad crops, only **musicizes** the blessings of Bacchus

and Ceres, the Fauns and Dryad girls, etc.; exactly as, in his second Georgic, he neither **blows on a trumpet**, nor even so much as **plays** or **sings**, but only **musicizes thee**, Bacchus, the vine, the olive, etc.; exactly as, in his third Georgic, he neither **blows on a trumpet**, nor even so much as **plays** or **sings**, but only **musicizes herds and flocks**, thee, great Pales, thee, famous Amphrysian shepherd, and you, ye Lycaean woods and rivers; exactly as, in the middle of his last Georgic, he would, if he had space, neither **blow on a trumpet**, nor even so much as **play** or **sing**, but only **musicize the rose-beds of Paestum**; exactly as, in the latter end of his last Georgic, referring back to his first three, he tells us — not that he **blew on a trumpet**, or even so much as **played** or **sung**, but only — that he **musicized fields and flocks and trees**, and, referring back to his Bucolics, that he was the same who had previously — not **blown on a trumpet**, or even so much as **played** or **sung**, but — **musicized thee, Tityrus, under the spreading beech**.

So far so good, but is there nothing more? Does Virgil, when he says, in the fourth and fifth verses of his Æneis, *I musicize Mars' bristling arms and the man*, and when he says, in the beginning of his first Georgic, *I will musicize what may make glad crops*, etc. and *I musicize your blessings, O Bacchus and Ceres*, etc.; and when he says, in the beginning of his second Georgic, *now I will musicize thee, Bacchus*, etc.; and when he says, in the beginning of his third Georgic, *I will musicize thee, great Pales*, etc.; and when he says, in the middle of his last Georgic, *If I had space, I would musicize the rose-beds of Paestum*, etc.; and when he sums up, in the last verses of his last Georgic, all his previous musicizings, both those of his Georgics and those of his Eclogues, in one comprehensive *I musicized the care of cattle and fields and trees, and thee, Tityrus, under the spreading beech*, mean that he actually either sang with his voice or played on an instrument all those various objects? Far from it. Virgil was not a singer with the voice nor a performer on an instrument, but a farmer and a poet, and as little, in any of the expressions we have been discussing, means actually singing

with the voice or playing on an instrument, as in the expression *MODULATUS AVENA CARMEN* (see Rem. on those words), he means actually playing an air on the Pandean pipe. The expressions are — all of them, like that one — mere metonymies, and signify, respectively, no more than that Virgil composed in his mind, and wrote down with his pen, *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and a poem of which Aeneas and his exploits were the subject. ✓

Dalkey Lodge, Dalkey (Ireland), July 22, 1871.

5—7.

TROIAE QUI PRIMUS AB ORIS
ITALIAM FATO PROFUGUS LAVINAQUE VENIT
LITORA

¿Is the structure *FATO, ITALIAM VENIT PROFUGUS, VENIT* and *PROFUGUS* being considered as intimately united together, so as to form the one idea of *coming as a refugee, taking refuge*? ¿or is it *FATO PROFUGUS, ITALIAM VENIT*, *FATO* being separated from *VENIT* and thrown entirely to *PROFUGUS*, so as to afford the sense: *a fated refugee*? The former is the structure assigned to the passage by Servius, who observes: "*FATO ad utrumque pertinet, et quod fugit et quod ad Italiam venit.*"; the latter, that assigned to it by Quintilian, who (*Inst. Orat. 11,3*) directs the reader to suspend his breath at *ITALIAM*: "*quia interiectio est FATO PROFUGUS, et continuum sermonem qui faciebat ITALIAM LAVINAQUE dividit.*" In support of the opinion of Servius may be alleged, first, the numerous examples of a similar intimate union between *profugus* and a verb;

Sall. *Bell. Jug. 39*; "*profugus ex Africa abierat.*" Bell. *Jug. 60*:

"*profugi discedunt.*" Bell. *Cat. 6* (of these very Aeneadae):

"*profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur.*" Aen. *8, 118*:

"*quos illi bello profugos egere superbo.*"

Compare Eurip. *Med. 704*:

Κρεων μ' ἐλαυνει φυγαδα γης Κορινθίας.

Eurip. *Med. 1024*:

εγω δ' ες αλλην γαιαν ειμι δη φυγας,

and Eurip. *Helen*. 89:

φύγας πατρώας ἐξεληλάμααι χθονος.

Apollod. *Biblioth.* 1, 9, 27: Ἐπιβουλευούσα [Medea] δὲ ὑστερον Θησεί, φύγας Ἀθηνῶν μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκβάλλεται.

and secondly, our author's perpetual insistence that the Fates drove Aeneas not merely from Troy but to Italy:

Aen. 10, 67:

"Italiam petit fati auctoribus;"

7, 239:

"sed nos fata deum vestras exquirere terras
imperitis egere suis."

in support of that of Quintilian, first, the immediate proximity of the two words, FATO and PROFUGUS, suggestive of their junction; "FATO PROFUGUS vel collocatio iungenda esse docet," Haeckermann (*Greifswald Programm*, 1853); and, secondly, the smoother cadence of the verse when read with a pause before and after FATO PROFUGUS. Siding with Servius, the reader will have the company of Heyne, who observes: "PROFUGUS VENIT: ornate illud adiectum, et melius iungitur: TROIAE AB ORIS PROFUGUS VENIT."; also of Wagner (1832, 1861), of Dietsch (*Theolog.* p. 17), and of Forbiger; siding with Quintilian, he will be accompanied by Julius Scaliger (*Poet.* 3, 26), D. and N. Heinsius, Voss ("kam, durch schicksal verbannt, gen Italia"), Thiel and Conington.

Let us see if there is no chance of an agreement between the two opposite parties, if they will not accept of any mediation. Quintilian, you are undoubtedly right; how could you, a Roman of the first century and a teacher of elocution, be wrong? the rhythm requires a pause at PROFUGUS:

ITALIAM, FATO PROFUGUS, LAVINAQUE VENIT
LITORA,

and you are right too, Servius; FATO, belonging in the strict structure to PROFUGUS only, belongs in the sense to VENIT also, for only by fate could a man, routed and fugitive by fate, i. e. flying before fate, have come to the place to which he came.

PROFUGUS, exactly the φύγας of Euripides, just quoted.

FATO: "subtiliter monstrans quae accidunt fato nullius posse virtutibus superari . . . ergo crimine desertae patriae ab-solvitur," Donat. "Bene addidit FATO, ne videatur aut causa

criminis patriam deseruisse, aut novi imperii cupiditate," Servius.. "Non merito sed FATO," Iul. Scaliger (*Poet.* 3, 26). The innuendo had been as unworthy of the poet as derogatory to the hero: "Haud temere illud, quod fato profugus venisse dicitur, aut inventum esse a poeta aut creditum a Romanis persuadebunt gravissimi auctores, Homerus, qui fatale Aeneae fuisse ait, ut superstes atrocissimo bello Troianis imperaret, *Il.* 20, 302—8, et Liv. 1, 1: 'Aeneam, ad maiora initia rerum ducentibus fatiis, primo in Macedoniam venisse' *cet.* Fato autem cum summa rerum in hoc carmine expositarum gubernetur, fieri non potest, quin eae res ipsae fiant augustiores, legentes autem impleantur et reverentia tanti numinis et admiratione rei Romanae volente Fato et constitutae et ad eam, quae fuit Virgilii tempore, potentiam ac dignitatem evectae." Wagner (1861). To be sure; who can doubt it? but not to produce such mere rhetorical effect is the office of the word FATO in this place. The word is essential, not to be avoided, our author's object being to place before the reader, here at the very outset, the two forces from whose antagonism results the whole action of the poem, viz. the force of fate expressed by FATO, and the force of the Gods expressed by VI SUPERUM, the former force impelling Aeneas and his Trojans towards Italy and the foundation of Rome, the latter driving them back, repelling by every possible means; the former, of course and according to the very notion of fate, victorious: ITALIAM LAVINAQUE LITORA VENIT; the latter, according to the no less philosophical than religious dogma which assigned certain limits to the power even of the Gods, obstructing, embarrassing, and delaying: MULTUM ILLE ET TERRIS IACTATUS ET ALTO, but, in the end, defeated and obliged to succumb: DUM CONDERET URBEM INFERRETQUE DEOS LATIO . . . GENUS UNDE LATINUM ALBANIQUE PATRES ATQUE ALTAE MOENIA ROMAE.

So entirely is this the case, so intent is the poet on placing clearly and unmistakably before his audience the main springs from whence the whole action of the poem arises, viz. fate on the one hand, and the cabals of jealous and resentful Gods on the other, that we find him, a little further on, winding up, and,

if I may so say, perorating, his exordium with a repetition, in still more emphatic terms, of the exposition with which he has here so emphatically begun it:

. "iactatos aequore toto
Troas, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli,
arcebat longe Latio, multosque per annos
errabant, acti fati, maria omnia circum.
tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem."

where (1)

. "iactatos aequore toto
Troas, ...
arcebat longe Latio, multosque per annos
errabant maria omnia circum."

is the repetition and more minute specification of

. MULTUM ILLE ET TERRIS IACTATUS ET ALTO,

where (2) the subject of 'arcebat' is the same inimical deity who would, even in spite of Fate, annihilate everything Trojan:

VI SUPERUM, SAEVAE MEMOREM IUNONIS OB IRAM,

where (3) 'acti fati' expresses the opposite force which allowed the fugitives no rest until at last it landed them where it had, from the beginning, determined they should land, viz. in Italy, and near the spot where Rome was to be founded:

ITALIAM, FATO PROFUGUS, LAVINAQUE VENIT
LITORA,

and where (4) if any one doubt the perfect parallelism of the two passages and that

. "iactatos aequore toto
Troas, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli,
arcebat longe Latio, multosque per annos
errabant, acti fati, maria omnia circum.'

is but our author's usual (see Rem. 1, 151) return to, re-enunciation of and peroration with, his previous exposition:

ITALIAM, FATO PROFUGUS, LAVINAQUE VENIT
LITORA — MULTUM ILLE ET TERRIS IACTATUS ET ALTO
VI SUPERUM, SAEVAE MEMOREM IUNONIS OB IRAM,

let him compare further the concluding words of the second passage:

"tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.",

with the concluding words of the first:

. GENUS UNDE LATINUM
ALBANIQUE PATRES ATQUE ALTAE MOENIA ROMAE.,

and then say whether the two passages are not substantially the same, and whether the author does not, in the second, return back to the point at which he had broken-off with the first, in order to explain, in the long intercalation *MUSA MIHI CAUSSAS MEMORA — HIS ACCENSA SUPER*, the cause of an opposition so pronounced and remarkable between the two powers by which human affairs are governed, Fate (*FATO* v. 6) and the power of the Gods (*VI SUPERUM*, v. 8). See Rem. on "*vi superum*", v. 8, on "*acti fati*" v. 36, and on "*Cunctus ob Italiam*" etc. v. 237; also on "*Atque rotis summas*" etc. v. 151.

Nor is it only in the beginning, in the middle (for we have it also in the middle:

"hoc regnum dea gentibus esse
si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque.
progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci
audierat, Tyrias olim quae verteret arces.
hinc populum late regem belloque superbum
venturum excidio Libyae, sic volvere Parcas."),

and in the winding up of the prologue, this antagonism between the powers governing the world is prominently set forth; it forms the sole and entire subject of the soliloquy of the first actor who appears on the stage, that actor being no less a personage than the principal god, the prime mover of the opposition: "*Quippe vetor fati!*" and is set forth, as we shall see in the sequel, at every turn, every winding of the drama, even to the plaudite. This antagonism is the sine-qua-non of the work, the heart of the animal, the main spring of the watch. Break it or take it away, and all action ceases, and the poem becomes an impossibility. Yet there have been commentators and editors "*bene meriti de Virgilio*", for whom this antagonism has no existence, and who commence their enarratio of the *Aeneis* with the words: "*Expositio propositi, vs. 1—7 [5—11]. Fa to ac voluntate deorum factum est, ut Aeneas domo profugus novam sedem in Italia conderet.*" Wagn. (1861), while others, in treatises in which the whole nodus of our author's "*fatalismus*" undergoes a formal unraveling, actually represent this *VIS SUPERUM*, this power antagonistic to the fates, as the means or medium by which the fates arrive at their object: "*Setzen*

wir ferner voraus, dass die götter den inhalt der fata vermöge ihrer obmacht (im gegensatz zu den schwachen kräften der sterblichen) zu realisiren haben, so entspricht VI SUPERUM dem FATO [v. 6] und 'fatis' [v. 36], wie das mittel dem zweck." Aldenhoven, *über den Virgil. Fatalismus*, p. 23, note.

Stabile Pezzini, ai Cavaleggieri, Livorno, Nov. 24, 1867.

6—9.

ITALIAM FATO PROFUGUS LAVINAQUE VENIT
LITORA MULTUM ILLE ET TERRIS IACTATUS ET ALTO
VI SUPERUM SAEVAE MEMOREM IUNONIS OB IRAM
MULTA QUOQUE ET BELLO PASSUS

VAR. LECT.

LAVINAQUE **I** *Rom.**. **II** $\frac{60}{62}$ cod. Canon. (Butler). **III** Propert. 2, 34, 64 ("Iactaque Lavinis moenia litoribus"); Iuv. 12, 71 ("Atque novercali sedes praelata Lavino"); Quint. *Inst.* 11, 3; D. Hieron. in *Ezech.* 3, 30, ed. Vallars. ("juxta illud Virgilianum: LAVINAQUE VENIT LITORA: non quo eo tempore quando venit Aeneas in Latium Lavinia dicerentur, sed quae postea Lavinia nuncupata sunt"): D. Augustin. *de Musica* 5, 3; Donat.; Serv. ("LAVINA legendum est, non LAVINIA"); Macrob. *Sat.* 5, 2; Priscian. *Inst.* 8, 54; Victorinus; Rome 1469, 1473; Venice 1470, 1471, 1475; St. Urso; Milan 1475, 1492; Brescia; Pierius; Aldus (1545); P. Manut.; Iul. Scalig. *Poet.* 3, 26; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1676, 1704); Philippe; Wunderl.; Voss; Pottier; Thiel; Coningt..

LAVINQUE **II** $\frac{1}{62}$ (Harleian 3944).

LAVINIAQUE **I** *Med.* (LAUINIA an abrasion after the last A); *Ver.* (LAUINIAQUEVENITLITORA**). **II** $\frac{1}{62}$ (Gotha 56). **III** Diomedes; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Süpffe; Gossrau; Forbig; Ladew.; Haupt; Ribb.; Weidner.

* LAVINAQVE not, as stated by Ribbeck, LAVINAQ.

** LITORA having been written by the original scribe at the end of verse 6 [3] (a warning to us, here on the very threshold, not to rely too implicitly on the authority even of first-class MSS.), has been obliterated, as above, and inserted by an ancient hand on the margin in front of MULTUM, v. 7. Should the reader, impressed with the profound, I may truly say abject, respect for very ancient manuscripts, of which so many scholars of the present era are proud, require some further guarantee than mine of a statement so derogatory to one of the most ancient Virgilian MSS., and therefore to the entire class of MSS. of which that most ancient Virgilian MS. is a fair example, I beg to refer him not alone to Ribbeck's (I must own not too easily intelligible) confirmation of the statement (P. V. M. Opera, vol. 2, p. 4), but to the error itself as it stands pilloried in Arnold Herrmann's facsimile (see var. lect. ad 1, 1—4, above) and — horror of horrors to the ancient-manuscript-worshippers of the Bonn school! — mocked by the two culprits pilloried along with it, ORE in the preceding verse, and ITALIAMPROFUGUS in the same verse with itself. In the Medicean MS., where (testibus et Foggino et Ribbeckio) the same error has been committed, the obliterated word has not (hisdem testantibus) been even so much as restored to its proper place.

I am far from agreeing with Ribbeck in the conclusion he has deduced from the consent of two so important MSS. in this very remarkable error, viz. that they are both of them

LAVINIA **III** Cynth. Cenet. ("LAVINIA VENIT LITORA et non LAVINA. Silius Italicus: 'Sceptraque fundavit Teucris lavinia victor', et Catullus veronensis: 'Lavinus acer'."); Aldus (1514); N. Heins (1671); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef..

LAURENTIA **III** Peerlk. (conj.).

O Fr.; Pal.; St. Gall..

ITALIAM . . . LAVINAQUE LITORA. The sense is *the Lavinian shore of Italy*, LAVINA LITORA being limitative and explanatory of ITALIAM. Compare verse 17:

. . . . ITALIAM CONTRA TIBERINAQUE LONGE
OSTIA,

where TIBERINA OSTIA is similarly limitative and explanatory of the selfsame ITALIAM. The position of the words LITORA and OSTIA in the two passages respectively, each of the words being first word in its own verse, separated by a pause from the sequel, and pointed to by the whole of the immediately preceding verse, shows that the gist of the thought is not in either case Italy, but in the one case the Lavinian shore, and in the other case the mouths of the Tiber, exactly as in the immediately preceding verse, CARTHAGO, first word, separated by a pause from the sequel, and ushered-in to the reader's attention by the announcement URBS ANTIQUA FUIT, TYRII TENUERE COLONI, is the cardo or sustaining word of the whole passage: see Rem. 2, 246.

The form of expression of which ITALIAM LAVINAQUE LITORA, and ITALIAM TIBERINAQUE OSTIA, are two examples already within the first seventeen lines, is of nearly equally frequent occur-

copies of a single "archetype" presenting the same error. I think on the contrary, that the two MSS. are copies taken, not *ex visu*, but *ex auditu*, from a correct archetype, and that the recitator reading correctly and making no pause at LAVINAQUE, and a pretty marked one at LITORA, as required by the sense, LITORA and not VENIT was taken by both scribes to be the end of the verse, and so written down in both copies. Adopting the Ribbeckian theory, we perceive, indeed, a sufficient reason for the agreement of the two MSS. in so remarkable an error, but are left wholly in the dark as to the origin of the supposed error of the preceding MS., — have to reapply our theory in order to account for it, and so from imagined erroneous MS. to imagined erroneous MS., as far as we please to continue the chase. Adopting the just proposed theory, we have the agreement in error of the two MSS. no less satisfactorily accounted for, and the nature and origin of the error itself explained without the help of any imagined error beyond.

rence throughout the whole poem. This form of expression, not, so far as I know, occurring with any frequency in Latin writers anterior to Virgil, and not at all in Greek, and, where it occurs in Latin writers posterior to Virgil, being a mere imitation of Virgil, may be regarded as peculiarly Virgilian, and as giving one of its distinguishing, and certainly not one of its most to-be-admired characters, to his poem. In this form of expression our author uses either copulative indifferently, *que* however more frequently than *et*. Examples where *et* is used occur at 1, 65: "*molemque et montes*"; and 1, 294: "*ferro et compagibus*." The copulative conjunction, on other occasions no less synthetic in thought than in grammar, is, in this form of expression, synthetic in grammar only, while in thought it is analytic, connects the second object to the first, not as a second object (or so that first and second objects taken together constitute two coordinate objects), but as a specification or determination, not unfrequently as an embodiment, of the first, — a concrete which, as more graphic, is substituted for the first. Thus in the examples, *ITALIAM LAVINAQUE LITORA*, and *ITALIAM TIBERINAQUE OSTIA*, the second objects *LAVINA LITORA* and *TIBERINA OSTIA* are not coordinates of *ITALIAM*, or coupled with *ITALIAM* logically as they are coupled with it grammatically, they are mere specifications or explanations, epexegeses as they are called, of the preceding object, *ITALIAM*, and in the example "*molemque et montes*" (where, as we shall see by and by, "*montes*" is (perhaps) not literal but figurative, not *mountains*, but only *great stones* or *boulders*) the meaning is (perhaps) not *BOTH a mass, heap, or building, AND boulders*, but *a mass, heap or building of boulders*, exactly as in the similar example (1. 297), "*ferro et compagibus*", the meaning is not *BOTH iron AND compages*, but *compages of iron, iron compages*.

This so called epexegesis of our author is therefore but a form of apposition, and a very incorrect, illogical form too. For, while it is perfectly correct and logical to say (Hom. *Il.* 8, 47):

Ιδὴν δ' ἵκανε πολυπίδακα, μητρὰ θηρῶν,
Γάργαρον,

or to explain *Ιδὴν* by *Γάργαρον* added directly and immediately

9 •

to ἰδὲν as a second thought, or substitute for the first, it had been in a high degree incorrect and illogical to explain ἰδὲν by Γαργαρον coupled grammatically to it by καὶ or τε and yet wholly separate from it in the sense, in other words, coupled to it by καὶ or τε as if coupled in the sense, and yet not at all coupled in the sense, but only added as a second thought more precise and determinate than the first. Why, then, used by Virgil so very incorrect, illogical formula? The reason is plain: it facilitated his versification. "Molem et montes" and "ferro et compagibus" suited his verse, while molem montanam and ferro compaginato had not suited it at all; and the addition of "altos" to the former and of "arctis" to the latter, for the purpose of intensification of the sense, finished off and rounded his verse, while the addition of altam to the former and of arcto to the latter, for the same purpose, had made total shipwreck of the versification. In the same way, verse 286, our author might have found it very difficult to say togatos Romanos, rerum dominos, or Romanos, dominos rerum togatos, or Romanos, rerum dominos gerentes or indutos togam, or Romanos rerum dominos, gentem togatam; allow him the que, allow him to unite gentem togatam to Romanos rerum dominos as if the meaning were: *not only the Romans but another race wearing the toga*, and all goes smooth and easy; the so necessary dactyl before the final spondee is formed, and a fine line rounded to the ear:

"Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.",

at the expense however, the great expense, of clear meaning, and correct and logical construction. This form of epexegetis is thus, like the zeugma, neither more nor less than barter of solid for superficial, of ore-of-gold for glitter, and Virgil, inditing the verse:

"Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.",

is in pursuit of the same seductive sprite of which he is in pursuit when inditing the verse (10. 12):

"cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim
exitium magnum atque Alpes immittet apertas:",

viz. a rounded hexameter. If our author, on these occasions has

gained his object, has made his hexameters full, rounded, sonorous and musical, he has, at the same time, made alike impossible for himself that clear simplicity and artlessness which so charms us in Ovid, and that dignified gravity which we so respect in Lucretius. See Rem. on "superos et conscia numina veri," 2. 141, and concluding paragraph of Rem. on "molemque et montes" 1. 65.

The form of epexegetis we have just been discussing, viz. that in which a single word or phrase is explained by the addition of another word or phrase coupled to it by means of the conjunction *que* or *et*, as if it were not an explanation but a coordinate, must be carefully distinguished from that other form of epexegetis in which a complete thesis or proposition is explained by another thesis or proposition subjoined. This latter form, by no means peculiar to Virgil but common to all good writers whether of verse or prose and as graceful and elegant as the former is awkward and embarrassing to the reader (Georg. 1. 498 :

"dii patrii indigetes, et Romule, Vestaque mater,

who shall say, at first sight and without consideration and inquiry, the writer being in the habit of using the former species of epexegetis, whether "Romule" and "Vesta mater" are the "indigetes" themselves, or additional to the "indigetes"?), shall be treated of, at the length and with the consideration it deserves, hereafter. See Rem. on "Progeniem sed enim," 1. 23; "Quem si fata virum servant," 1. 550; "Accipite haec," 4. 611.

LAVINAQUE VENIT LITORA. The direct thread of discourse dropped at LITORA, is taken up again at GENUS UNDE, after a parenthetic reference (MULTUM—LATIO) to the difficulties encountered by the hero between his leaving Troy and his establishing himself in Italy, and the nature and origin of those difficulties. That such is the structure were best indicated by two dashes, one placed before MULTUM, the other after LATIO.

Stabile Pezzini, ai Cavaleggieri, Livorno, Apr. 2, 1868.

Dalkey Lodge, Dalkey (Ireland), 1872.

7—10.

. . . MULTUM ILLE ET TERRIS IACTATUS ET ALTO

.
MULTA QUOQUE ET BELLO PASSUS DUM CONDERET URBEM
INFERRETQUE DEOS LATIO

Hom. *Od.* 15. 176 (of Ulysses):

. κακα πολλὰ παθὼν, καὶ πολλ' ἐπαληθεις
οἰκαδὲ νοστήσει, καὶ τίσεται.

Hom. *Od.* 13. 90 (of Ulysses):

ὅς πρὶν μὲν μάλα πολλὰ παθ' ἀλγεα ὄν κατὰ θυμόν,
ἀνδρῶν τε πτολεμούς ἀλεγείνα τε κύματα πείρων,

Ovid, *Trist.* 5. 3, 12 (of himself):

"multa prius pelago, multaque passus humo."

8 (a).

VI SUPERUM.

VI SUPERUM expresses the moving power; the agency by which Aeneas was tossed about; that it was no "vis humana" (*Georg.* 1. 198), that it was vis superum, *power of beings above*, i. e. *gods*, or, as might be said now - a - days, *heavenly power*. But what was it set this heavenly power in action? The ire of Juno, IUNONIS OB IRAM. We have thus, briefly set forth in a single verse, both the nature of the force or power by which Aeneas was tossed about; and the cause which put that power into action. The question whether all the gods, or only some of them, and, if only some, which of them ("Multi VI SUPERUM posse accipi dicunt Irim, Aeolum, Iuturnam, Iunonem." Serv. ed. Lion), has no place here. VI SUPERUM, therefore, *by the power of gods*, neither specifying any nor excluding

any, not even Juno herself, exactly as (*Aen.* 7, 432) "*caelestum vis magna*," *the great power of celestials*, neither specifying any nor excluding any, not even Juno herself. The VI SUPERUM of our text is thus precisely the "*vi superum*" of Val. Flacc. 1.670:

"*seu casus nox ista fuit, seu volvitur axis
vi superum,*"

whether by the power of gods (i. e. by over-ruling, heavenly power), or by mere chance.

That these two short and pregnant words, emphatic on account of their position (first words of a verse and succeeded by a pause, see Rem. on "*ora*" 2.247), and placed on the threshold of the poem for the purpose, and in Virgil's own time, no doubt, with the effect, of raising expectation by the information they convey, that the gods themselves are parties, and defeated parties too, in the great drama about to be enacted, — that these two short and pithy words, I say, have operated so little, perhaps not at all, either as a *CAVE CANEM* or an *INTRATE AMICI*, on the commencing Virgilian student of a later, *soi-disant* more enlightened, more spiritual era, is owing, on the one hand, to the generally prevalent greater solicitude in that era to parse an author well, than rightly to understand him, and, on the other hand, to the absence from the minds of its students, of that particular string which vibrated so intensely in the Roman breast at every intimation of the ultimate victory of virtue assisted by fate, over wrathful, jealous, and vindictive gods, a victory directly pointed-to in almost every word of the context, and constituting the grand moral of the poem.

The *vis superum* spoken-of is the personal power of gods as distinguished from the ordinance of fate; in other words, that independent, self-originating will and power which is conceded by all mythologies to gods, as it is conceded (however falsely) by all, or almost all, philosophies to men — the power to will and act of one's self, not only independently of, but in opposition to, supreme, governing, unalterable fate — a power which is only not unlimited, because it must ultimately succumb to the antagonist power. Sil. 5. 76 (ed. Ruperti):

"*heu fatis superi certasse minores!*"

Sil. 5. 201:

"avertere dei vultus, fatoque dederunt
maiori non sponte locum."

Sil. 13. 857:

"lux vocat, et nulli divum mutabile fatum."

Stat. *Theb.* 7. 197 (Jupiter speaking):

"immoto deducimur orbe

fatorum:"

Ovid. *Met.* 9. 432 (Jupiter to the assembled deities):

"vos etiam, quoque hoc animo meliore feratis,
me quoque, fata regunt."

Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3. 410 (Ceres speaking):

"sic numina fatis

volvimur et nullo Lachesis discrimine saevit."

and, *Aen.* 10. 464, not only Alcides, but Iupiter himself impotent to add one hour to the life of Pallas as fixed by fate: "Audiit Alcides iuvenem," etc. Ioannis Andreae Aleriensis Episcopi. S. D. N. Papae Bibliothecarii ad Xystum IIII. summum Pontificem Epistola [Rome XX. Marcii MCCCCLXXII] (Botfield, *Prefaces*, p. 64): "Communis ac trita olim inter gentiles opinio fuit, pater beatissime, Xyste IIII. Pontifex Maxime cetera diis, deos ipsos duodecim etiam illos principes selectos et magnos appellatos, uni necessitati continuo paruisse. Eam enim inter numina omnia absque provocatione imperiosum exercuisse magistratum" This independent vis superum is prominently put forward here in the very beginning of the poem, because it is on it the main action of the poem hinges (see Remark on "iactatos aequore toto" verse 33, and on "acti fatis" verse 36), because it is it which is the immediate cause — not, of course, either the remote or the ultimate cause, the remote being Juno's anger and the ultimate being the causes of that anger: *MUSA MIHI CAUSSAS MEMORA* and seq. — the immediate cause of all Aeneas's troubles, of all the difficulties put in the way both of Aeneas's fated arrival in Italy and of Aeneas's fated establishment in that country.

Exactly as we have here vis superum, and, 7. 432, "vis caelestum," and, 12. 199, "vis deum inferna" (= vis deum in-

fernorum), we have, 6. 553, "vis virum" (placed in contrast, too, with the so much greater power of the caelicolae:

"vis ut nulla virum, non ipsi excindere ferro
caelicolae valeant."),

Georg. 1. 198, "vis humana", *Liv.* 30. 31, "vis Fortunae": "Vim Fortunae reputo, et omnia quaecunque agimus subjecta esse mille casibus scio." The Platonic and Ciceronian notion of this vis superum this "caelestum vis magna" is eloquently set forth by Cicero, *pro Milone*, 30. 83.

Some commentators, instead of participating in these views, understand the vis superum of our text no less than the "caelestum vis magna" of the seventh Book, to be the vis Iunonia or vis Iunonis, i. e. Juno herself, such being, as they think, our author's own explanation of the expressions, here in the immediately subjoined SAEVAE MEMOREM IUNONIS OB IRAM and there in the immediately preceding "omnipotens Saturnia iussit": "Equidem ita statuo voc. SUPERUM ad unam referendum esse Iunonem," Wagn. ad 1. 8; "Es ist nur die einzige Iuno gemeint", Thiel, ad 1. 8; "Magnum aliquod numen, Iuno." Wagn. (1861) ad 7. 432. Nor is this by any means a modern or newfangled error. It is as old as Donatus, who (ad 7. 432) observes: "Nec dubites, inquit, accepta perficere; quum coeptis tuis affuturus sit potentissimorum numinum favor; et id Iuno praecepit magnae potentiae, h. e. quae plus posset quam dii caeteri.", perhaps even old enough to afford an explanation of Ausonius's otherwise so inexplicable (*Idyl.* 12. *Monosyl. de deis*):

"et soror et coniux fratris, regina deum, Vis."

viz. that this verse is either Ausonius' own grave and serious deduction from the two Virgilian passages, or a mockery by Ausonius of the false interpretation of the passages by some Donatus or Wagner of the day; an explanation rather possible than probable, notwithstanding the ostensible support afforded to it by Hesychius in voce ηρ: και ηρα τον αερα. και την γην. η αλχη. και οινος, where see Schmidt.

To the elaborate argument with which Gossrau (following, sub silentio, Gall in *Ephemerid. litter. Jenens.* 1828, *Intelligenz-*

blatt No. 15. p. 119) endeavours to show that VI SUPERUM is here to be regarded as corresponding in structure to the Greek expression νομου βίη (Soph. *Antig.* 59), and as meaning *contra deorum voluntatem*, a sufficient answer is, as I think, afforded by the same commentator's own quotation of the identical expression used by Valerius Flaccus (l. 670:

"seu casus nox ista fuit, seu volvitur axis
vi superum,")

not only in the identical sense in which I have above explained it and in which indeed it is generally understood ("id est vi quam superi habent"; Serv. ed. Lion; "numine et voluntate deorum", Heyne, Wagn. [1832]), but in the identically same position in the verse. See Rem. on "Caelestum vis magna iubet", 7. 432.

Dalkey Lodge, Dalkey (Ireland), Nov. 19. 1871.

8 (b).

SÆVÆ IUNONIS

Aen. 7. 286:

... "Inachiis sese referebat ab Argis
saeva Iovis coniux,"

Ovid. *Met.* 9. 198:

"defessa iubendo est
saeva Iovis coniux:"

Juno is so seldom not saeva, not δεινή, not fierce and terrible, that when she is not, the exception is noted as something remarkable; Philostr. *Imag.* 2. 27 (speaking of the picture representing the birth of Minerva): και ουδε της Ηρας τι δεινον ενταυθα, γεγηθε δε, ως αν ει και αυτης εγενετο. nay, we have it on the very best authority in the world, Jupiter's own, that the indomitable spirit even of Mars himself was all derived from his mother; Hom. *Il.* 5. 892:

μητρος τοι μενος εστιν άστυχτον, ουκ επιεικτον
Ηρας: την μεν εγω σπουδη δαμνημ' επεεσσιν,

Stabile Pezzini, ai Cavaleggieri, Livorno, Nov. 22, 1867.

8 (c).

MEMOREM IUNONIS OB IRAM

Juno's anger against Aeneas had an ancient origin, was as old as the war of Troy (verse 27):

. VETERISQUE MEMOR SATURNIA BELL,

(where the same memor is repeated), and even as the resentments which had caused her to take part against the Trojans in that war:

. NEQDUM ETIAM CAUSSAE IRARUM SAEVIQUE DOLORES
EXCIDERANT ANIMO.

But however applicable the term *memor* to those old resentments which turned Juno against the Trojan stock during, and even before, the war of Troy, it is less applicable to the *ira* with which it is joined in our text, viz. the *ira* which caused that goddess to persecute Aeneas and the Trojans subsequently to the Trojan war, and so supplied Virgil with the subject of his *Aeneis*, an *ira* not of ancient date and requiring a long memory for its recollection, but arising from the comparatively recent report that the fugitive Trojans were destined to overthrow Carthage, and only aggravated by the old reminiscences, (*HIS ACCENSA SUPER*). This confusion of so different *irae*, a new *ira*, or *ira* only just arisen from jealousy of Rome, and old *irae*, or *irae* existing in Juno's mind before Rome was ever heard-of, is to me a greater defect in the exordium of the *Aeneis* than any yet presumed in those four introductory verses so frequently and so confidently pronounced to be not only unworthy of Virgil but so unworthy of Virgil as not possibly to be Virgil's. That the new *ira*, viz. that arising from jealousy of Rome, was the main cause, of Juno's antipathy to, and persecution of, Aeneas is shown (a) by the formal statement to that effect with which the story proper begins: *URBS ANTIQUA FUIT — ID METUENS*; (b) by the *HIS ACCENSA SUPER* of verse 33, equivalent to a declaration that the old quarrel was no more

than an embitterment of the new and (c) by the fact that through the whole poem Juno's aim and object is less to revenge herself on Aeneas and the Trojans for old wrongs, than to prevent the consummation of old wrongs by the new and culminating wrong of the overthrow of Carthage. In order to justify MEMOREM placed so prominently on the threshold, nay even before the threshold, in the very vestibule and primus aditus of his work, the exposition of the causes (CAUSSAS) of the offence (NUMINE LAESO) and the consequent DOLENS and IRAE, should have begun with Electra and her INVISUM GENUS, and proceeded thence through the promotion of Ganymede, the judgment of Paris, and the war of Troy, to the new offence, the threatened overthrow and ruin of Carthage by Rome, a new offence which might with some propriety have been said to have added fresh fire to the old flame. But this order would have had the bad effect of putting the main subject of the poem, the rivalry of Rome and Carthage, into the least honorable position, and of making the poem itself a mere fag-end of, or supplement to, the Iliad. Our poet therefore (and judiciously) avoids this order, and puts the main matter, the last in order of time, into the most honorable position, viz. first in order of place, and (less judiciously) troubles himself little about the petty (qu?) incorrectnesses of MEMOREM applied to an anger which was principally provoked by a recent occurrence, and of an old offence adding fire to a new (HIS ACCENSA SUPER).

Contrast Ovid, correct, as usual, and true to nature, *Met.* 3. 72 (of the Cadmean serpent):

"tum vero, postquam solitas accessit ad iras
plaga recens, plenius tument guttura venis."

Stabile Pezzini, ai Cavaleggieri, Livorno, Febr. 14. 1867.

Dalkey Lodge, Dalkey (Ireland), Sept. 9. 1871.

9.

DUM CONDERET URBEM
INFERRETQUE DEOS LATIO

That LATIO, though in grammar belonging solely to DEOS, belongs in the sense to URBEM also, and that the meaning is not: *found a city* (anywhere) and *bring the gods into Latium*, but: *bring the gods into Latium and there found a city* (for the gods no less than for himself and followers), may I think be inferred not only ex natura rei, but from *Aen.* 6. 66:

"da
Latia considere Teucros,
errantesque deos agitataque numina Troiae."

8. 10 :

"Latia consistere Teucros,
advectum Aenean classi victosque Penates
inferre,"

in the former of which passages it is 'Teucros' (corresponding to the URBEM of our text) and not either 'deos' or 'numina,' and in the latter of which passages it is 'Teucros' again, and not 'Penates,' which occupies, with respect to 'Latia,' the position occupied with respect to that word by DEOS in our text. So regarded, indeed whether so regarded or not, but especially so regarded, the passage presents an example of the *υστερον προτερον*. It is not with the sense but the ambiguity of the original, Voss has presented his reader in his, as usual, verbal translation:

. "bis die stadt er gründet', und Troja's
götter in Latium führte."

DUM CONDERET URBEM INFERRETQUE DEOS LATIO. "DUM CONDERET . . . INFERRET voluntatem et studium denotat, ut Ge. 4. 457: 'Illa quidem, dum te fugeret per flumina praeceps, . . . Aen. 10. 800: 'Dum genitor nati parma protectus abiret.'" Wagn. (1832, 1861). "Here we may render it ['dum'], *in her hurry to escape*, or *so but she might escape* ('dum' = dummodo), which also seems to be nearly its sense in the passage from

A. 1; in that from A. 10 it might be explained to cover the father's retreat under the protection of his son's shield." Coningt. ad *Georg.* 4. 457. On the contrary, it is not either as studying to flee from, or as wishing to flee from, Aristaeus, but as actually fleeing from Aristaeus, Eurydice is described in the first of these examples, and it is not either as studying to depart, or as wishing to depart, but as actually departing, Mezentius is described in the second. Compare Tibull. 2. 3. 19:

"o quoties ausae, caneret dum valle sub alta,
rumpere mugitu carmina docta boves.",

where it is not as studying to sing, or as wishing to sing, but as actually singing, Apollo is described, when the cows interrupt him with their lowing. Also Liv. 24. 40: "Die insequenti quievire, dum praefectus iuventutem Apolloniatum, armaque et urbis vires inspiceret," where it is not as studying to inspect or wishing to inspect, the Prefect is described, but as actually inspecting. Also Sall. *Bell. Cat.* 7: "conspici, dum tale facinus faceret, properabat"; where the haste is not, to be seen while studying to perform the exploit, or while wishing to perform the exploit, but while actually performing the exploit. And so, in our text, DUM with the conditional mood after it, does not express either 'studium' or 'voluntas', and DUM CONDERET URBEM INFERRETQUE DEOS LATIO, is neither more nor less than: *while bringing his gods into Latium and there founding a city.* Compare Sil. 14. 211 (of Archimedes):

"nudus opum sed cui caelum terraeque paterent,"

where we have the same conditional mood not only without the conditional force but without even the dum.

URBEM. By URBEM Catrou understands *Rome*, Donatus (who is followed by La Cerda, Wagner, and most commentators), *Lavinium*. Donatus quotes in support of his opinion 7. 290:

"moliri iam tecta videt, iam fidere terrae;"

and might with still greater effect have quoted Jupiter's express declaration (1. 262):

"cernes urbem et promissa Lavini
moenia;"

or the express declaration of Aeneas (12. 193):

“mihi moenia Teucri
constituent, urbique dabit Lavinia nomen”

or Silius's (1. 44, ed. Ruperti):

“sceptraque fundarit victor Lavinia Teucris,”

or Propertius's (2. 34. 63):

“qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitāt arma,
iactaque Lavinis moenia litoribus.”

where Rome cannot be meant, Rome not being on, nor even near, the shore. Nor is there any lack of passages in which Lavinium, although not mentioned by name, is sufficiently clearly indicated to be the city which Aeneas was fated to build in Italy; 1. 267:

“bellum ingens geret Italia, populosque feroces
contundet, moresque viris et moenia ponet.”

2. 294:

“his moenia quaere,
magna pererrato statues quae denique ponto.”

Catrou's error is however the more excusable, *urbs* being so often used by Latin writers in the sense of the city, i. e. the city par excellence, Rome. Already so early in the poem another instance of the inconvenience occasioned by the absence of the article (see Rem. on “*avena*” p. 68). Our author should have been more careful to guard his reader against confounding the *URBEM* of our text with the *ROMAE* of verse 11, the city founded by Aeneas (*CONDERET URBEM*) with the city which arose from Aeneas (*UNDE ALTA MOENIA ROMAE*).

Palazzetta Taddei, ai Cavaleggieri, Livorno, Dec. 27, 1868.

Dalkey Lodge. Dalkey (Ireland), Nov. 14, 1870.

10 (a).

INFERRETQUE DEOS LATIO

✓ No nation is ever thoroughly conquered as long as it retains its own gods. The native gods are always caballing with the native men against the intruders; a good reason for the 'inferre deos' of conquerors, but not the only one, nor even the strongest. A much stronger is the necessity conquerors feel themselves under, of rewarding their own gods for the trouble they have had in helping to make the conquest. Their own gods, left unrewarded on the present occasion, will assuredly answer on the next occasion they are applied-to for help: "What did we get but neglect and ingratitude, for all the trouble we took for you before? Help yourselves now.", and then, how do without the assistance of gods? how fight alone both against enemies and enemies' gods? It is not to be thought of. The gods first, and ourselves afterwards: *imprimis venerare deos*. Sir W. Scott, *Rokeby*, *cant. 4. st. 1*:

"when Denmark's raven soar'd on high,
triumphant through Northumbrian sky,
till, hovering near, her fatal croak
bade Reged's Britons dread the yoke,
and the broad shadow of her wing
blacken'd each cataract and spring,
where Tees in tumult leaves his source
thundering o'er Caldron and High-Force
beneath the shade the Northmen came,
fix'd on each vale a Runic name,
rear'd high their altar's rugged stone,
and gave their gods the land they won."

Stabile Pezzini, ai Cavaleggieri, Livorno, June 26, 1869.

10 (b).

UNDE

Not, with Heyne, Wagner (1861), and Thiel: "**qua ex re; quo factum est,**" **but**, with Priscian,

[*Inst. 18, 256*, ed. Hertz, ap. Keil: "frequentissimae tamen sunt huiusmodi figurae, quibus adverbia nominibus vel participiis vel pronominibus redduntur, et maxime localia. Virg.: ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO . . . GENUS UNDE LATINUM, pro *ex quo*,"

La Cérda and Gesner, and, as placed beyond all doubt by the exactly corresponding (5. 122):

. "Scyllaque Cloanthus
caerulea, genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti."

(5. 568):

"alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,"

(6. 763):

"Silvius
unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba."

and (8. 71):

"nymphae, Laurentes nymphae, genus omnibus unde est. ,

Ter. *Eun. 1. 2. 34*:

. "a praedonibus,
unde emerat, se audisse, abreptam e Sunio."

Ter. *Eun. Prol. 10*:

"atque in Thesauro scripsit, causam dicere
prius unde petitur, aurum quare sit suum,
quam illic, qui petit, unde is sit thesaurus sibi,
aut unde in patrium monumentum pervenerit."

and especially Sil. 15. 59 (ed. Rupert):

"illa ego sum, Anchisae Venerem Simoentis ad undas
quae iunxi, generis vobis unde editus auctor,"

and Hom. *Il. 4. 58* (Juno to Jupiter):

. γένος δὲ μοι ἐνθὲν, οὐδὲν σού,

ex quo viro, the clause *MULTUM — LATIO* being only subsidiary or parenthetical. See Rem. 1. 6; 4. 483; 6. 83; and compare Tzetz. Posth. 737 (quoted p. 148). Nor is the direct reference in *UNDE* to Aeneas himself, more shown by our author's habit of using the term when referring back to persons, than necessary to the sense, not only the dignity of Aeneas on the one hand, and of the Latin race, the Alban fathers and Rome on the other, but the completeness and compactness of the exordium itself, requiring that the great results: the Latin race, the Alban fathers and Rome, should arise, not from any intermediate *CONDERE URBEM*, and *INFERRE DEOS LATIO*, but from the hero Aeneas, the *VIRUM* whom the poet has just undertaken to celebrate, the *INSIGNEM PIETATE VIRUM* whom not merely the *vis superum*, but the queen of the gods herself was raising heaven and earth and even Hades to prevent accomplishing this very thing, this founding of the Latin race and the Alban fathers and the great city of Rome.

Similar to, and no less frequent than, this use of *unde* in the sense of *out of whom*, or to signify a passive personal agent, is the use of the same adverb in the sense of *by whom*, or to signify an active personal agent; Hor. *Sat.* 1. 6. 12:

. "Valeri genus, unde superbus
Tarquinius regno pulsus fugit,"

Ovid. *Her.* 16. 77 (Paris to Helen):

"sed tamen ex illis iam tunc magis una placebat:
hanc esse ut scires, unde movetur amor.";

also of *inde* in the sense of *from him*, or *from her*, or *from them*;
Aen. 10. 54:

. "nihil urbibus inde
obstabit Tyriis,"

(i. e. *ab Ascanio*, not, with Wagner [1861], "*ab Ausonia*", an interpretation which makes downright nonsense of the passage. See Rem. 10. 54). Ter. *Adelph.* 1. 1. 21:

. "uxorem duxit; nati filii
duo; inde ego hunc maiorem adoptavi mihi:".

(not, with the commentators, *then I adopted*, but *from these — of these — I adopted*), and of *hinc* and *illinc* in the sense of *out of him, from him; out of her, from her; out of them, from them*; *Aen.* 1. 238:

"certe hinc Romanos olim, volventibus annis,
hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teuceri,
.....
pollicitus,"

Ter. *Adelph.* 3. 3. 7:

"sed eecum ire Syrum video; hinc scibo iam, ubi siet."

Cicer. *Phil.* 2. 31: "Sibi cum illa mima posthac nihil futurum; omnem se amorem abiecisce illinc, atque in hanc transfudisse."

If this use of the Latin words *unde*, *inde*, *hinc*, and *illinc*, by the best authors, be looser than that which the English make of their corresponding words *whence*, *thence*, and *hence*, how much looser still is the use made by the Italians of their *onde*! **Metast. *Temist.* 1. 7** (Serse speaking):

..... "fra tante navi e tante,
onde oppressi l'Egeo"

Metast. *La clemenza di Tito*, 2. 11:

..... la colpa
ond' Annio è reo"

Dalkey Lodge, Dalkey (Ireland), July 21, 1870.

10 (c).

GENUS UNDE LATINUM

according to the boast of the Romans, that they were the fruit of the mixture of the Trojan and Latin blood; *Plutarch. Quæst. Rom.* 96: "ατε δη και γεγονοτες

Τρωων αγγλαα τεκνα μεμιγμενα παισι Λατινων."

10°

Tzetz. *Posthom.* 737:

Αινειας δε και Αγχιστης φυγον Αυσονιηνδε,
εξ ων περ γενετη Λατινων πελεν οβριμοθυμος.

Aen. 12. 837:

. "faciamque omnes uno ore Latinos."

Our author, in his zeal to exalt Aeneas, seems to have forgotten that there was, even according to the account given by himself in the course of the poem, a genus Latinum before Aeneas came into Italy, and before Aeneas was born; 8. 55, 5. 598, 7. 151.

UNDE . . . ALBANI PATRES. — 1. 276:

"hic [in Longa Alba] iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos
gente sub Hectorea."

6. 766:

. "genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba."

UNDE . . . ALTAE MOENIA ROMAE. — 12. 166:

. "pater Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo."

GENUS LATINUM ALBANIQUE PATRES ATQUE ALTAE MOENIA ROMAE. — a tri-partition of the res Romana which recurs, slightly modified, 12. 826:

"sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges,
sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago."

11.

ALBANI PATRES.

"die Albanischen väter, d. h. vorfahren." Süpffe, Forbiger.
"Albam bene ab Albanis patribus designat, h. e. senatu." Heyne, Wagner. I entirely agree with Heyne and Wagner. ALBANI PATRES is the senate or men of senatorial rank of Alba, exactly

as (4. 682) "patres Sidonios" is (comp. 1. 430), beyond even the possibility of doubt, the senate or men of senatorial rank of Carthage, and as (7. 727) "Aurunci patres" is most probably the senate or men of senatorial rank of the Aurunci. In a context treating of Aeneas as forefather both of Albans and Romans, any mention of Alban forefathers, whether they were Alban forefathers of the Albans themselves or of the Romans, had only generated confusion. On the contrary the mention of the Alban senators or most distinguished men of the Alban state, interposed between the *GENUS LATINUM* and the *MOENIA ROMAE*, has a happy effect, maintains, on the one hand, the dignity of Aeneas, while, on the other hand, it can hardly offend plebeian susceptibility, the plebeians being excluded from one only, and that not the most important, of the three divisions. Add to which, *ALBANI PATRES* affords a much better parallel in the sense of Alban senators, than in the sense of Alban forefathers, to "Albani reges" in the similar tripartite division (12. 826) of the whole *res Romana*, into "Latium", "Albani reges", and "Romana propago". It must never be forgot too, that the Aeneis is a court poem, intended to please, in the first instance, the powers that be, and that it would not have answered, here in the first outline of such a poem, to have huddled up and stowed away among the general crowd, that direct descent from Aeneas, of which the first nobility of Rome and even the imperial dynasty of the Caesars itself was so proud. The Aeneis was not only a singularly refined and subtle, but a singularly successful poem; Virgil himself was not only a singularly refined and subtle, but a singularly successful, courtier; either, as I think, quite sufficient ground in itself for our understanding *ALBANI PATRES* to be Alban senators, not Alban forefathers; nor could the words have been understood in any other sense in any of the high circles of Rome. They are written by the same hand which wrote "Tu Marcellus eris"; belong, no less than those memorable words, to a poem not merely abounding with compliments to the great, sufficiently numerous and high-seasoned to satisfy, even when it was at its keenest, the never very easy-to-be-satisfied appetite of the great for compliment, but whose every

incident, whose every allusion, whose every verse, whose every word, let it only be possible, is imbued in the quintessence of an adulation in potentes which not even the lapse of nearly two thousand years has been able wholly to evaporate: why should that sense of them be rejected, which, while it is, as we have already seen, the very sense in which the similar formula, "Sidonios patres", is used by our author elsewhere, conveys at the same time our author's usual indirect compliment to the great personages in whose honor, nay, at whose special instance, the poem itself was written? He is, no doubt, a good Virgilian guide, who is full, to the brim, of *Lectiones*, *Quaestiones* and *Emendationes Vergilianae*, nor shall I ever regard as quite incompetent to conduct my bewildered steps through the Virgilian saltuses, the editor whose Aeneis most nearly matches typographically no less than orthographically the Twelve Tables, the Duilian Column and the Carmen Ambarvale, but I will always trust myself with most confidence to him, whose olfactory nerves are keenest to detect the aura of that imperishable essence of mingled sweetness, and adulation of the great, with which every verse came as saturated from the pen of ~~Virgil~~ *the juvenum nobilem cliens*, as it could have come, had the essence itself been his ink.

Stabile Pezzini, ai Cavaleggieri, Livorno, June 13, 1869.

12—15.

MUSA MIHI CAUSSAS MEMORA QUO NUMINE LAESO
 QUIDVE DOLENS REGINA DEUM TOT VOLVERE CASUS
 INSIGNEM PIETATE VIRUM TOT ADIRE LABORES
 IMPULERIT

Compare Claudian's commencement of the second Book of his *Laudes Stilichonis* (ed. Burm.):

"Hactenus armatae laudes. nunc qualibus orbem
 moribus, et quanto frenet metuendus amore,
 quo tandem flexus trabeas auctore rogantes
 induerit, fastisque suum concesserit annum,
 mitior incipiat fidibus iam Musa remissis."

where Claudian requests his Muse to tell "qualibus moribus", "quanto amore", "quo auctore", Stilicho "induerit" and "concesserit", exactly as Virgil, in our text, requests his Muse to tell QUO NUMINE LAESO, QUIDVE DOLENS, REGINA DEUM IMPULERIT.

MUSA MIHI CAUSSAS MEMORA. — The invocation of the Muse (Jove's daughter), or even of Jove himself

(Pind. *Nem.* 2. 1, (ed. Thiersch):

οθενπερ και Ομηριδαι
 ραπτων επων ταπολλ' αοιδοι
 αρχονται, Διος εκ προοιμιου, και οδ' ανηρ etc.)

with which the poets of old so often began their poems, was not a mere rhetorical flourish, it was a religious observance imposed on them, if not by their own religious feeling, at least by that of their readers. Religious sentiment pervaded all ancient life as it pervades all modern, and the precept "imprimis venerare deos" was of no less obligation in the Caesars' time than it is in our own. Precisely as, influenced by this sentiment and in obedience to this precept, we of the nineteenth century begin the day with prayer, open our parliaments with prayer, prefix D.V. to notices of prayer-meetings and soirées, and bless our meats before tasting; precisely as, influenced by this senti-

ment and in obedience to this precept, our fathers never (at least never until after the invention of insurance-companies and steam) omitted from their bills-of-lading the formula "and may God send the good ship safe", nor our grandmothers ever, until after the general diffusion of printing, ceased to mitigate with the chris'-cross row their own improbus labor of teaching, and their pupils' still more improbus labor of learning, the alphabet, — so precisely, influenced by this sentiment and in obedience to this precept, the Roman magistrate prefaced with prayer his address to the assembled people ;

Liv. 39. 15: "Concione advocata, quum solenne carmen precationis, quod praefari priusquam populum alloquantur, magistratus solent, peregrisset consul, ita coepit":

the Roman commander never, unless the sacred pullets had eaten, marched to battle, and in the strictest conformity with this sentiment and this precept, Cloanthus, in the poem before us, is victorious in the regatta, not because he is the best captain or has the best ship or the best rowers, but because he prays fervently to the gods for help, and promises not to forget them in case they grant it; in the archery match, all miss the mark except Eurytion who alone of all has invoked supernatural assistance, and Homer's Eumelus comes in last in the chariot-race because he has omitted to invoke the gods before starting :

Il. 23. 545:

οι βλαβεν αρματα και ταγε' ιππω,
αυτος τ' εσθλος εων' αλλ' ωφελεν αθανatoiσιν
ευχεσθαι το κεν ουτι πανυστατος ηλθε διωκων.

The "praefari deos" was therefore no more than was to be expected in the beginning of a great literary undertaking, and Virgil's MUSA MIHI CAUSSAS MEMORA; Homer's Μηνιν αιειδε θεα and Ανδρα μοι εννεπε Μουσα, Hesiod's (*Theogon.* 104)

Χαιρετε, τεκνα διος, δοτε δ' ημεροεσσαν αιοδην.,

Pindar's (*Nem.* 3. 1)

Ω ποτνια Μοισα, ματερ αμετερα, λησσομαι,

the *ex dios αργωμεσθα* of Aratus, the

"ab Jove, Musa parens, (cedunt Jovis omnia regno),
carmina nostra move."

of Ovid's Orpheus (*Met.* 10. 148), the "Phoebe mone" of Valerius Flaccus, the *πρωτον μεν, ω ανδρες Αθηναιοι, τοις θεοις ευχομαι πασι και πασαι* of Demosthenes's *Orat. de corona*, and the "Cum bonis potius omnibus votisque ac precationibus deorum deorumque, si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus; ut orsis tanti operis successus prosperos darent" of Livy's Praefatio, however ornamental they may, at the same time be, **are all**

no less than our own Milton's (*Par. Lost*, 1. 1)

"Of man's first disobedience and the fruit
of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
brought death into the world and all our woe,
with loss of Eden, till one greater man
restore us and regain the blissful seat,
sing heavenly Muse, that on the secret top
of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
that shepherd, who first taught the chosen seed,
in the beginning how the heavens and earth
rose out of chaos; or if Sion hill
delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flowed
fast by the oracle of God; I thence
invoke thy aid to my adventurous song,
that with no middle flight intends to soar
above the Aonian mount, while it pursues
things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.

And chiefly thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
before all temples the upright heart and pure,
instruct me, for thou knowest; thou from the first
wast present, and with mighty wings outspread
dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss,
and mad'st it pregnant: what in me is dark
illumine, what is low raise and support;
that to the height of this great argument
I may assert eternal providence
and justify the ways of God to men.

Say first, for heaven hides nothing from thy view,
nor the deep tract of hell; say first, what cause
moved our grand parents in that happy state,
favored of heaven so highly, to fall off
from their creator, and transgress his will
for one restraint, lords of the world besides;
who first seduced them to that foul revolt?
The infernal serpent; he it was, whose guile", etc.

— an imitation (by the way) of the ancient practice, in comparison of which the finest examples themselves of the ancient practice are mere nursery songs, ditties to lull babies to sleep — and Cornelius a Beughem's (*Incunabula Typographiae*, Amstel. 1688, Discursus praeliminaris) “‘a Jove principium, Jovis est quodcumque movetur’, ethnicorum erat dictiterium, si quid prospere sibi obvenire sperabant. Quanto magis me Christianum decet, qui artis typographicae prima incunabula in scenam producere gestio, non a Jove quodam ethnico sed ab ipso deo ter opt. max. qui se in verbo suo patefecit, quodque nos qui in Christum credimus, biblia sacra veteris et novi testamenti appellamus, initium sumere.”

ultimately and in their intimate nature but so many pious propitiations of heaven, so many graces before meat.

Religious however as the observance was, it had besides — as ¿what religious observance has not? — its own substantial, practical use. If, on the one hand, it conciliated heaven and obtained from it all the help which was obtainable, on the other hand, and which was of more importance, it conciliated men, always looking for signs and wonders, always less accessible to the voice of reason than to that of imagination, always offended by everything which savors of self-reliance, by the “quae finis standi?” of Dares no less than by the “dextra mihi deus” of Mezentius, by the θεου θελοντος και μη θελοντος of Capaneus no less than by the ξεκτη θεων of Ajax Oileus and the δαρων γαρ ουκ αρξει θεοις of Prometheus, and always punishing, with more than even celestial vindictiveness, every such contempt of their ubiquitous, exacting, never - to - be - satisfied protegees. ¿What wonder, then, that we should so often, I may almost say, so invariably, find the poet in the beginning of his poem, seeking the inspiration of his Muse, the ζουρη διος, the λογος of his Jove, nay, sometimes — as in the case of the Iliad (and the imitation of the Iliad, our own inimitable, “majus Iliade” Paradise Lost) — begging her to be kind enough to sing for him, and so throwing the whole responsibility upon her broad, Atlantean shoulders?

Nor was it on the threshold of the undertaking only, and once for all, the divine assistance was to be invoked. Precisely as, in every-day life, it is not enough that personal

insufficiency should be confessed once for all, and a compact entered into with heaven for assistance all through — a through ticket — precisely as, in every-day life, the insufficiency must be re-acknowledged and a new special compact entered into — the ticket checked — daily and even many times a-day, precisely so, in the poetical undertaking, the acknowledgment of poetical insufficiency and the prayer for divine assistance, offered up in the beginning, had to be repeated from time to time according to circumstances, those circumstances being always, as in the private life of the individual so in the poetical undertaking, regarded, by a happy theological theory, as most worthy of, and most likely to receive, the special aid required, which were most embarrassing and out of which there was least probability of extrication by means of that general aid which had so often already been found insufficient, and to require supplement. Of these re-involutions, these occasional re-applications for the indispensable divine grace and assistance, our author is, with his usual good taste and propriety of feeling, sufficiently chary; so chary indeed, that in the whole course of his long poem we have but a single example of them, viz. in the commencement of the seventh Book; a single example I say, for the two invocations “Nunc age, qui reges, Erato,” and “pandite nunc Helicon, deae,” may, in all fairness and by any candid critic, be considered as no more than one, or, at most, as a return to and taking up again, in the second, of the still fresh and not yet “verschollen” first; and if ever re-involution was — to speak in conformity with the feelings of the present day — excusable, or — to speak in conformity with the feelings of the times in which the poem was written — necessary and indispensable, it was here in the commencement of his seventh Book, in the commencement of the second and by far most arduous of the two parts, “virum, Trojae qui primus ab oris,” and “horentia Martis arma,” into which his work naturally divided itself, and was by the author himself expressly divided, and to which division there is a direct reference in the very words of his re-involution:

quality of his — came to be called *numen* and to have *numen* attributed to him, exactly as he was called *majestas*, *divinitas*, *omnipotentia*, *providentia*, and had these qualities attributed to him, and it is no less incorrect to understand *numen* as applied to Jupiter to mean the divinity or deity of Jupiter, than it were incorrect to understand *Jovis majestas*, or *Jovis providentia*, or *Jovis omnipotentia*, or *Jovis pietas*, to mean the divinity or deity of Jupiter. *Jovis numen* is the willing faculty, the *voluntas*, the *consilium*, *placitum*, *arbitrium*, βουλευμᾶ of Jupiter, Jupiter considered as a willing, consulting, determining being, exactly as *Jovis providentia* is the providence of Jupiter, i. e. Jupiter considered as a provident being or providence, *Jovis omnipotentia*, the omnipotence of Jupiter, i. e. Jupiter considered as an omnipotent being or omnipotence, *Jovis majestas*, the majesty of Jupiter, i. e. Jupiter considered as a majestic being, or majesty, *Jovis pietas*, the tenderness of Jupiter, i. e. Jupiter considered as a tender, sympathizing being or tenderness: Attius, Translation of Aeschylus's lost Tragedy, Prometheus λυόμενος cited by Cicero, Tusc. Quaest. 2. 10 (Prometheus speaking):

"Saturnius me sic infixit Jupiter,
Jovisque numen Mulcibri adscivit manus.
Hos i'le cuneos fabrica crudeli inserens,
perrupit artus."

where "*Jovis numen*," the βουλευμᾶ, *consilium*, *arbitrium*, *voluntas*, will of Jupiter, i. e. Jupiter considered as a willing, consulting, determining being, in other words, the divine determination, is placed in emphatic contrast to "*Mulcibri manus*", the executive, operating power or faculty of Mulciber, i. e. to Mulciber considered as an agent or operator; in other words, to handy-work or execution. Of which interpretation if any one doubt the correctness, let him inquire of Aeschylus, who will answer: "So at least I mean when in my other Prometheus (verse 618) I say:

Ιο. Στήμηνον οστις ἐν φαραγγὶ σ' ὤγματε
Prom. Βουλευμα μὲν το δῖον, Ἡφαίστου δὲ χειρ'."

In the same manner, the Roman emperors, even before their deification, were numina exactly as they were majesties, and we must take great care not to fall into the error of supposing that every time the term numen is applied to a Caesar or other eminent person, it is intended to express his divinity. On the contrary, it is only the ordinary substitution of the attribute for the person, of the abstract for the concrete, and Augustus or Adrian has numen and is numen suum, exactly as Julian has pietas and is pietas sua (Ammian, 22. 9: "Thalassius, clamitabant, inimicus pietatis tue nostra violenter eripuit".), and exactly as a modern king or queen is his or her majesty, a pope his holiness, a cardinal his eminence, a prince his highness, a viceroy his excellency, a judge his lordship, a justice of the peace his worship, and every country squire his honor. This is so much the case that numen is attributed not merely to individuals, but to corporations or collections of persons, meaning of course not at all the deity or divinity of such corporations or collections of persons, but their collective will and pleasure, and consequently the sanction afforded by their collective will and pleasure: Cic. Phil. 3, 13: "Magna vis est, magnum numen [*Orelli*: nomen] unum et idem sentientis senatus." Liv. 7, 30: Annuite, P. C. nutum numenque vestrum invictum Campanis, et iubete sperare incolumem Capuam futuram." Cic. ad Quirit. post rexit. 8: "Qua sanctissimi homines pietate erga deos immortales esse solent, eadem me erga populum Rom. semper fore; numenque vestrum aequè mihi grave et sanctum, ac deorum immortalium in omni vita futurum." in all which places numen is will and pleasure, and as little the divinity of the senate or people of Rome as numine (10. 31) is the divinity of Jupiter, numine (1. 137) the divinity of Neptune, numen in our text or numen verse 52 (where see Rem.) the divinity of Juno. nay, so much is this the case, so entirely is numen in this its secondary application a mere title of the same kind as maiestas, that we find it continually associated with maiestas in inscriptions, ex. gr. "Devotus Numini MaiestatiQue Eius". Gruter 272, 1. 2. 5. 6. 7. also 283, 1. 5. and even in the addresses of modern christian subjects to their kings; as for instance, of the editors of the Herculean papyri.

to his majesty and numen (surely neither godhead nor deity nor divinity) Ferdinand the Fourth, King of Naples:

„**FERDINANDO III**

ITALICO SICULO HIEROSOLYMITANO

PIO FELICI SEMPER AUGUSTO

Devoti Numini Majestatique ejus

Academicici Herculenses”

with which compare Coripp. *Justin. Minor. 1. 193*:

“Divinis animis inerat dolor ille parentis;
ante pios oculos mitis versatur imago.
Illa movet mentem, penitusque in pectore utroque
indivisa manens pia numina numine complet.”

where whatever is wanting to perfection in the *pia numina* of Justinus and Sophia Augusta is supplied by the new and additional numen received from the just-deceased Justinian, and where therefore neither numina nor numen can be person, can only be the abstract quality or spirit denominated numen, imagined to pass from the deceased emperor to his successors. See Rem. on “multo suspensum numine”, 3. 372.

Dietsch, not noticing the identity of numen with *νῆμξ*, has taken the opposite view of the term, viz. that it is primarily the person exercising the will, and only secondarily the will or authority: Theologum. p. 3. “Igitur *numen* factum esse ab *nuo* ita certum est, ut iure mireris Hartungium (Relig. d. Röm. I. p. 31) eo aberrare potuisse, ut ab *νός* *novi* factum putaret, nec magis, cum suffixum *men* (quae proprie participii est forma), quod actionem perficiat aut patiatur indicare constet (Weissenborn. Gr. Lat. § 32, 2. p. 36), quoniam *nuo* intransitivum est, dubitari potest, quin *numen* id quod *nuat*, significet. Iam cum qui *nuat* aliquid se cupere aut nolle ostendat, nec vero id quicquam faciat, nisi qui suam voluntatem ac sententiam intellectum ac perfectum iri confidere possit, apparet in eo vocabulo inesse et voluntatis et summae potentiae, i. e. imperii, notionem, id quod recte perspexisse Varronem, L. L. VII. p. 85, M. p. 363 Sp. monuit Lachm. ad Lucr. II. 623. p. 111. Quare *numen* proprie duo tantum significare potest, aut eum, qui summa potentia imperet, aut summam imperandi vim et potestatem.” But if this were

so, and numen first the person nodding and only secondarily the nod, will or authority, why is not crimen first the person committing the crime, carmen first the person singing, molimen first the person making the effort, foramen first the person making the hole, volumen first the person rolling, libamen first the person libating, gestamen first the person wearing, agmen first the person driving? why all these words, as we are so well reminded by Kappes (*Erklärung*, p. 5), first and primarily the thing or act done: the crime, the song, the effort, the hole, the roll, the libation, the dress, the drove respectively?

The difficulty which has been found in our text has arisen partly from the reader's not having had the two meanings of numen, its primary one of attribute and its secondary one of person (person possessing the attribute), sufficiently distinct in his mind, and partly from the term's perfect applicability to Juno in both senses, Juno on the one hand having in common with all beings whether gods or men, and, according to Lucretius, in common with mere atoms, a numen or will, and, on the other hand, being herself (as goddess and the queen of heaven and therefore possessing will in a preeminent degree) preeminently a numen. Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3. 407 (Ceres speaking):

"Non tales gestare tibi, Proserpina, taedas
sperabam; sed vota mihi communia matrum
et thalami festaeque faces, caeloque canendus
ante oculos Hymenaeus erat. Sic numina fati
volvitur, et nullo Lachesis discrimine saevit."

as if she had said: we deities, *wills* par excellence, have yet no will at all, are overridden by the fates and dealt with as they please. The notion of personality once separated from the numen of our text, and the word understood in its primary sense of arbitrium, i. e. irresponsible, self-originated *will* or *free pleasure*, the expression QUO NUMINE LAESO presents no longer any difficulty, but is equivalent to *what arbitrium of hers being offended?* i. e. her arbitrium or free will and pleasure being offended in what respect? in other words: what sanction of her's being violated? See Rem. on numen Junonis, verse 52, and on sanctum

mihi numen arma rogo, 8. 382. and compare. Cicér. *Pro Roscio Amerino*, Ed. Lamb. p. 36. "Quid vis amplius? quid insequeris? quid oppugnas? qua in re tuam voluntatem laedi a me putas? ubi tuis commodis officio? quid tibi obsto?" where it is tuam *voluntatem* laedi, not tuum *numen* laedi, because Cicero could not without the utmost impropriety apply to an adversary whom he was doing all he could to depreciate and make contemptible, a term so highly complimentary as to be rarely applied except to gods and the most exalted among men, exactly as in our text it is *numine* laeso, not *voluntate* laesa, because it had been equally improper for Virgil, when speaking of the "regina deum", to use other than the most respectful language he could find.

How entirely numen is the arbitrium, the free will and pleasure, of the being to whom it is ascribed, appears with remarkable distinctness from Ovid. *Trist.* 5. 3. 15, (Ovid to Bacchus):

"tu tamen e sacris hederæ cultoribus unum
numine debueras sustinuisse tuo;
an dominae fati quicquid cecinere sorores
omne sub arbitrio desinit esse dei?"

where the sense remains the same, although you transpose numine and arbitrio, putting the former in the place of the latter, and the latter in the place of the former, and scarcely less unequivocally from the same poet's (*Trist.* 5. 3. 45)

"Sunt dis inter se commercia; flectere tenta
Caesareum numen numine, Bacche, tuo.",

where the word flectere is of itself sufficient to show that the meaning is not: *Caesar's divinity by thy divinity* but *Caesar's will by thy will.* and (*Fast.* 6. 101)

"Prima dies tibi, Carna, datur. dea cardinis hæc est.
numine clausa aperit, claudit aperta, suo."

and (*Heroid.* 16. 127):

... "Hoc quoque factum
non sine consilio numinibusque deum."

as well as from Livy's (29. 18) "At, Hercule, milites contactos

sacrilegio furor agitat; in ducibus ipsis puniendis nullum deae numen apparuit? immo ibi praesens maxime fuit." was there no visible intervention of the divine will and pleasure?, from Livy's (7. 26: of the contest between M. Valerius and the Gaul) "Minus insigne certamen humanum, numine interposito deorum, factum." not the deity of the gods but the will of the gods being interposed., from Livy's (8. 32) "adversus morem militarem disciplinamque majorum et numen deorum, ausus es cum hoste configere." the will and pleasure of the gods., from Livy's (1. 55) "Inter principia condendi hujus operis movisse numen ad indicandam tanti imperii molem traditur deos." moved their will and pleasure to indicate., and from Silius's (3. 638)

"Mox subitum nemus atque annoso robore lucas
exsiluit, qualesque premunt nunc sidera quercus
a prima venere die; prisco inde pavore
arbor numen habet, coliturque tepentibus aris."

has a will and pleasure of its own. .

The will and pleasure of Juno being not merely an ordinary will and pleasure, but the will and pleasure of the queen of heaven (vers. 13: REGINA DEUM), the NUMINE LAESO of our text expresses a very grave offence, such as that expressed by our modern phrases, *lesa maestà*, *lèse majesté*, breach of prerogative, and, in constitutional language, breach of privilege. See Rem. on numen Junonis, 1. 52.

§ 2.

QUO NUMINE LAESO QUIDVE DOLENS. — i. e. *dolens propter quod numen [ejus] laesum*, laesus, here as always elsewhere, expressing injury, dolens the pain, offence or affront occasioned by the injury:

Ovid. *Art. Am.* 2. 447.

"O quater, et quoties numero comprehendere non est,
felicem, de quo laesa puella dolet!"

Senec. *Herc. Oct.* 446 (the nurse to Dejanira):

"Cur saeva modicis statuis? Ut laesa es, dole."

Prudent. *Psychom.* 781 (of Pax or personified Peace):

"Nunquam, laesa, dolet."

and if Ovid (*Heroid.* 11. 30:

"Et gemitum nullo laesa dolore dabam,")

has violated the rule which, as we have just now seen, he has observed elsewhere, such violation instead of being taken as authority, is rather to be set down among the maculae, only too numerous even in the best authors, "quas aut incuria fudit, aut humana parum cavit natura."

Some commentators, amongst others Wagner (1861) and Freudenberg (*Vindiciae Virg., Bonn. 1845*) misled by the apparent division of the causes of Juno's hostility into metus and dolores (vv. 27. and 29), and understanding CAUSSAS (vers 12) in a strictly plural, and VE (vers. 13) in a strictly disjunctive, sense, represent our author as referring, in our text, to two distinct and separate causes for the wrath of Juno, the one cause expressed by NUMINE LAESO, and fully entered into and explained vv. 16—26. and the other expressed by DOLENS and explained vv. 29—32. "Pro eo, quod dici solet memora causas, quibus impulerit, poeta subjungit definitionem causarum bipartitam, QUO NUMINE LAESO, et QUIDVE DOLENS Ad QUO NUMINE LAESO pertinent quae vss. 16—26 exponuntur; QUIDVE DOLENS explicatur, vss. 29—32, et respondet verbo DOLENS id, quod vs. 29 positum est, DOLORES." (Wagner 1861) — a total misunderstanding of the meaning of the exordium. Juno's numen laesum is not one cause of her anger, and Juno's dolens another cause of her anger, but Juno's dolens is in consequence of her numen laesum, and this dolens, this dolor propter numen laesum is the one, only, cause of her anger, the entire CAUSSAS which the Muse is invoked to explain. It is as if our author had said: quo numine (ejus) laeso et dolente, regina Deum . . . ? The question is single and simple, and our author no more expects or receives from the Muse a double answer to it, than Latinus expects or receives from the Trojans a triple answer to his single, simple question: "What brought you here?" merely because he has

thought proper to put that single, simple question in the triple form: "Quid petitis, quae caussa rates aut cujus egentes . . . vexit?" Nay more: not only are Juno's laesum numen, and Juno's dolens not represented by our author as coordinate causes of Juno's ire (IRAM verse 8), but it is required by moral philosophy that they should not be so represented, injury (laesio) and pain (dolor) not being in their nature coordinate causes either of ire or any other thing, but injury (laesio) cause of pain (dolor), and pain cause of ire. *Tell me*, he says, *the injury* (laesio) — and then, recollecting that injury does not directly generate ire, but only pain, and pain ire, proceeds: *the pain* (dolor) *which caused the ire*; in other words: *tell me*, he says, *the injury which caused the pain which caused the ire*. In like manner the DOLORES of verse 29 are not along with the injuries referred-to in SPRETAE FORMAE, GENUS INVISUM, and RAPTI GANYMEDIS HONORES, coordinate causes of Juno's former ired (IRARUM verse 29) but, generated by those injuries, are themselves the sole cause (CAUSSAE) of those ired. Still further: the Muse, well understanding the import of the poet's prayer, and that it was not that she should tell him what *injury* the numen of Juno had received, and what *pain*, *other than and besides that injury*, the queen of heaven had suffered, but that she should tell him what *painful injury* the queen of heaven had suffered, proceeds (16—26) to give him an account of the *painful injury*, the injury producing pain, affront and offence (SAEVI DOLORES), which was being done to the queen of heaven in the exaltation of Rome above, and to the ruin of, her beloved Carthage, a present painful injury which aggravated as it was (super), by her recollection (memor) of the war of Troy, and of the part which the judgment of Paris and the promotion of Ganymede no less than her own inveterate hatred of the whole Trojan stock had provoked her to take against the Trojans in that war (NECDUM ETIAM EXCIDERANT ANIMO), inflamed her (ACCENSA) to such a degree that she presented herself every where in the face of the Trojans driven on perpetually by the fates (ACTI) towards that Italy in which she was determined they never should arrive. In this her explanation the Muse goes — as it will no doubt have

been observed — backwards, sets out from the present circumstances, the present state of Juno's mind, and traces up to the very earliest period. Let us go with her, and by way of recapitulation run rapidly over the ground again: Juno, she informs us, has heard a report that Carthage was not only not to obtain the empire of the world, but was to be overthrown and destroyed by the descendants of Aeneas and his Trojan companions. This was a clear case of *lèse majesté* of Juno, whose most favored protegee was Carthage, and on account of this *lèse majesté*, this *laesum numen*, Juno dolet (feels sharply, is grievously offended). But this is not all; at the very time this offence is given to her, her mind is already full of another offence, viz. all the harm the Trojans had done her and her dear Argos in the tedious war she had waged against them at Troy (the wolf and the lamb!); nay, she has not yet forgotten circumstances which occurred even before that war; she remembers both the offence offered to her beauty by Paris, and the favors showered on Ganymede, both Paris and Ganymede and the whole stock to which they belonged being the objects of an inveterate hatred (*invisum*) not entered-into or explained. When she thought of these old offences (*HIS ACCENSA SUPER*) the new offence, viz. the cabal to exalt Rome at the expense, and to the utter ruin, of Carthage, became intolerable to her, and she set herself with all her might to resist and frustrate it. Such is the Muse's explanation of the cause (*CAUSSAS*) of Juno's ire, of the cause for which the queen of heaven tot volvere casus insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores impulit, viz. that it was neither less nor more than the offence, the *dolens*, of her *lèse majesté* (*laesum numen*) and that her *majesté* was *lèse*, her *numen laesum*, in all the counts enumerated in the indictment.

QUIDVE DOLENS. — Juno was never not DOLENS, never not angry with or offended at somebody or other; Hom. *Il.* 18. 117:

Ουδε γαρ ουδε βιη Ηρακλεις φυγε κηρα,
 ουπερ φιλτατος εσκε Διι Κρονιωνι ανακτι,
 αλλα ε Μοιρ' εδαματτει και αρχαλεος χολος Ηρης.

Hom. *Il.* 4. 24:

Ἡρῇ δ' οὐκ εἶχας στηθεὶς χολόν, ἀλλὰ προσηυδα·
 Αἰνοτάτε Κρονιδῆ, ποῖον τὸν μῦθον εἶπες;

Hom. *Il.* 5. 757. (Juno speaking):

Ζεὺ πατερ, οὐ νεμεσίξῃ Ἀρεὶ ταδὲ καρτέρα ἔργα,
 οὔσατιον τε καὶ οἶον ἀπώλεσε λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν
 μάψ, ἀτὰρ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον; ἐμοὶ δ' ἄχος·

Ovid. *Met.* 3. 259:

.... "Subit, ecce! priori
 causa recens, gravidamque dolet de semine magni
 esse Jovis Semelen."

Ovid. *Met.* 3. 333:

... "Gravius Saturnia justo,
 nec pro materia fertur doluisse: sui que
 iudicis aeterna damnavit lumina nocte."

Ovid. *Met.* 4. 446:

"Sustinet ire illuc, caelesti sede relictā, —
 tantum odiis iraeque dabat — Saturnia Juno."

Ovid. *Fast.* 2. 177:

"Laesa furit Juno, formam mutatque puellae."

Ovid. *Fast.* 5. 231:

"Sancta Jovem Juno, nata sine matre Minerva,
 officio doluit non eguisse suo."

Ovid. *Met.* 2. 508:

"Intumuit Juno, postquam inter sidera pellex
 fulsit." ..

***Aen.* 5. 606:**

"Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Juno
 Iliacam ad classem, ventosque aspirat eunti,
 multa movens, necdum antiquum saturata dolorem."

7. 286:

"Ecce autem Inachiis sese referebat ab Argis
 saeva Jovis conjux
 Stetit acri fixa dolore,
 tum quassans caput haec effundit pectore dicta:
 heu stirpem invisam," etc.

10. 62:

... Tum regia Juno
acta furore gravi:

12. 801 (Jupiter to Juno):

"Nec te tantus edat tacitam dolor, et mihi curae
saepe tuo dulci tristes ex ore recurrunt."

Apollodor. Biblioth. 1. 9. 16: Ο δε [Jason], ειτε επελθον αλλως, ειτε δια μηνιν Ηρας, ιν' ελθοι κακον Μηδεια Πελειχ (την γαρ Ηραν ουκ ετιμα), το χρυσομαλλον δρας, εφη, προσεταττον αν φερειν αυτω.

Callim. Hymn. in Delum. 55 (addressing Delus):

ουδ' Ηρην κοτεουσαν υπετρεσας, η μεν απασταις
δεινον επεβρωματο λεγωισιν, αι Δι' παιδας
εξεφερον' Αητοι δε διακριδον, ουνεκα μουνη
Ζηνη τεκειν ημελλα φυλαιτερον Αρεος υια,
τω ρα και αυτη μεν σκοπινην εχεν αιθερος εισω,
σπερχομενη μεγα δη τι και ου φατον' ειργε δε Αητω
τειρομεντην ωδισι.

Callim. in Del. 106:

Ηρη, σοι δ'ετι τημος αντλεες ητορ εκειτο'
ουδε κατεκλασθης τε και ωκτισας, ηνικα πηχεις
αμφοτερους ορεγουσα, ματην εφθεγξατο τοια.

Callim. in Del. 215 (apostrophizing Juno):

νυμφα Διος βαρυθυμε, συ δ'ουκ αρ' εμελλες απυστος
δην εμειναι.

Callim. in Dian. 28 (ed. Blomf.):

πατηρ δ' επενευσε γελαστας'
φη δε καταρρεζων, οτε μοι τοιαυτα θεαιναϊ
τικτοιεν, τυτθον κεν εγω ζηλημονος Ηρης
χωομενης αλεγοιμι.

Mart. Capella, 1. 67 (ed. Kopp): *Ipsius vero divae (Junonis) vultus assidua perlucens gratia, fratri consimilis, nisi quod ille immutabili laetitia renidebat, haec commutationum assiduarum nubilo crebrius turbidabatur.*" and last, best witness of all, hear Juno herself; *Sen. Herc. Fur. 1. 27:*

"Non sic abibunt odia. vivaces aget
violentus iras animus, et saevus dolor
aeterna bella pace sublata geret."

Ovid. *Met.* 4. 426:

"Nil poterit Juno, nisi inultos flere dolores?
idque mihi satis est? haec una potentia nostra est?
ipse docet quid agam, (fas est et ab hoste doceri);
quidque furor valeat, Penthea caede satisque
ac super ostendit."

Such perpetual ill-humor, such never-ending dolores merited at least a statue, a Juno dolens, and actually and in point of fact obtained for the partner of Jove's throne and bed the appellation of ἀρισκυδής, Callim. *Fragm.* [23] 108, ed. Bentl.:

Τοις μὲν ἀρισκυδῆς εὐνῆς ἀνακτε Διὸς
Ἀργὸς εἶχειν, ἰδίον περ εὐν λαχὼς·

TERRIS JACTATUS ET ALTO . . . JUNONIS OB IRAM MULTA
QUOQUE ET HELLO PASSUS MUSA MIHI CAUSSAS MEMORA . . .
NUMINE LAESO. — Liv. 2. 36: "filium namque intra paucos dies
amisit; cujus repentinae *cladis* ne *causa* dubia esset, aegro animi
eadem illa in somnis obversata species visa est rogitare, satin'
magnam *spreti numinis* haberet mercedem? majorem instare,
ni eat propere ac nuntiet consulibus. Jam praesentior res erat:
cunctantem tamen ac prolatantem ingens vis morbi adorta est
debilitate subita. Tum enimvero *deorum ira* admonuit."

Stabile Pezzini, ai Cavaleggieri, Livorno, March. 8. 1868.

Dalkey Lodge, Dalkey (Ireland) Octob. 5. 1872.

13.

VOLVERE CASUS

"Id est casibus volvi. et est figura Hypallage." Servius;
Who can believe it? or what kind of notion are we to form
of Aeneas both jactatus and volutus, only six verses ago tossed
like a shuttlecock and now rolled over and over like a trund-
ling ball or a rolling-stone? Dâ meliora piis, erroremque Wag-
nero illum!, if I were capable of wishing even my depredator

so ill, and the gods had not been before-hand with me and awarded him his punishment already. Hear himself: "*volvere casus*, *alium ex alio tolerare*". But the hero of the Aeneis was neither so very meek as when struck on the one cheek to turn-round the other, ("*alium ex alio tolerare*") nor so absolutely passive as to be rolled-over ("*volvi*") by his troubles. On the contrary, the hero of the Aeneis goes to and seeks out his troubles (*adire*), nor was ever any thing plainer than that *ADIRE LABORES* is our author's own explanation of *VOLVERE CASUS*, the one being the theme, of which the other is the variation, and both but different ways of viewing and expressing the same thing. This is one step on firm ground. what is the next? Both verbs depend on *IMPULERIT*. now impulse is always to *do*, never to *bear*. Who ever heard of any one being impelled to *bear* any thing, impelled either *volvi* or *tolerare*? one can be impelled *volvere*, and impelled *adire*, but one cannot be impelled *volvi* or impelled *tolerare*, still less impelled at one and the same time either *volvi* and *adire*, or *tolerare* and *adire*, and least of all impelled either *volvi* and *adire*, or *tolerare* and *adire*, by one single impulse, one single *IMPULERIT*. This is a second step on firm ground. What is the third? We have continually *volvere saxa* (Georg. 1. 473, Aen. 11. 529, 6. 616) and *volvere moles* (9. 516), to roll-over, to turn-over, stones or other heavy masses; why not *volvere casus*, to roll-over, turn-over misfortunes, mischances, as if they were so many heavy stones, turned-over with difficulty? Impelled him to undertake so many labors, to turn-over so many heavy stones. If instead of saying *tot volvere casus*, *tot adire labores*, our author had said *tot volvere saxa*, *tot adire labores*, the meaning had remained precisely the same, while the action, the exertion in the onward direction, the actively rolling forward, expressed by *volvere*, had become as little liable to be misunderstood as it is little liable to be misunderstood, Ter. Eun. 1083:

"Gnatho . . . Unum etiam hoc vos oro, ut me in vestrum gregem recipiatis: satis diu jam hoc saxum volvo. PHAED. Recipimus."

or Aldi Pii Manutii Romani Epist. ad Andream Naugerium in Editionem Poematum Pindari. "Commentaria autem in Pinda-

rum et caeteros, quos ei adjunxi comites, nec non in Hesiodum, Sophoclem, Euripidem, Aeschylum, Theocritum, Oppianum brevi daturi sumus uno volumine. Quibus est animus facere indicem eorum omnium quae scitu digna in iis ipsis habentur commentariis. Quam quidem rem in omnibus libris qui ex aedibus nostris exhibunt in manus hominum, facturi sumus, si saxum, quod tot annos volvo alter Sisyphus, in montis cacumen perduxero." or l. 104:

"Ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis
scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit.",

in which last passage we have the same *volvere* and the same *tot*, and in which it is not, any more than it is in our text, the subject of the verb, (the river), which is being rolled, but as in our text the object of the verb (viz. the corpora), and in which finally the rolling is not from corpus to corpus in succession, but of each individual corpus over and forward (See Rem. 1. 104), exactly as in our text the rolling is not from casus to casus in succession, but of each individual casus over and forward. But the figure *volvere saxum*, so suitable — on account of its homeliness and familiarity — for comedy, being on account of those very characters no less unsuitable for the epos, could not, especially on the solemn occasion of the commencement of the work, and invocation of the Muse, be openly and undisguisedly employed, could at most only be alluded-to or suggested; hence the imperfect, no more than half, figure — the *volvere* not *saxa* but *casus* — and the obscurity so puzzling to commentators. Had it been our author's intention to represent his hero as passive — whether, with Servius, so wholly passive and inert as to be rolled-over ("volvi") by his misfortunes, or, with Wagner, so passive as to bear them patiently ("alium ex alio tolerare") — there was a word which, joined with casus, was capable of expressing such passivity, and to which there is no reason for supposing he could not have adapted his verse here, as he has adapted it, 9. 512:

"Saxa quoque infesto volvebant pondere, si qua
possent tectam aciem perrumpere, cum tamen omnes
ferre iuvat subter densa testudine casus"

prayed for, not surely to be again rolled-over by them, (who ever heard of permission to be rolled over, to *be* any thing, to *suffer* any thing?) but to roll them over again, to go to them (adire) again, and roll them over, as they, the same Teuceri, had rolled them over before; also Sil. 3. 577:

"Atque ille, haud unquam parvus pro laude cruoris,
et semper famae sitiens, obscura sedendo
tempora agit, mutum volvens inglorius aevum,
sanguine de nostro populus, blandoque veneno
desidia virtus paulatim evicta senescit."

where the Pop. Rom. *rolls time* (existence) as if it were a rolling-stone or wheel, exactly as in our text Aeneas *rolls chances* (calamities, troubles), as if they were so many rolling-stones or wheels. also Sil. 6. 120 (Ed. Ruperti):

"Talis lege deum clivoso tramite vitae
per varios praeceps casus rota volvitur aevi."

where the wheel of time (existence) is rolled viz. by man (man rolls the wheel of existence) through various chances, = man rolls the wheel of various chances, or more shortly and as in our text, *rolls various chances*. also Aen. 6. 748:

"ubi mille rotam volvere per annos",

have rolled the wheel, viz. of existence with its various changes and chances, i. e. rolled the wheel of the various changes and chances which constitute existence, or, as in our text, *rolled various chances*. also Aen. 9. 6:

"quod optanti divum promittere nemo
auderet, volvenda dies, en! attulit ultro",

a day (i. e. time) to be rolled-round or over (viz. by you, Turnus, and by the rest of mankind) as if it were a rolling-stone, or wheel,

compare Alcim. Avit. *Trans. maris rubri*, (Poem. 5. 413):

"Maxima nocturnas jam pars exegerat horas.
Et volvenda dies instabat sorte propinqua."

the day which must come, must be passed, spent (rolled-round or over),
the inevitable day.

exactly as in our text: chances to be rolled-round or over by

Aeneas, chances for Aeneas to roll-round or over in the manner of a rolling-stone or wheel. Compare also Senec. *Octav.* 927:

"Per quae [al. quem, al. quam] casus volvit varios
semper nobis metuenda dies."

where the dies is as little rolled-over by the casus — as surely rolls the casus over — as Aeneas in our text. Compare also Hom. *Od.* 8. 81:

... τότε γὰρ βα κυλινδᾶτο πημάτων ἀρχῇ
Τρῶσι τε καὶ Δαναοῖσι, Διὸς μεγάλου δια βούλας.

where the beginning of misfortune, and a fortiori misfortune itself, is represented as a thing capable of being rolled-round or -over; also Stat. *Theb.* 11. 40:

"Quas volvis, Gradive, vices? modo moenia Cadmi
scandebant, sua nunc defendunt tecta Pelasgi."

where the "volvere" of the "vices", exactly corresponding to the "volvere" of the "casus" in our text, is not only not passive, but as active as it is possible for any volvere to be.

VOLVERE CASUS, . . ADIRE LABORES. — If instead of "volvere casus adire labores" our author had said — as, but for the measure, he might have said without the change of another word or the slightest alteration of meaning — volvere labores adire casus, the passage would have had a perfect parallel in Cic. de Offic. 1. 19: "Vix invenitur qui laboribus susceptis, periculisque aditis, non quasi mercedem rerum gestarum, desideret gloriam." See Rem. on Sic volvere Parcas (1. 26, B.)

Stabile Pezzini, ai Cavaleggieri, Livorno, March 21. 1868.

14 (a)

INSIGNEM PIETATE VIRUM

✓ Pietas, the Greek εὐσεβεία, is softness, gentleness and goodness of heart, mercifulness, meekness and kindness of dispos-

ition, manifested first and principally towards a man's own family

[Cicer. *Pro Planc.* 33. 80: "Quid est pietas, nisi voluntas grata in parentes? . . . Qui sancti, qui religionum coeules, nisi qui meritis diis immortalibus gratiam justis honoribus et memori mente persolvunt?" Cic. *de Invent.* 2. 53. 161: "Religio est, quae superioris cujusdam naturae (quam divinam vocant) curam caerimoniamque affert. pietas, per quam patriae, et sanguine conjunctis, officium et diligens tribuitur cultus." Auson. *Gratias. Act.* prope initium: "Aguntur enim gratiae, non propter maiestatis ambitum, nec sine argumentis, Imperatori . . . Piissimo: huius vero laudis locupletissimum testimonium est pater divinis honoribus consecratus: instar filii ad imperium frater adscitus: a contumelia belli patruus vindicatus: ad praefecturae collegium filius cum patre coniunctus: ad consulatum praeceptor electus."

and his own and family's god or gods: (2 Kings, 22. 19: "Because thine heart was tender, and thou hast humbled thyself before the lord."),

[Cicer. *de natur. deor.* 1. 41: "de sanctitate, de pietate adversus deos, libros scripsit Epicurus".

Ovid. *Amor.* 3. 13. 9:

"Accipit ara preces votivaeque thura piorum";

his neighbours, his fellow-citizens and fellow-countrymen,

[Ammian 37. 6 (Valentinian introducing Gratian to the soldiers): "salutem pro periculis sociis obiectabit, et quod pietatis summum primumque munus est, rem publicam ut domum paternam diligere poterit et avitam",

and secondarily towards the whole human race and everything that lives and feels:

Cyrillus *contra Julian.* 9 (ed. Spanh. p. 307): θεωρησαι δε εστιν εκ του περι Δηλον επι σωζομενου βωμου προς ον ουδενος προσαγομενου παρ' αυτοις, ουδε θυομενου επ' αυτου ζωου, ευσεβων [piorum, pitying] κεκληται βωμος. Eur. *Electr.* 253:

El. πηνης ανηρ γενναιος εις τ' εμ' ευσεβης (pius).

Or. η δ' ευσεβεια (pietas) τις προσεστι σω ποσει;

El. ου ποποτ' ευνης της εμης ετλη θιγειν.

Or. αγνευμ' εχων τι θειον, η σ' απαξιων;

El. γονεας υβριζειν τους εμους ουκ ηξειου.

Claud. *de IV. Cons. Honor.* 276:

"*sis plus imprimis, nam cum vincamur in omni
munere, sola deos aequat clementia nobis.*"

where we have the express definition of *pietas*, viz. that it is *clementia*, *clementia* itself (and therefore *pietas*) being thus deified by the same author, *Laud. Stilic. 2. 6*:

"*Principio magni custos Clementia mundi,
quae Jovis incoluit zonam, quae temperat aethram
frigoris et flammæ mediam, quae maxima natu
caelicolum, nam prima Chaos Clementia solvit,
congeriem miserata rudem, vultuque sereno
discussis tenebris in lucem saecula fudit.
Haec dea pro templis et ture calentibus aris
te [Stilicone] fruitur, posnitque suas hoc pectore sedes.
Haec docet, ut poenis hominum vel sanguine pasci
turpe foramque putes: ut ferrum, Marte cruentum
siccum pace premas: ut non infensus alendis
materiam praestes odiis: ut sontibus ultro
ignovisse velis: deponas ocius iram,
quam moveas: precibus nunquam implacabilis obstes:
obvia prosternas, prostrataque more leonum
despicias, alacres ardent qui frangere tauros,
transiliunt praedas humiles. haec ipse magistra
das veniam victis; haec exorante calores
horrificos, et quae nunquam nocitura timentur
jurgia, contentus solo terrore, coerces;
aetherii patris exemplo, qui cuncta sonoro
concutiens tonitru, Cyclopum spicula differt
in scopulos et monstra maris, nostrique cruoris
parcus in Oetaeis exercet fulmina silvis.*"

Capitol. Vita Anton. Pii: "*Pius cognominatus est a Senatu, vel quod
socerum fessa iam aetate, manu, praesente Senatu, levaverit: . . . vel
quod vere natura clementissimus, et nihil temporibus suis asperum
fecit.*"

Aen. 9. 493:

"*Figite me, si qua est pietas, in me omnia tela
Conjicite, O Rutuli.*"

tenderness, pity.

2. 536:

"*Dii, si qua est coelo pietas quae talia curet.*"

tenderness, pity, of heaven for men.

Coripp. *Johannid.* 1. 11.:

"Jam pietas caelo terras prospexit ab alto."

personified, say rather, deified tenderness, *pity*, looking down from heaven. Coripp. *Justin. Min.* 1. 168:

"quem non hominem pietate benigna
continuit, fovit, monuit, nutrit, amavit?"

Aurel. Victor, *de Caesarib.* 41: "Eo pius [Constantinus], ut etiam vetus veterrimumque supplicium patibulorum et cruribus suffringendis primus removerit." Ciris, 219:

"non accepta piis promittens munera divis,"

tender, *pitying* gods; the gods being denominated *pii*, tender, *pitying*, exactly as the Manes on every sepulchre: "*piis* Manibus." ¿And why this character ascribed alike to gods and Manes? For the plain reason that no higher, no more amiable character than tender-hearted, gentle, affectionate, *pitying*, could be ascribed either by the worshiper to the powerful divinity whose good graces he was supplicating, or by the mourning survivor to the dear friend or relative of whom he had been bereaved, and whose eternal loss he was lamenting (see page 181). *Aen.* 5. 783:

"quam nec longa dies, pietas nec mitigat ulla,"

whom no length of time, no *pity*, softens. *Aen.* 12. 838:

"hinc genus, Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget,
supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis,"

exceed men and gods in tenderness of heart, in *pity* (see Rem. 12. 839). *Aen.* 3. 42:

"parce pius scelerare manus,"

let not those hands, with which you have performed so many tender, merciful, *pitying* acts towards fellow-countrymen, friends and relatives, perform a cruel, hard-hearted, brutal act towards me. I am a Trojan and no stranger to you: "non me tibi Troia externum tulit." It is as if he had said: kind-hearted, humane Aeneas, cease. you are, without knowing it, doing what is cruel, hard-hearted and brutal. I too have a claim to your *pity*.

[There is as little piety (in the modern sense of the word), as little

devotional feeling in Virgil's *pias manus* of Aeneas, as there is in Virgil's "*pio ore*" of Deiphobus, *6. 530*, where the meaning can only be (see Rem. ad loc.): with tender, charitable, *pitying* mouth, i. e. not influenced by a feeling of revenge towards the culprits, but by a tender, kindly, humane, *pitying* feeling towards friends, country and mankind; in other words: if I am not a cruel, but a tender-hearted, *pitying* man., or as there is in Ovid's "*pia verba*" of Jupiter; *Met. 14. 812*: (Mars expostulating with Jupiter on behalf of Romulus):

"Tu mihi concillo quondam praesento Deorum,
nam memoror, memorique animo pia verba notavi,
'unus erit, quem tu tolles in caerulea caeli',
dixisti: rata sit verborum summa tuorum."

kind, tender, affectionate, *pitying* words. not, of course, devout words, being the words of the chief deity himself. or as there is in Virgil's '*amore pio*' (tender, affectionate, brotherly, *pitying* love) of Nisus for Euryalus, *Aen. 5. 296*. (where see Rem.). Or as there is in Saint Ambrose's '*pium amorem*' of the ox whose bellowing testifies his tender, *pitying* affection for his lost bovine comrade. (*de excess. fratris sui Satyri*, § 8 [ed. monach. Benedict. 1686]: "Nunc vero, frater, quo progrediar? quove convertar? Bos bovem requirit, seque non totum putat, et frequenti mugitu pium testatur amorem, si forte defecerit cum quo ducere collo aratra consuevit: et ego te, frater, non requiram? Aut possum unquam oblivisci tui, cum quo vitae huius semper aratra sustinui?" or as there is in Saint Ambrose's '*piscium pietatem*' (*Hezaem. 5, 3*: ed. monach. Benedict. 1686): "Quae [viz mustellae et caniculae, et cete ingentia, delphines et phocae] cum ediderint partus, si quid forte insidiarum terrorisque praesenserint circa catulos suos quenquam moliri, quo teneantur eos, vel tenerae aetatis pavorem materno affectu comprimant, aperire ora, et innoxio partus suos dente suspendere, interno quoque recipere corpore, et genitali feruntur alvo abscondere. Quis humanus affectus hanc piscium pietatem possit imitari?"

Ovid. *Art. Amat. 2. 319*:

... "Sed si male firma cubarit
et vitium coeli senserit aegra sui,
tunc amor et pietas tua sit manifesta puellae."

not by any possibility, piety or devotional feeling, but only tenderness,
pity.

also Stat. *Theb. 11. 462*, where the goddess Pietas is introduced

... "saevum . . . Jovem, Parcasque nocentes
vociferans, seseque polis et luce relictâ
descensuram Erebo, et Stygios jam malle penates:

'quid me', ait, 'ut saevis animantum, ac saepe deorum
obstaturam animis, princeps natura, creabas?'"

and Stat. *Silv.* 3. 3. 1:

"Summa deum Pietas, cuius gratissima caelo
rara profanatas inspectant numina terras,
mitibus exsequiis ades; et lugentis Etrusci
cerne pios fletus, laudataque lumina terge."

where the same goddess is invoked as the chief of all deities, and where "Pietas", "mitibus" and "pios" are all, and can only be, expressive of the same emotion, viz. tenderness, softness, gentleness of heart, *pity*.

Liv. 40. 34: "Aedes duae eo anno dedicatae sunt: una Veneris Erycinae ad portam Collinam altera, in foro olitorio, Pietatis",

not, surely, of devotion, but of tenderness of heart, mercy, *pity*.

Claud. *Laus Serenae*, 132:

"Ambas ille quidem patrio complexus amore:
sed merito pietas in te proclivior ibat."

where the distinction between amor and pietas is clearly pointed out: the father loved both his daughters, but one of them more tenderly, more *pityingly* than the other.

Iscanus, 3. 440 (of the affection of Castor and Pollux for each other):

"O pietas! qua nulla deum praesentior ambit
virtus, o mitis fraterni candor amoris!"

where 'pietas' is all but defined to be mitis, candidus, fraternus amor, brotherly tenderness, *pity*.

Sil. 13. 390 (of Scipio Africanus just informed of the death of his father and uncle):

"Non comites tenuisse valent, non ullus honorum
militiaeve pudor; pietas irata sinistris
coelicolis furit, atque odit solatia luctus,"

where 'pietas' is so little *piety*, so little *respect for*, and *obedience to*, that it is angry-at, and in open rebellion against, the gods.

Cato, *R. R. praef.* "Agriculturam maxime pius quaestus stabilissimusque consequitur." not a *devout* gain, but a gain of a softer, kindlier, more *pitying* nature than that to be made either by commerce or war. and last, not least, Horace's (*Od.* 3.

21) dear, darling “*pia testa*”, not surely *pious*, religious, or devout, but kindly, good natured, *pitying*, comforting, wine-jar; wine-jar which, born in the same year with the poet, has a brotherly affection for him.

As, in Christian morals, justice is incomplete without love and charity, so also in heathen morals, *pietas* is the complement of justice, the highest perfection of the human character. Cicero, *de Republ.* 6. 8: “*Iustitiam cole, et pietatem, quae cum sit magna in parentibus et propinquis, tum in patria maxima est.*” Cicer. *de Orat.* 2. 40: “*Si pietati summa tribuenda laus est, debetis moveri, cum Q. Metellum tam pie lugere videatis.*” Pius was accordingly not only the highest term of praise, flattery could bestow upon an emperor, but the most endearing appellation with which affectionate memory could address the dear, departed dead. No wonder then that *pietas*, (“*illud ipsum gravissimum et sanctissimum nomen,*” Cicer. *Epist. ad Lentul.* 1. 9), embracing, as it does, both christian love and christian charity, is the virtue which our author here in the first lines of his poem singles-out to ascribe to his hero; no wonder that all through his poem, and on every possible occasion, he delights to call him *pious*; no wonder that it is with the mental disposition most opposed to *pietas* Dido in the first outburst of her passion reproaches him:

“*Nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor,
perfidē; sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus, Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.
nam quid dissimulo? aut quae me ad maiora reservo?
num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit?
num lacrimas victus dedit, aut miseratus amantem est?*”

no wonder that it is of the mental disposition most opposed to *pietas* Dido accuses him to her sister, when giving her instructions to prepare the pyre, 4. 494:

“*Tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras
erige et arma viri thalamo quae fixa reliquit
impius, exuviasque omnes lectumque jugalem
quo perii, superimponas;*”

no wonder that when on the pyre and in the very act of striking herself, *crudelis*, — the word the most opposed to *pious* with

which language could supply her, is the word, almost the very last word, which quivers on her lips.

The term *pietas*, descending into modern languages, and at first used — no matter in what phase or under what orthography — in its original, extensive Latin signification,

Charlemagne's son and successor Louis, styled by his French subjects, on account of the goodness of his heart, le débonnaire, was, with his Italian subjects, Ludovico Pio; and we find in Wickliffe's translation of the second Epistle of Peter [3. 11] the Greek εὐσεβείας; and the Latin '*pietatis*' rendered, not, as in our received translation, *godliness*, but *pities*; [2. 9] the Greek εὐσεβείας and the Latin '*pios*' rendered, not, as in our received translation, *godly*, but *pitouse men*; and in Wickliffe's translation of the Epistle of Paul to Titus [2. 12.] the Greek εὐσεβείας and the Latin *piè* rendered, not, as in our received translation, *godly*, but *pitcouli*, a use of the term which has been returned-to by Gray in his very elegant and justly-esteemed-classic elegy:

"On some fond breast the parting soul relies,
some pious drops the closing eye requires;"

Not some *godly* drops, but some *tender, affectionate* drops,

came at last to be divided into the two very distinct words *piety* and *pity* (Fr. *piété* and *pitié*), the former representing *pietas* in its relation to heaven and heavenly things (θεοσεβείας), the latter representing it in its relation to men and the things of this world (εὐσεβείας). "*Pious Aeneas*" has thus wholly ceased to be an equivalent of Virgil's "*pius Aeneas*", and the error of the author of the following lines, which can hardly fail to recur to the memory of the French reader, is only not ludicrous because shared-in by so many:

"De la veuve de Sichée
l'histoire vous a fait peur :
Didon mourut attachée
au char d'un amant trompeur ;
mais l'imprudente mortelle
n'eut à se plaindre que d'elle ;
ce fut sa faute; en un mot :
à quoi songeait cette belle
de prendre un amant dévot ?
Pouvait-elle mieux attendre
de ce pieux voyageur,

..

qui, fuyant sa ville en cendre
 et le fer du Grec vengeur,
 chargé des dieux de Pergame,
 ravit son pere à la flamme,
 tenant son fils par la main,
 sans prendre garde à sa femme
 qui se perdit en chemin ?”

The Germans have a better representative of *pious* in their *fromm*, a term which has not yet so intirely lost its relation to good morals as the English *pious*, and which we find applied, in all the older legends, to the *ritter* who was not only brave and strong, but also of a mild, courteous disposition and gentle (gentlemanly) deportment, nay, even to the brave (*tüchtig*) soldier, altogether without reference to courtesy either of mind or manner. Henric. Brunsvig. (Achilles counseling the Greeks to abandon the siege of Troy): “Dazu haben wir uns wohl genug an ihnen gerochen und haben Hektorem erschlagen, und dünket mich, uns soll wohl genügen und sollen hindane fahren, da sie also eine feste stadt haben mit so frommen volk, dass man sie ihnen wohl nicht abgewinnen mag.”

It is not a little remarkable that while the English word *piety* thus represents the Latin *pietas* only in its relation to things appertaining to heaven, the Italian *pietà*, on the contrary, represents the Latin word only, or very nearly only, in its relation to things of this world:

[Goldoni, *Pamela* 3. 6: “Se la sovrana pietà del cielo offre a Pamela una gran fortuna, sarò io così barbaro per impedirla?” where *pietà* is as plainly not the *piety* or devotion of heaven, as its contrast or opposite pole, *barbarie*, is not *atheism*, but *barbarity*, *cruelty*,

its derivative *spietato* (= *senza pietà*) is not *irreligious*, but *spiteful*, *cruel*; *spietà* and *spietatezza*, not *irreligiousness* but *cruelty*, *spite*; and even this last word, *spite* itself, the English’ offspring of *spietà*, as devoid of all religious reference as my readers know it to be.

Dryden, having avoided the Scylla of rendering *PIETATE* by *piety*, has fallen into the Charybdis of rendering it by *bravery and justice*:

"For what offence the queen of heaven began
to persecute so brave, so just a man.",

virtues, from both of which, pietas is expressly distinguished
by Virgil himself, 1. 548:

"Rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo justior alter,
nec pietate fuit nec bello major et armis."

11. 291:

"Ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis;
hic pietate prior."

Phaer, nearly one hundred and fifty, and Chaucer more than
three hundred, years before Dryden, understood the word
better, the former translating our text:

"This noble prince, of vertue mylde, from place to place
to toile",

and the latter, the

"Tu requies tranquilla piis"

of Boethius *Lib. 3. Met. 9. vers. 27* (of the deity): "Thou arte
pesyble reste to debonayre folke", the *debonayre* of Chaucer's
time being as far removed (see Chaucer, *Romaunt of the Rose*,
1219:

"And she was simple' as dove on tre;
Ful debonayre of hert was she."

and Richardson, in voce) from the *debonnair* of our time
and Milton's, as Virgil's *pius* from our *pious*, as little meaning
courteous, *affable*, *well mannered*, as Virgil's *pius* means *devout*.
The virtue therefore for which Aeneas was so remarkable
(*INSIGNEM*), the virtue which it was the scope of Virgil's poem to
recommend and inculcate by the example of his hero, was not
piety, or devotion to heaven, but pietas (*pitió*), or tenderness
and brotherly love to mankind, that same noble, generous,
kindly, charitable, self-sacrificing feeling which is inculcated
and set-forward in every sentence of Christ's preaching, and
of which Christ afforded in his own person so illustrious an ex-
ample. and the mistake which scholars generally have made
respecting the meaning of the term — that mistake which has
led them to seek, and of course in vain, for pronounced and

distinguished piety in the hero of the *Aeneis*, in the poem itself, and in the sentiments of the author:

(“There is no more of real impiety in him [Mezentius], than there is of real piety in Aeneas.” Gladstone, *Studies on Homer*, vol. 3. p. 526.)

— is precisely the mistake which christians generally have made concerning the thing itself, taking Christ’s preaching as an inculcation, and Christ’s life as an example, not of *pietas* but of piety, not of brotherly love, but of so-called *religion*, or *devotion towards heaven*, thus confounding the virtue itself with the sign, perverting morality into ritual observance, and substituting for the doctrine of Christ, that cold, selfish, exclusive judaism which it was Christ’s special mission to subvert and extirpate. Precisely in the same manner as the character of Christ and the whole drift and scope of Christ’s gospel have been mistaken by the great majority of christians, have the character of Aeneas, and the drift and scope of the *Aeneis* been misunderstood by that great majority of scholars, of which Mr. Gladstone may be taken as the type. Curious! that in cases as widely removed from each other as antipodes, not only the subject-matter, but the very mode, of the mistake should be the same. Will men never be able to distinguish between religion and morality, between shadow and substance? Must men’s minds always, like a reflecting sheet of water, turn the landscape topsy-turvy, always set that which is above, below, and that which is below, above? Men’s minds have always done so, and I doubt not, always will. Gross however as the mistake is, it is, like most other mistakes, not without its excuse. The two words are identically the same, *one* word handed-down from the one people to the other. It is hardly possible that the half-informed scholar should not confound the *pietas* of Decius with the *piety* of Wesley, the *pius* applied by the Romans to Aeneas and Antoninus and the gods and the Manes, with the *pious* applied in later times by his coreligionists to the jew, mahometan or christian who prostrates himself as abject in the dust before the god or gods of his selection, as he raises high and insolent his threatening hand against the rival god or gods selected by his neighbour. The mistake is excusable in the

dilettante, half-informed scholar, whether statesman, lawyer or physician, who engrossed all day with positive objects, the real business of life, can scarcely spare for abstract studies an hour stolen from sleep, or the interval between church and dinner on a wet Sunday, and to whom the Greek and Latin languages with their dramas, histories, philosophies and epics are, have been, and must always be pretty much what the Titians, Raphaels and Rubenses of a National Gallery or a Louvre are to the visitor who comes on a king's birthday or other holiday, from a remote part of the country, to gaze at them, and rarely, unless he has been unable to smuggle umbrella or walking-cane past the porter at the door, departs without proof irrefragable that they are neither on the one hand quite visionary and unsubstantial, nor on the other hand actually in relief. The mistake is excusable in the poet of La Pucelle d'Orleans, not even a dilettante scholar, and but too eager, flushed with his victory over the modern real giant, to let fly a shaft at the imagined ancient one of the same name; but what excuse is there for the thorough-bred scholar who commences an elaborate diatribe on Virgil's theological terminology with this very mistake? Dietsch, *Theol. p. 1*: "Et cum omnis ut cuiusque hominis, sic imprimis poetæ dignitas pendeat ab pietate, operæ pretium mihi facturus videbar, si quid Virgilius de divino numine sensisset, exponerem." Where not only is piety — piety in the present vernacular sense of the word —, assumed to be the sole foundation of human dignity, the sine-qua-non of an elevated human character, — an assumption of course to be condoned by all who would not incur the imputation of atheism and the ban of the religious society in which they live and into the midst of which they have been born — but the assumption that it is so, is put forward as affording ground for the inquiry; what were Virgil's opinions concerning the deity? an inquiry, to issue in a verdict on the character of Virgil, of dignified or undignified: dignified, if the evidence should show that Virgil was *pious* in the modern acceptation of the term; undignified, if it should show that he was *pious* only in that moral sense in which the word *pious* was understood by a people with whom piety, in the

modern sense of the word, had not yet come into fashion, a people with whom, as we have seen, affectionate parents, dutiful children, kind brothers and sisters, faithful friends, worthy citizens, sturdy patriots were all *pīi*; a people with whom, as we have seen, dead and lamented relatives, even their supreme god himself, in his benevolent paternal character, were *pīi*; a people who, as we have seen, deified their highest conceivable moral quality, their beau-ideal of morality, erected temples to it, and set it above all gods: "summa deum, *Piētas*." See vers. 548 and Rem. also vers 607 and Rem. also 3. 42 and 75, and Rems.

INSIGNEM PIETATE. — Why "*insignem pietate*" here, and "*gravem pietate*" at verse 155? Because here it was to the poet's purpose to speak only of the character, independently of its operation on others, while at verse 155 it was necessary, in order to the completeness of the picture, to speak of the effect of the character, of the *weight and influence* thereby acquired.

INSIGNEM. — In-signis; Gr. επι-σημος.

Palazzetta Taddei, ai Cavaleggieri, Livorno, Dec. 26. 1868.

Dalkey Lodge, Dalkey (Ireland), Febr. 8. 1872.

14 (b).

TOT ADIRE LABORES

accost so many labors. ADIRE LABORES is the precise Latin representative, if not our author's own express translation, of the Homeric ἀντιζῆιν, or ἀντιζαν, ἀθλων: *Od.* 22. 28, (the suitors to Ulysses):

..... οὐκ ἐτ' ἀθλων
ἀλλων ἀντιζεις·

Compare Ovid. *Met.* 12. 161:

"Inque vices adita atque exhausta pericula saepe
commemorare juvat."

and (Politiani epist. lib. 12) Bartolom. Scala Angelo Politiano suo: "Ille (Alcides) jussa adibat monstra; tu tibi ea confingis, instruisque ut superari a te queant."

IMPULERIT. — Cicer. *pro Milon. Ed. Lamb. p. 557*: "nisi eum dii immortales in eam mentem impulissent, ut homo effoeminatus fortissimum virum conaretur occidere, hodie rempublicam nullam haberetis."

LABORES. — αθλους. Anacr. 1. 7:

αθλους

Ηρακλεους

A formal comparison of Aeneas to Hercules had been misplaced here on the threshold of the poem, had committed the poet to a race for glory between Aeneas and Hercules all through his work; allusion to the labors of Hercules is perfectly apropos, and the more graceful because not forced on the reader, but only placed in his path where he can hardly avoid seeing it. If he has not seen it, if he has read "regina defum tot volvere casus, tot adire labores impulerit", and then "tantaene animis caelestibus irae?!" without once thinking of the persecution of Hercules by the same vindictive goddess, it can only be either because "insignem pietate virum" has taken him farther away in the opposite direction from Hercules than was intended by the author, or because he has settled down, with the grammarians, into a brown study of the grammar of "quo numine laeso, quidve dolens?" But there is, although the poet has not committed himself to it by an express, formal comparison of Aeneas to Hercules here on the very limen, a race for glory between the two heroes all through the poem. How could it be otherwise? They are **both** heroes; **both** of the highest race, the blood of Jove supreme,

("et mi genus ab Jove summo" says Aeneas in express comparison of himself with Alcides)

the mother of the one being Alcmena, breathing from hair and caerulean eyelids such perfume as breathes from golden Aphrodite,

Hesiod. *Scut. Hercul. 3*,

θυγατηρ λαοσσουσι λεκτροωνος,

η ρα γυναικων φυλον εκαινωτο θηλυτερων
 ειδει τε μεγαθει τε· νοον γε μιν ουτις εριζε
 ταιων, ας θνηται θνητοις τεκον ευνηθισαι·
 της και απο κρηθεν βλεφαρων τ' απο κυανειων
 τοιον αηθ' οιον τε πολυχρυσου Αφροδιτης,

the mother of the other, golden Aphrodite herself. They are **both** great travelers, explorers and adventurers; **both** founders of cities; **both** institutors of ludi:

Pind. *Nem.* 10. 32, ed. Dissen,

υπατον δ' εσχεν Πισα

Ηρακλεος τεθμον·

Diod. Sicul. 4. 14: τελασας δε (Hercules) τουτον τον αθλον, τον Ολυμ-
 πιακον αγωνα συνεστησατο. *Aen.* 5. 596,

"Hunc morem, hos cursus, atque haec certamina, primas
 Ascanius, longam muris quum cingeret Albam,
 retulit, et prisce docuit celebrare Latinos,
 quo puer ipse modo, secum quo Troia pubes,
 Albani docuere suos: hinc maxima porro
 adcepit Roma, et patrum servavit honorem;
 Trojaque nunc pueri, Trojanum dicitur agmen.
 hac celebrata tenus sancto certamina patri."

both, forefathers of a long and mighty line of descendants, named after them respectively Heraclidæ and Aeneadae; **both**, persecuted by Juno, who has one common ground of antipathy to **both**, viz. descent from rivals of her own, from the wrong side of Jupiter's bed; they **both** visit Hades alive, and return from it no hair the worse; they are **both** translated to heaven,

parallelism acknowledged and testified to even by the scoffer:

"alter aequis, alter flammis ad sidera missus"

both, adored as gods:

Liv. 1. 7. "Sacra diis aliis Albano ritu; Graeco, Herculi, ut ab Evan-
 dro instituta erant, facit (Romulus)." *Aen.* 8. 268,

"Ex illo celebratus honos, laetique minores
 servare diem, primusque Potitius auctor,
 et domus Herculei custos Pinaris sacri.
 hanc aram luco statuit, quae maxima semper
 dicatur nobis, et erit quae maxima semper.
 quare agite, o juvenes, tantarum in munere laudum
 cingite fronde comas, et pocula porgite dextris,
 communemque vocate deum, et date vina volentes."

12. 794,

"Indigetem Aenean scis ipsa et scire fateris
 debet caelo, fasque ad sidera tolli."

Juno in the long run making-up her quarrel with **both**. — giving her daughter Hebe in marriage to Hercules:

Senec. *Octavia*, 210:

"Deus Alcides possidet Heben
nec Junonis jam timet iras"

and entering into solemn covenant with Jupiter not to persecute either Aeneas or his Trojans any more:

12. 838:

"Hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget,
supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis;
nec gens ulla tuos aequae celebrabit honores.
Adnuit his Juno et mentem laetata relorait.
Interea excedit caelo nubemque reliquit."

they **both** visit Pallanteum and are entertained by Evander, who in good, set terms invites Aeneas to condescend to that hospitality which Hercules had not disdained: 8. 363,

"Haec, inquit, limina victor
Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.
Aude, hospes, contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum
finge deo, rebusque veni non asper eganis

(quoque: as well as Hercules).

Dixit et angusti subter fastigia tecti
ingentem Aenean duxit, stratisque locavit
effultum foliis et pelle Libyatis ursae.
Nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis."

where? who is so short-sighted as not to discern, beyond ingens Aeneas in his bear's skin, ingens Hercules himself in his lion's skin, stretched on his bed of leaves asleep in the same comfortable quarters? nay, so full is our author of this famous object of Juno's enmity, that Hercules makes his appearance at every turn, even where he is least to be expected. Entellus's (5. 410)

"Quid si quis caestus ipsius et Herculis arma
vidisset tristemque hoc ipso in littore pugnam?"

is not less a surprize to the reader, who is thinking of any thing but Hercules, than it is an underhand compliment to Aeneas, president of the games, the battle spoken-of being the famous battle in which Hercules, the prototype of Aeneas, had beaten

Eryx the patron god of Entellus who was to be victor in the then impending fight. If the victory of Entellus was a compliment which could not well be avoided to the Sicilian host, it was, with our author's usual inimitable tact, softened both to Aeneas and his companions by the sweet recollection of that greater battle in which even the god and patron of the present victor had been defeated by him whose equal and near relative Aeneas claimed to be:

"Quid Thesea, magnum
quid memorem Alciden? et mi genus ab Jove summo,"

and against whom it was a glory to the Sicilian to have entered the lists, to have so much as stood-up at all: 5. 414,

"His magnum Alciden contra stetit."

Compare Ovid. 9. 5. (Achelous, of his own contest with the same Alcides):

"Nec tam
turpe fuit vinei, quam contendisse decorum est."

As little do we expect Alcides at 6. 801, the subject being the military expeditions of Augustus, yet nothing could be more correct, or in more perfect keeping with the whole plan and system of the work, than this compliment to Augustus, at the expense not only of Hercules, prototype of Aeneas, but of Aeneas, prefigurer of Augustus, it being the part alike of prototype and prefigurer to yield the foremost ground to him, for whose sake alone either is brought on the tapis. In like manner Alcides is perhaps the last of all the gods to whom we should a-priori expect Pallas to address his prayer at the moment he flings his spear at Turnus, yet Alcides is the very god who occurs to Virgil as the most proper, the reason assigned being not that Alcides was himself always invictus and victor, but that Alcides had been his father's guest, had dined at the table of Evander: 10. 460,

"Per patris hospitium et mensas quas advena adisti
te precor, Alcide."

this is the reason assigned — the reason for the reader — but there is another reason in the back ground, the poet's special reason, which only appears later, and not to every reader, viz.

that Pallas, left in the lurch by the God Hercules, guest of Evander:

"Audilit Alcides juvenem, magnumque sub imo
corde premit gemitum, lacrimasque effundit inanes."

may be avenged, both on the spot:

"Proxima quaque molit gladio latumque per agmen
ardens limitem agit ferro, te, Turne, superbum
caede nova quaerens,"

and ultimately:

. . . "Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
Immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit"

by the second, not yet deified Hercules, no-less guest of Evander, and inspired with the very feeling, the guest's obligation, with which Pallas had in vain endeavoured to inspire the god whose place the second Hercules, also guest of Evander, came but a moment too late to fill:

. . . "Pallas, Evander, in ipsis
omnia sunt oculis, mense quas advena primas
tunc adlit dextraeque datae," . . .

where we have not only the sentiment, but almost the very words, of Pallas addressing the god Hercules:

"Per patris hospitium et mensas quas advena adisti"

Still further, if Hercules has his contest with the Stymphalides aves „quae alumnae Martis fuisse dicuntur, quae hoc periculum regionibus inrogabant, quod cum essent plurimae volantes, tantum plumarum stercorumque de se emittebant ut homines et animalia necarent, agros et semina omnia cooperirent" (Serv. ad. 8. 300), Aeneas has his with the Harpies, than whom (3. 214)

"tristius haud . . . monstrum, nec saevior ulla
pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis.
Virginei volucrum vultus, foedissima ventris
proluvies, uncaeque manus et pallida semper
ora fame."

if Hippolyta, virgin queen of the Amazons, is defeated in battle and has her girdle carried off in triumph by an invading Hercules, Camilla, virgin queen of the Volsci, is defeated and falls in battle in defence of her native land against an intruding Aeneas and his Trojan crew. if Hercules, during a temporary lying-to of the Argo on the coast of Mysia, takes bow and arrows in

hand and goes ashore and into the woods to kill game for self and brother Argonauts (who by the by, having obtained a fair wind, rather ungenerously sail-off without him),

Orphic. *Argon.* 640,

αμφι δε κνημος
 Αργανθου κατεφαينه βαθυσκοπελοι τε κολωναι.
 Ηρακληης δ' ηπειγετ' αν' υληεντας εναυλους,
 τοξον εχων παλαμαις ιδε τριγλωχινας οϊστους,
 οφρα κε θηρησαιτο, ποροι δ' επι δορπον εταιροις
 η συας, η πορτιν κεραην, η αγριον αιγα.

Aeneas shipwrecked on the coast of Africa forthwith applies his skill in archery in the same praiseworthy manner, and not only is not left behind by his comrades, but kills one after another no less than seven huge head of deer, and, with the help of his bowbearer Achates, carries them home to the port and his half-starved comrades:

"Nec prius absistit, quam septem ingentia victor
 corpora fundat humi, et numerum eam navibus aequat.
 Hinc portum petit, et socios partitur in omnes."

if Hercules exhibits his brute strength by supporting the heavens on his shoulders for a day, Aeneas exhibits the tenderness and kindness of his heart by taking on his shoulders and carrying away by night safe to the mountains, through the enemy's midst and the flames of the burning city, not only his own and aged father's household gods, but his aged father himself, and deliberately dons the lion's skin for the occasion, 2. 717:

"Tu genitor cape sacra manu patrisque penates.
 Me, bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti,
 attractare nefas, donec me flumine vivo
 abluero.
 Haec fatus latos humeros subjectaque colla
 veste super, fulvique insternor pelle leonis,
 succedoque oneri."

Ovid. *Met.* 13. 624,

"sacra et sacra altera patrem
 fort humeris, venerabile onus, Cythereius heros."

if Hercules buries his friend Pholus, the centaur, at the foot of a mountain which, called Pholoe after him, perpetuates his name and fame to all ages:

Diod. Sicul. *Biblioth. Hist.* 4. 12: ιδιον δε τι συνεβη περι τον Ηρακληους
 φιλον τον αναμαζομενον Φολον. ουτος γαρ δια την συγγενειαν θαπτων

τους πεπτωκότας Κενταύρους, και βελος εκ τινος εξαίρων, υπο της ακιδος επληγη, και το τραυμα εχων ανιατον ετελευτησεν· ον Ηρακλης μεγαλο-πρεπως εθαψεν υπο το ορος, ο στηλης ενδοξου γεγоне κρειττον. Φολεη γαρ ονομαζενον, δια της ομωνυμιας μηνυει τον ταφεντα, και ου δι' επιγραφης.

Aeneas buries his friend Misenus, the trumpeter, at the foot of a mountain, which, called Misenus after him, perpetuates his name and fame to all ages, 6. 232:

"At pius Aeneas ingenti mole sepulcrum
imponit, suaque arma viro, remumque, tubamque,
monte sub Aërio, qui nunc Misenus ab illo
dicitur, aeternumque tenet per saecula nomen."

nor to any one who recollects the flight of Hector before Achilles, or of Turnus before Aeneas himself, will the flight of the latter before the giant cyclops take away much from the parallelism between Aeneas's adventure with cannibal Polyphemus and the adventure of Hercules with cannibal Cacus. as little to any one acquainted with ancient morals and who calls to mind how much more honorable in heroic times was exploit by fair and open day than exploit shrouded in the darkness of the thievish night, 9. 150:

"tenebras et inertia furta
Palladii, caesis summae custodibus arcis,
ne timeant, nec equi caeca condemur in alvo.
luce palam certum est igni circumdare muros."

will the broad-day escapade of Aeneas and Dido in the cave not stand forth in advantageous contrast with the secumbere in the cave, all night long, of Hercules and Omphale, Omphale wearing the lion's skin and Hercules the petticoats. and still less to any one at all versed in the heroic duelling-code will the killing of Turnus by Aeneas appear a less magnanimous and memorable deed than the killing of Cycnus by Hercules either because Aeneas was equipped in a complete suit while Hercules had but three odd pieces, of impenetrable celestial armour, or because while the Vulcanian embossings of the shield of Hercules were emblematic and historic, and occupied in their description no less than one hundred and eighty verses or fully one third of Hesiod's poem, the Vulcanian embossings of Aeneas's shield were of mere prophetic visions of the future

glories of the Aeneadae, wholly unintelligible at the time either to Aeneas or any one else, and occupying no more than one hundred verses, or scarce one seventieth part of the poem of Virgil. Nay — crown and acme of the parallel, last finishing touch of the marble before the model is put out of sight — when Aeneas, following the example of Hercules, visits Hades, and Charon reminded, at first glimpse of him and even before he has approached the boat, of his prototype and the violence committed by his prototype in the domains of Dis, demurs to admit him on board, the Sibyl comes forward to explain that there is no danger to be apprehended here (*hic*), i. e. from *this* visitor, a man of so great tenderness of heart (“*tantae pietatis*”) as to brave all the difficulties and dangers of a descent to Hades in order to see once more and speak with his deceased parent — that very point of difference between Aeneas and Hercules just now insisted-on with so much effect and so much to the disadvantage of Juno, whose persecution of the second Hercules was even less excusable than her persecution of the first, in as much as it was the persecution not of a coarse, rude, iron-hearted, inflexible man: Tzetzes, *Antehom.* 21,

Περσεε γαρ αυτην (Trojan) Ηρακλεος μενος αγριοθυμου.

but of a man of the tenderest, gentlest disposition, “*insignem pietate virum*”. Therefore the question, at once, and exclamation: “*Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?!*” She might have been angry at Hercules, but how could she be angry at Aeneas!?

15.

TANTAENE ANIMIS CAELESTIBUS IRAE

VAR. LECT.

Irae! ■■■ Serv. ed. Lion ("TANTAENE quasi exclamatio est mirantis . . . nonnulli TANTAENE legunt ut interrogatio sit"); Heyne; Brunnck; Wakef.; Wagn. (1832).

IRAE? ■■■ D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); I. H. Voss, Thiel, Jahn, Gossrau, Wagn. (1861); Ladew.; Ribb.; Coningt.;

Very plainly a question, but not the less on that account an exclamation. Very plainly an exclamation, but not the less on that account a question; in other words, a question which is exclaimed, not asked — not proposed for the purpose of being answered — an exclamatory question, as it may be called, or an interrogative exclamation, exactly corresponding to the *Is it possible?!* with which we are so apt to greet alarming news even when it arrives by letter, and no one is near to hear and answer, and not curiosity or desire to know whether the thing be or be not possible (for we know but too well the possibility) has prompted the expression. Regarded as a question the words have never yet received a satisfactory answer; regarded as an exclamation are as apropos at the present day as they were the day they were uttered. and no matter in which light regarded, or whether in both lights at once, are likely to afford to the poets and romance-writers of the next two thousand years as fertile a theme, as they have afforded to their predecessors for the last. Of our author's own not only inability to loose, but want of courage to cut, the Gordian knot: of gods subject to human passions, and the best men worse treated by heaven than the worst, we need no further evidence than the re-presentation, at the distance of no more than one hundred and twenty verses from the end of the poem, of the identical nodus here presented in the fifteenth verse from the beginning. 12. 830:

AENEIDEA,

BOOK I. vv. 16—314.

Since the publication of the First Volume of the Aeneidea the author has died, his death having been, apparently, accelerated by the death of his daughter, Katharine Olivia, his fellow labourer and only child. He, however, left to trustees the publication of the remaining, and by far the larger, portion of the work, the manuscript of which was fortunately complete; and to one of those trustees, John Fletcher Davies, the author specially and confidently entrusted the superintendence of the literary part of the work.

DALKEY LODGE, DALKEY (IRELAND),
June, 1877.

"Es germana Iovis, Saturnique altera proles;
irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus?"

There is a precisely similar exclamatory question, or interrogative exclamation, in the beginning of the fourth Book:

"Quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes?!
Quem sese ore ferens?! quam forti pectore et armis?!"

where Dido as little expects or receives an answer from her sister, as Virgil in our text little expects or receives an answer from his auditor or reader.

The imitations of our text are all in the exclamatory question, or compound of question and exclamation: Milton, *Par. Lost*, 6. 788,

"in heavenly breasts could such perverseness dwell?!"

Pope, *Rape of the lock*, 1. 12:

"and in soft bosoms dwells such mighty rage?!"

Boileau, *Lutrin*, 1. 12:

"tant de fiel entre-t-il dans l'âme des dévots?!"

ANIMIS CAELESTIBUS; *minds of celestials*, with a special reference to Juno; *minds of celestials*, of whom Juno is one; exactly as 7. 432:

"Caelestum vis magna iubet." . . .

power of celestials, with a special reference to Juno: *power of celestials*, of whom Juno is one. The general ANIMIS CAELESTIBUS is less invidious than a second direct and explicit reference to Juno as the angry one had been, exactly as the general "Caelestum vis magna iubet" is more authoritative than a second reference to Juno specially as the authoress of the command. See Rem. 7. 432.

Stabile Pezzini, ai Cavaleggieri, Livorno, Jan. 12. 1867.

Dalkey Lodge, Dalkey, Ireland, Dec. 26. 1872.

16.

URBS ANTIQUA FUIT

FUIT, *was* once, but *is* no longer. See Remark on "Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium," 2. 325; and compare "campos ubi Troia fuit," 3. 11.

The sense was perceived by Servius, if we may judge from his observation (ed. Lion): "Eam deleverat Aemilius Scipio."

18.

DIVES OPUM

Possessed of abundant means; in easy, affluent circumstances; not labouring for subsistence.

The epithet is no less applicable to Carthage *a parte post*, or looked-back-upon as it is here looked-back-upon, after its destruction by the Romans, than is the almost opposite epithet *facilem victu*, applied, verse 449, to its inhabitants, *a parte ante*, or before the settlement of the for-ages-struggling, simple-living colony. See Rem. on "*facilem victu*," verse 449. Compare *Georg.* 2. 468: "*dives opum variarum*," possessing a variety of resources. The exact opposite of *dives opum* is, however, not *facilis victu*, simple in their living, but *nudus opum*—bare of the means of living, ill supplied with the commodities of life—applied by Silius, 14. 211, to Archimedes:

"*nudus opum sed cui caelum terraeque paterent.*"

20.

HIC ILLIUS ARMA

HIC CURRUS FUIT

One can understand why Neptune, god of the sea, should keep his chariot and horses at his splendid submarine villa near Aegae, Hom. *Il.* 13. 20; but it is not so easy to guess why Juno, queen of heaven, wife of Jove, and goddess of the air, should keep not only her currus (chariot and horses: see Rem.), but her arma too, in so out-of-the-way a place as Carthage: "Est in secessu longo locus." Instead, however, of entering on an inquiry which, curious and edifying though it could hardly fail to be, might cost much time and trouble. I shall content myself, and I hope my reader too, with the observation (perhaps less irrelevant than it may seem at first sight), that both sorts of equipments, arma as well as currus, were by their inventors—for reasons no doubt sufficiently clear and convincing to them, however obscure to us—consecrated neither to Pallas nor Mars, nor even to Jove, but to this same wife of Jove, queen of heaven and goddess of the air:—Hygin. *Fab.* 274:

"Phoroneus, Inachi filius, arma Iunoni primus fecit, qui ob eam caussam primus regnandi potestatem habuit."

Cassiodorus, *Var.* 7. 18 (Theodoric's circular to his manufacturers of arms):

"Opus [*viz.* arma] quod mortem generat et salutem, interitus peccantium, custodia bonorum, contra improbos necessarium semper auxilium. Hoc primum Phoroneus Iunoni dicitur obtulisse, ut inventum suum numinis, ut putabat, auspicio consecraret."

Tertull. *de Spectac.* c. ix.:

"Si vero Trochilus Argivus auctor est currus, primo Iunoni id opus suum dedicavit."

21.

. . . . HOC REGNUM DEA GENTIBUS ESSE
 IAM TUM TENDITQUE FOVETQUE

"TENDIT: contendit, allaborat, operam dat. FOVETQUE pro vulgari *studet*; *fovet* hoc, hanc rem, hoc consilium, animo et cogitatione," Heyne.

. . . "dass hier Oberschaft throne den Völkern
 schon jetzo strebt sie und hegt sie," Voss.

. . . . "neque *fovere* sic dictum, ut aliquid secum reputare, volvere cum animo significet, sine exemplo est. Nonne vero ad cupiditatis et studii notionem recte additur acris atque intentae cogitationis, ut Iuno non solum illud cupivisse, sed etiam perpetuo in corde volutasse dicatur," Dietsch (*Theolog.*, p. 18),

quoting as an example of such use of the word *fovere* (viz. as equivalent to *reputare*, *volvere cum animo*) Plaut. *Bacch.* 1076:

"quam magis in pectore meo foveo, quas meus filius turbas turbet,
 quam se ad vitam, et quos ad mores praecipitem inscitus capessat,
 magis curae est, magisque adformido, ne is pereat neu corrumpatur."

That all three commentators are wrong, and that the structure is: TENDITQUE FOVETQUE HOC REGNUM ESSE REGNUM GENTIBUS, i. e. *hoc regnum, ut fiat regnum gentibus*, is placed beyond doubt by Ovid, *Fast.* 5. 45:

"poeniteat quod non fovi [*al. foveo*] Carthagini arces;
 cum mea sint illo currus et arma loco.";

and still more clearly by Prudentius, *contra Symm.* 2. 498:

"et quam subiectis dominam dea gentibus esse,
 si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque foveatque,
 iussit Romuleis addictam vivere frenis.";

(the latter presenting us (Oh, most rare and extraordinary!) with the very evolution, the very parsing of the Virgilian sentence--compare verse 285:

. . . "mecumque fovebit
 Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.");

also by Nonius's quotation of this very passage as proof that *fovere* is equivalent to *nutrire*, *provehere*, as well as by Tacit. *Hist.* 1. 13:

"Hi discordes, et rebus minoribus sibi quisque tendentes, circa consilium elegondi successoris in duas factiones scindebantur. Vinus pro M. Othone; Laco atque Icelus consensu non tam unum aliquem fovebant, quam alium.", where we have the same *tendere* and the same *fovere* used independently of each other, and according to their respective powers, not as in our text, harnessed together under the same yoke.

FOVET, *nurses, cares, takes care of, cherishes*; Gr. *χοιμίζει*. *Od.* 24. 251:

"οὐ μὲν ἀπογῆς γὰρ ἀναξ' ἐνέκ' οὐ σὲ χοιμίζει";

Val. Flacc. 2. 89:

. . . "ruet ille [Vulcanus] polo noctemque diemque
turbinis in morem, Lemni cum litore tandem
insonuit; vox inde repens ut perculit urbem,
acclinem scopulo inveniunt, miserentque foveantque
alternos aegro cunctantem poplite gressus."

TENDITQUE FOVETQUE.—The junction of one verb in a transitive and another in an intransitive sense, with a common object, is illogical; and however frequent in writers of the first class, is to be regarded not as an allowable liberty, but as a defect of style, its effect being always, if I may so say, to give the reader a jolt—to throw him out of the saddle. Had his measure permitted him, our author would no doubt have said with Livy, "*alitque foveatque*:" Liv. 42, 11: "*Itaque Persea, hereditarium a patre relictum bellum, et simul cum imperio traditum, iamiam primum [Qy.? iam primum] alere ac fovere omnibus consiliis.*"

Silius's "*optavit*," 1. 26:

"hic Iuno, ante Argos (sic credidit alta vetustas),
ante Agamemnoneam gratissima tecta Mycenen,
optavit profugis aeternam condere gentem.",

had been too passive, weak and languid.

22.

IAM TUM

“Idque conatur [Iuno] ex quo constituta primum Carthago est; nam hoc est IAM TUM.”—La Cerda. No; but already, at the time we are speaking of, at the time our story begins, at that ancient time indicated by the word *primus*, verse 5, that ancient time when Æneas “*Italiam fato profugus Lavinaque venit litora*,” even then, so long ago, Juno had already taken Carthage under her protection.

Had Juno, at the time of the Trojan expedition to Italy, not yet taken Carthage under her protection, that expedition would have given her no more uneasiness than might have arisen from its being the expedition of a people against whom she had an old grudge, and whom she might therefore be sorry to see on their way to found a great empire, fated, as she had heard, to become the mistress of the world; but having already, even then, IAM TUM, taken Carthage under her protection, with the view of making it queen of the nations, the expedition of the Trojans, a people destined, as it was reported, to occupy the very position she had designed for her protégée, filled her with alarm, and she set herself to oppose it by every means in her power. Compare Ovid, *Heroid. 16. 77* (Paris to Helen):

“sed tamen ex illis iam tum magis una placebat,”

already, at the time I am speaking of, at the time at which my story commences.

23-26.

PROGENIEM SED ENIM TROIANO A SANGUINE DUCI
 AUDIERAT TYRIAS OLIM QUAE VERTERET ARCES
 HINC POPULUM LATE REGEM BELLOQUE SUPERBUM
 VENTURUM EXCIDIO LIBYAE SIC VOLVERE PARCAS

VAR. LECT.

VERTERET **I** *Rom.*; *Med.*; *Ver.* **III** Donatus, Venice (1470); Aldus (1514); Pierius (who observes, however: "Antiqui aliquot codices EVERTERET legunt, quod nonnulli aiunt maiorem prae se ferre conatum."); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Jahn; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Süpfle; Forb.; Ladew.; Haupt; Gossrau; Ribb.; Coningt.

O Fr., Pal., St. Gall.

EVERTERET.—This reading, quoted by Pierius (see above) without specification of MS., has certainly arisen from the misjunction of the E of QUAE with VERTERET.

25 (a).

H I N C

Not "ex hac progenie," with Heyne, Wunderlich, and Thiel.
but *ex hoc Troiano sanguine*. Compare verse 238:

"certe hinc Romanos olim, volventibus annis,
 hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teucri,"

in which passage, not only exactly similar in structure to our text, but actually containing the very promise of which Juno had heard (AUDIERAT), hinc is explained by revocato a sanguine Teucri, the counterpart of the TROIANO A SANGUINE of our text.

25 (b).

POPULUM LATE REGEM

Petr. Apollon. *de Excid. Hierosol.* lib. 1 *in initio*:

. . . "late princeps terrarum Romula tellus."

Having declared in the words

PROGENIEM SED ENIM TROIANO A SANGUINE DUCI
AUDIERAT TYRIAS OLIM QUAE VERTERET ARCES,

that Juno had heard that an offspring (progenies) of the Trojan blood was to overturn Carthage, our author proceeds to explain in the words

HINC POPULUM LATE REGEM BELLOQUE SUPERBUM
VENTURUM EXCIDIO LIBYAE,

who this progenies was to be, viz., that it was to be POPULUM LATE REGEM BELLOQUE SUPERBUM. This is the scope and object of the sentence HINC—LIBYAE, which is therefore no mere tautology, as it has but too often been taken by commentators to be ("Hi duo [vv. 25 et 26] si eximantur, nihilominus sensus integer erit, sed Virgilius amat aliud agens exire in laudes populi Romani," Servius). It had been by no means sufficient to say that an offspring of the Trojan blood was to overturn Carthage. Such enunciation had been too meagre, had altogether failed in placing before the eyes of the reader the nature of the progenies. The progenies might have been, or might not have been, a single man, a conquering general; might have been, or might not have been, a horde of barbarians. It was necessary to place before the eyes of the reader that it was neither, that it was the Roman nation: therefore the POPULUM LATE REGEM BELLOQUE SUPERBUM—words than which none could be more complimentary to the prince and people for whom, in the first instance, the poet was writing. But the words so necessary to explain

what was meant by progenies could not, without too long and complicated a structure and sentence, be added directly to PROGENIEM itself. A second sentence, therefore, became necessary. It would, however, have been tame and prosaic to have added this explanatory sentence in the form of explanation; to have said: "and she had heard that this progenies was to be a wide-ruling and martial people." Instead, therefore, of such direct explanation, our author repeats his previous enunciation in a varied form. Having already informed us that a progenies of Trojan blood was to overturn Carthage, he proceeds to inform us that a wide-ruling and martial people was to overturn Carthage; and so, without seeming to do so, fully explains and sets before his reader what he means by PROGENIEM. But this second enunciation must be clear and distinct; there must be no doubt in the mind of the reader that the POPULUM LATE REGEM BELLOQUE SUPERBUM is the very progenies just spoken of; it must be so connected, on the one hand with the Trojans, and on the other hand with Carthage, as to leave no room for the possibility of doubt. It will not do to repeat the identical words and to say: "populum a Troiano sanguine late regem belloque superbum versurum Tyrias arces;" such repetition were so much of a repetition as to weary and satiate; another word suggesting TROIANO A SANGUINE must be found in place of TROIANO A SANGUINE; another word suggesting VERTERET, in place of VERTERET; and another suggesting TYRIAS ARCES, in place of TYRIAS ARCES. HINC answers in the first case, VENTURUM EXCIDIO in the second, and LIBYAE in the third: and thus we have at last—

HINC POPULUM LATE REGEM BELLOQUE SUPERBUM
VENTURUM EXCIDIO LIBYAE,

a variation—if I may apply to poetry an expression almost consecrate to music—of the theme

PROGENIEM SED ENIM TROIANO A SANGUINE DUCI
AUDIERAT TYRIAS OLIM QUAE VERTERET ARCES.

For this reason, and no other, viz., to fill up and complete the sense, is HINC—LIBYAE added to PROGENIEM—ARCES, and

I have little doubt Virgil's admirers will not deny themselves the pleasure of assigning to the words an origin so much more worthy than that assigned to them by Servius. Not that Virgil did not on all fitting occasions compliment the great nation to which he belonged, and whose blood ran in his veins—that he did so I have admitted, and even shown sufficiently elsewhere; not that he does not do so on the present occasion—I admit that on the present occasion, too, he does so; but I insist against Servius that he does not go out of his way to do so, does not write the lines for the purpose, but—an explanation, a development, of the thought dimly and insufficiently expressed by *PROGENIEM* being absolutely necessary—makes, with his usual tact, such necessary explanation (given in the simplest, easiest, most natural, and unaffected manner) the medium of the highest compliment could possibly be paid to the glorious past of his country.

Of this method of writing, viz., by theme and variation, as I have just called it, having treated at length on the occasion of a much more striking example of it (viz., at verse 550), I shall only observe at present, that it conciliates for the style the advantages of perspicuity, vigour, richness, variety, and impressiveness: **of** perspicuity, because a number of short sentences, each of the simplest possible structure, is always easier to follow and understand than one long and complex sentence, consisting of numerous members connected together by particles and relatives; **of** vigour, because each separate short sentence, having its own separate verb, with separate subject or object, or both, has its own special determinate action; **of** richness, because both subject and object of each short sentence has, or may have, its own proper predicate or predicates—a thing which is impossible in the long sentence, where relative pronouns supply the place of subjects and objects to all the clauses after the first, and which, if it were possible, would render the long sentence wearisome on account of its very “moles,” its cumbersome fulness and richness; **of** variety, because an independent sentence, in which there is an independent co-ordinate verb, an independent subject, and an independent object, affords a better opportunity for

novelty—as well in the verb as in subject and object—than a long sentence, in which verbs, subjects, and objects are all hampered by their mutual connexions and relations; **and of** impressiveness, because not only does a single short sentence impress in a more lively manner than a long one, but because this already and in itself more lively impression of the short sentence is repeated and redoubled by the succeeding short sentences, all having the same ultimate import.

Had this fundamental principle of all good composition, whether prose or verse, been better understood by commentators, we should neither have had La Cerda accusing the passage before us of tautology, and Heyne in vain attempting to defend it from that charge, nor Heyne, Wunderlich, and Thiel so far confounding the whole meaning of the passage as to represent the POPULUM spoken of in the second sentence to be the *progeny of the progeny* spoken of in the first.

Had this fundamental principle of all good composition been more strictly adhered to by our author himself, who should have had fewer *anacolutha* in his writings; fewer confessions of his inability to extricate himself from his own web, to bring to a conclusion the complicated sentence on which he had unhappily ventured; fewer “Ille ego at nunc;” fewer “Id metuens His accensa super;” fewer “cum Iupiter aethere summo sic vertice caeli Constitit;” fewer “Hic vero ingentem pugnam Sic Martem indomitum Cernimus;” fewer “Tum senior Nautes Isque;” fewer “Has Ispe reserat stridentia limina consul.” See Rem. 1. 26 (a).

26.

EXCIDIO LIBYÆ

“Nicht bloss ad Carthaginem delendam, sondern EXCIDIO LIBYÆ,” Thiel. This is not the meaning; nor is there any such wide distinction intended between Libya and Carthage. VENTURUM EXCIDIO LIBYÆ is the mere variation of the theme TYRIAS OLIM QUAE VERTERET ARCES, in the same way as POPULUM LATE REGEM BELLOQUE SUPERBUM is the variation of the theme PROGENIUM TROIANO A SANGUINE. See Rem. vv. 23–26. Nor let the reader take offence at the big word LIBYÆ; there is no poetry without exaggeration, and LIBYÆ does not exaggerate TYRIAS ARCES more than, in the very similar passage and similar theme and variation, 3. 1, “res Asiae” exaggerates “Priami gentem,” “superbum Ilium” and “Neptunia Troia:” nor more than (11. 268) “devictam Asiam” exaggerates “Mycenaeus ductor.”

Against Virgil's fates and Virgil's prophecies I have nothing to say, for, being always made after the event, they are, of course, always true, and even the shade of Anchises, in the sixth book, is wisely mute about all that is to happen after Augustus; but what shall we say of Sidonius Apollinaris' application of these very words, here so happily prophetic, *a posteriori*, of the destruction of Carthage by Scipio Africanus, to the yet-to-come—say rather, as events proved, never-to-come—destruction of the empire of the Vandals in Africa by Majorianus? It is Africa herself who speaks (*Carm.* 5. 100):

. . . “Quid quod tibi princeps
est nunc eximius, quem praescia saecula clamant
venturum excidio Libyae, qui tertius ex me
accipiet nomen? Debent hoc fata labori,
Majoriane, tuo.”

26.

SIC VOLVERE PARCAS

"Sic suo tempore et factorum ordine, per Parcas constituto, eventurum esse," says Wagner (1861), as if he had been explaining, not VOLVERE PARCAS but statuere Parcas; in other words, as if the figure in question had been, not that of rolling or turning over or turning round, but the point-blank opposite, that of fixing firm and immovable, of establishing. Volvere being, as the merest tyro knows, not to fix or determine, but the very opposite, to roll or turn round, the only question either for commentator or reader in this place is: "What are the Parcae said to roll or turn round?" and the merest tyro has his answer ready: either literally their thread, their spindle, or figuratively human affairs, res, represented by their spindle, no matter which; nor is it possible to determine which, or whether both at once—the spindle, and the human affairs represented by it—were not present to the mind of the poet. The VOLVERE of our text is therefore our author's pregnant equivalent for volvere fila, volvere fusum, volvere opus (Sen. *Herc. fur.* 181:

"durae peragunt pensa sorores,
nec sua retro fila revolvunt."

Stat. *Silv.* 1. 4. 1.:

"estis, io Superi, nec inexorabile Clotho
volvitur opus.")

or for volvere res humanas, volvere fata hominum (Senec. *Ep.* 91: "Nihil privatim, nihil publice stabile est; tam hominum, quam urbium, fata volvuntur." Claud. *de Rapt. Proserp.* 3. 410 (Ceres complaining):

. . . . "sic numina fati
volvitur, et nullo Lachesis discrimine saevit?,"

where the deities themselves are said to be rolled by the fates, viz., in the same way as human affairs are rolled by them, that

is to say, figuratively, and as if they were so many spindles. Compare Sil. 1. 114:

“Romanos terra atque undis, ubi competet aetas,
ferro ignique sequar, Rhoetaeaeque fata revolvam.”)

Volvere being thus equivalent to *volvere fusum*, and *volvere fusum* being to spin (*nere*), VOLVERE in our text is equivalent to spin (*nere*), and SIC VOLVERE PARCÆS neither more nor less than: “so the Parcae spin;” as if Virgil had said *sic nere* Parcae; and so we arrive at the Homeric original of which our author’s expression is a copy scarcely even so much as modified—*Od.* 16. 64:

. ὥς γὰρ οἱ ἐπεκλώσεν ταγὲ δαιμῶν,

where ὥς is the SIC, *ἐπεκλώσεν ταγὲ* the VOLVERE (*nere*), and *δαιμῶν* the PARCÆS of our text, and where—to determine, as it were, and place beyond all doubt the plagiarism—the swineherd is gratifying Telemachus’ curiosity concerning Ulysses, verse 57:

αἴτια, ποθὲν τοι ξείνος οὐδ’ ἔκετο; πῶς δὲ ἐ νῆυται
ἡγάγον εἰς Ἰθάκην; τινες ἐμμέναι εὐχέτοισινται;,

exactly as in our text, the Muse is gratifying our author’s curiosity concerning Aeneas:

“Musa, mihi caussas memora, quo numine laeso,
quidve dolens, regina deum tot volvere casus
insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
impulerit.”

Nor is *ἐπικλωθεῖν* (*nere*, *i. e.*, *volvere fusum*, *fila*; *torquere fusum*, *fila*) Homeric only; it is also Aeschylean (Aesch. *Eumen.* 334 (Chorus of Furies speaking):

τοῦτο γὰρ λαχὸς δαιτυμαί
Μοῖρ’ ἐπικλώσεν ἐμπεδῶς ἔχειν,

[hanc enim sortem praepotens Parca, ut firmiter haberem, mihi destinavit])

and Orphic (*Argon.* 714):

οὕτω γὰρ Μοῖραι οἱ ἐπικλώσαντο βαρύνει.

See Rem. on “*volvere casus*,” verse 13.

VOLVERE is in the present time, because what Juno had heard was not that the Parcae would bring about the event

which she so dreaded ("suo tempore et fatorum ordine, per Parcas constituto, eventurum esse," Wagner, 1861), but that the Parcae were then and there, viz., at the very time she heard the report, actually bringing it about. Therefore VOLVERE, and therefore also DUCI: *was being drawn* from Trojan blood. Claudian, on the contrary, using the same expression, puts it into the past time, because he wishes to convey to the reader, not that the Fates were, at the time he speaks of, bringing about a future event, or spinning so that a certain future event would be the result, but that the Fates, at the time he speaks of, actually *did* bring about the event in question, *did* spin the event: Claud. *de Rapt. Proserp.* 2. 4:

"iamque audax animi, fidaeque oblita parentis
fraude Dionaea riguos Proserpina saltus
(sic Parcae volvere) petit."

27 (a).

ID METUENS

"Est haec oratio *ανακολουθος*, indicans animum commotiorem," Wagner (1861). Whose "animus" is "commotior"? Not Juno's, for it is not Juno but Virgil who is speaking; not Virgil's, for Virgil, as yet only explaining causes ("Musa mihi causas memora"), is as cool as a cucumber, as imperturbable as a lawyer opening his case. No, no; there is here no "animus commotior" at all: and if there had been any, it had been indicated not by one long, awkward, drawling, perplexed, encumbered sentence, but by a number of sentences short and pithy, vivid and flashing, like

. . . "Ite—
ferre citi flammas—date tela—impellite remos—
quid loquor—aut ubi sum—quae mentem insania mutat—

infelix Dido nunc te facta impia tangunt—
 tum decuit cum sceptrā dabas—En dextra fidesque
 quem secum patrios aiunt portare Penates—
 quem subiisse humeris confectum aetate parentem—
 non potui abruptum divellere corpus et undis
 spargere—non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro
 Ascanium patriisque epulandum ponere mensis—
 verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna—Fuisset—
 quem metui moritura—Facies in castra tulissem—
 implessemque foros flammis—natumque patremque
 cum genere extinxem—memet super ipsa dedissem.”

The *αἰσχρολογία* in our text, as usually elsewhere, indicates nothing but the embarrassment of the writer, entangled in his own maze, in a sentence which he either is unable, or has not the leisure, or does not take the pains to bring to a happy conclusion. See Rem. on “Progeniem,” 1. 23–26, and Rem. on “Telum—Huic,” 11. 552–554.

27 (b).

VETERISQUE MEMOR SATURNIA BELL

VETERIS,—not *ancient*, or *long bygone*, for the war is still recent, only just over, but *long exercised*, of *long duration*, *inveterate*, or, still more nearly, *veteran*. Compare 6. 449:

“rursus et in veterem fato revoluta figuram.”

Tacit. *Ann.* 1. 20: “Vetus operis ac laboris.” *Ibid.* 6. 44: “Vetus regnandi.” *Aen.* 4. 23: “Veteris flammae.” *Georg.* 1. 378: “Veterem querelam.”

28.

PRIMA QUOD AD TROIAM PRO CARIS GESSERAT ARGIS

PRIMA.—“Atqui Hercules prior contra Troianos pugnavit; unde modo PRIMA princeps accipienda est,” Servius. The usual error, not of Servius only, but of all commentators, and, if I may so say without offence, of all readers, viz., that of taking strictly and prosaically that which is meant loosely and figuratively. PRIMA is here neither *first of all, in order of time*, nor *first in order of rank, princeps*, “*tanquam dux faxque belli*” (Wagner, 1861); but, as *primus*, verse 5, *in former time*, or as we begin our stories for children, *once on a time, prius, olim: VETERIS BELL* PRIMA QUOD AD TROIAM GESSERAT, exactly as we would say: “the weary war which she had formerly waged at Troy.” We have in English a somewhat, though not exactly, similar loose use of *first*, viz., where we use it with reference to the former of two, in which case the Romans always said prior.

AD TROIAM; exactly our *at Troy*: “Ad et apud confusé ponuntur,” says Arusianus (*Exemp. Eloc.*), quoting this passage.

29.

NECDUM ETIAM CAUSSAE IRARUM SAEVIQUE DOLORES
EXCIDERANT ANIMO

CAUSSAE IRARUM SAEVIQUE DOLORES, not two distinct things, *the causes of her anger, and the agonizing pains*, but *the agonizing pains which were the causes of her anger*; see Rem. verse 31.

IRARUM, the anger to which she had given vent on occasion of the Trojan war. There is some confusion between these irae and the iram of verse 8, these irae continuing and forming

a part, not the whole, of the latter—a confusion which is increased by the relative position of the two words, the *irae* which were first in order of time being placed last in order of narration.

CAUSSAE, the causes of the ire which she vented on the Trojans at Troy. These CAUSSAE, persisting in Juno's mind so as to form part of the causes of her present anger against Aeneas, are of course comprehended among the caussas of verse 12. Hence still further confusion in the same term caussae being used in a general sense, verse 12, and in a particular sense, in our text; in other words, the CAUSSAE of our text being only a part of the caussas of verse 12. See Rem. on "caussas," verse 12.

NECDUM ETIAM CAUSSAE IRARUM SAEVIQUE DOLORES EXCIDERANT ANIMO. The pangs which had caused her original anger (*IRARUM* in our text) had not subsided, but had become part of the causes of her present anger (*iram*, verse 8). The entire meaning is that the anger which moved Juno to persecute Aeneas was not a new but an old affair ("memorem *iram*," verse 8), was the continuance of the anger ("*irarum*," verse 29) which had caused her to take part against the Trojans in the war of Troy, to which was now added the further ground that a report had reached her—"audierat," &c.

DOLORES is an accidental, not express and intentional, repetition of *dolens* (verse 13); just as CAUSSAE, IRARUM, and SAEVI are accidental, not express and intentional, repetitions of *caussas* (verse 12), *irae* (verse 15), and *saevae* (verse 8). Compare *Aen.* 5. 530, and sequel, where the occurrence of *maximus*, *magnum*, and *magno*, within the space of eight lines; and *Aen.* 6. 413, where the occurrence of *ingentem*, *ingens*, *ingens*, within the space of fourteen lines; and 1. 269, where the occurrence of *regnantem*, *regno*, *regnum*, *regnabitur*, *regina*, within the space of nine lines; and 11. 35, where the occurrence of *moestum*, *moesto*, and *moesti*, within the space of seventeen lines; and 12. 883, where the occurrence of *ima* in one line, and *imos* in the next affords but too convincing evidence how little careful

Virgil was to avoid the accidental recurrence of the same word and thought. See Var. Lect. ("Invisam"), 4. 541; also Rem. on "Ingentemque Gyas ingente mole Chimaeram," 5. 118.

Such accidental recurrence, within a short interval, whether of the identical word and thought, or of the word and thought slightly modified, is a defect of style carefully to be avoided by a good writer. In the same proportion as the reader is pleased and delighted with the new and various, he is displeased and offended by whatever savours of the "*clambe repetita*." Well for the writer, if his negligent repetition passes by unobserved by the equally negligent, perhaps yawning, reader. It is the most he can hope for; for, pleasure being the child of new impression only, to give pleasure is reserved for him who makes new impressions. Scarcely even for so much can the writer hope, who accidentally and negligently repeats. He has not only forgotten that he has just used the word or expression, but *à fortiori* forgotten in what sense he has used it. It is therefore mere accident whether he uses it now in the same sense, and is only dull and monotonous, or in so different sense as to awake and startle the nodding reader, who feels as if he had knocked his head against a lintel. Such blemishes of style, to call them by no harsher term, confronting us here in the very first page, where, if anywhere, we might expect the writer to be on the *qui vive*, we need not be astonished if a little further on (3. 360), passing from the *nox* of one verse to the *noctis* of the next, we find that the two nights spoken of, though seeming to be identified by the addition of *illius* to the second, are not only not the same night but not even the same kind of night, the latter being the real literal night, the night of the action, the former, metaphorical night, the darkness or shadow of death—

"nox atra cava circumvolat umbra.
quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando,
explicet?"—

an oversight so astounding, so incredible, we would say it was impossible the author could have written the two verses at one time or even read them over in sequence, if we had not a still

worse confusion of terms within the limits of a single sentence, 12. 684:

“ac veluti montis saxum de vertice praeceps
cum ruit avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber
proluit, aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas,
fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu,
exultatque solo,”

where the author, forgetting that he has already denominated by the term *mons* the mountain from the top of which the stone has fallen, bestows the same term on the falling stone, and so presents us with the picture of a *mons* falling *de vertice montis*; or, to take a view of the passage certainly not intended by Virgil but no less certainly warranted by the words, presents us with the picture of a mountain itself tumbling over and rebounding from the ground after a great stone has fallen from the top of it.

31.

IUDICIUM PARIDIS, SPRETAEQUE INIURIA FORMAE

Not two distinct causes of Juno's anger, viz., the judgment of Paris, and the slight of her beauty, **but**—IUDICIUM PARIDIS being a theme of which SPRETAE INIURIA FORMAE is the variation—one cause only, viz., the slight thrown on her beauty by (or in) the judgment of Paris. Compare 6. 351, where, in a sentence of exactly similar structure, “*puer Ascanius*” and “*capitis iniuria cari*” are not two distinct subjects, but one subject viewed in two different lights; in other words, where “*puer Ascanius*” is a theme, of which “*capitis iniuria cari*” is the variation, the entire sense of the two clauses taken together being *the injury done to the dear boy, Ascanius*. See 1. 23–26, 1. 29, and 1. 550.

32 (a).

GENUS INVISUM

Ovid. *Met.* 10. 552 (Venus to Adonis, of wild beasts):

“invisumque mihi genus est;”

Senec. *Thyest.* 491 (Atreus soliloquizing):

“plagis tenetur clusa dispositis fera.
et ipsam, et una generis invisi indolem
iunctam parenti cerno.”

GENUS INVISUM, *the hateful race, the hatefulness of the race, the odious brood*. Our author enumerates three causes—two particular and one general—of the anger which Juno had vented against the Trojans on occasion of the war of Troy. The particular are the insult offered to her by the judgment of Paris, and the affront she had taken at the promotion of Ganymede; the general, the hatefulness of the whole Trojan stock. By thus inserting between two more precise and special causes of Juno’s ancient *irae* and *dolores* a third cause of a more general nature, our author has avoided the danger there was that the enumeration of causes might present the appearance of a catalogue. Add to which, that the brief GENUS INVISUM, *the hateful race*, thrown in between the two more particularly detailed causes, expresses a *virus*, a concentration of feeling, which had only been weakened by particularization—by a tracing-up, for instance, of the feeling to its source, as it has been traced up by Ovid, *Fast.* 6. 41 (Juno herself speaking):

“tunc me poeniteat posuisse fideliter iras
in genus Electrae, Dardaniumque domum.”

Servius, therefore, in his “genus Electrae,” and Wagner (1861) in his “propter Dardanum, Iovis ex Electra, Iunoni invisa, filium,” not only do not explain their author’s meaning, but lead their readers away from it; that meaning being, not that the Trojan race was hateful to Juno, because descended from Elec-

tra or from Dardanus, but that that race was hateful to her, was an abomination to her (no matter for what reason), and that therefore in the Trojan war she took part against those who were of that race, exactly as at present she takes part against and persecutes Aeneas and his companions because they are of that race, that *GENUS INVISUM*, *that hated brood*. The glosses of Servius and of Wagner, explanatory of the cause why the *GENUS* was *INVISUM*, leave wholly untouched the meaning of the words themselves, the relation in which they stand both to the war of Troy and the expedition of Aeneas to Italy. The precise thought is repeated, 7. 293:

“heu stirpem invisam, et fatis contraria nostris
fata Phrygum,”

—not, *the brood, hated because the brood of Electra, or because the brood of Dardanus, but the hated brood!* Hatred continues, especially in cases where a nation is its object, long after the cause of the hatred has been forgotten.

32 (b).

RAPTI GANYMEDIS HONORES

This passage affords a striking example how grossly Virgil has sometimes been misunderstood, not merely by those more ancient commentators who enjoy the credit of having best understood him, and against whose oracular enunciations it is almost profanity to demur, but by our own more recent and better educated—Nonius, amongst the former, citing this passage as proof that *honores* is sometimes used in the sense of *integritas*, *pudicitia*: “HONOR: *integritas*: *pudicitia*: Virg. *Aen.* 1: ‘Et rapti Ganymedis honores,’” and so of course referring *RAPTI* to *HONORES*; and Wagner, amongst the latter, while noticing this error of the ancients, committing himself the

hardly less, or more excusable error, of understanding RAPTI to be used contemptuously:

"Alīi RAPTI HONORES iungunt; rectius RAPTI GANYMEDIS; et RAPTI cum contemptu dicitur, ut apud nostrates *entführt*, quod corrumpendi rationem involvit; magna autem est doloris et contemptus coniunctio," Wagner, 1832.

The former of these egregious errors few of my readers will, I should hope, require me to discuss at all. With respect to the latter (that of a contemporary of my own, who has on many occasions not deserved ill of his author), suffice it to say that it is not Juno, but Virgil himself, who speaks, and —however excusable in Juno, grievously injured and insulted as she was by the honours conferred on Ganymede, a contemptuous mention of those honours might have been—a contemptuous mention of them by Virgil had been utterly unwarrantable, had found no echo in the breast of any one of those for whom Virgil more immediately wrote; for every one of whom, no less than for all preceding ages, the honours conferred on Ganymede were the highest which could be conferred on mortal; Ganymede having been not merely —like Hercules, Romulus, and other highly favoured individuals— translated to heaven, but translated to heaven directly by the Omnipotent himself, *Aen.* 5. 254.

. . . "quem praepes ab Ida
sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis,"

to be beside him always, to pour wine for him, and lie in his arms, his own well-loved boy—

Il. 20. 231:

Τρωες δ' αὖ τρεις παῖδες ἀμνημονες ἐξεγέροντο,
Ἰλος ἰ' Ἀσσιαρχος τε, καὶ ἀντιθεὸς Γανυμήδης,
ὅς δ' ἡ καλλιστός γένετο θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων·
τὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπων θεοὶ ἴα οἶνον χορεύειν,
καλλέος εἵνεκα οἷο, ἢ ἀθανάτοισι μετῆη.

Hymn. in Ven. 203:

ἦτοι μὲν ξάνθον Γανυμήδεα μετῆτα Ζεὺς
ἦρπας' εὖν δια καλλός, ἢ ἀθανάτοισι μετῆη,
καὶ τε Διὸς κατὰ θῶμα θεοὶς ἐπιονοχοεῖναι,
θαύμα ἰδεῖν, πάντεσσι τετιμένους ἀθανάτοισι,
χρυσέου ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀγέσσω νεκταρ ἐρυθρον.

Herodian, 1. 10:

ενθα και τον Γανυμηδην αρπασθεντα, αφανη γενεσθαι λογος, ανθελ-
χοντων αυτον του αδελφου και του εραστου. αφανους δε γενομενου του
σωματος εκθειασθηναι το παιδος του μειρακιου ες μυθον και την Διος
αρπαγην.

Even if Virgil had been, which he was not, sufficiently enlight-
ened himself to regard the honours conferred on Ganymede as no
honours at all but the deepest disgrace and misfortune, and had
been at the same time sufficiently independent-minded, which
also he was not, to fly directly in the face of Augustus and the
whole Roman court and nation; still he could not with any po-
etical propriety—here, in the very beginning of a poem written
with the express purpose of doing the greatest possible honour
to Troy and the Trojans—have cast a wanton uncalled-for slur
upon Ganymede, *αντιθεος Γανυμηδης* [*Il. 20. 232*], third son
of Tros, brother of Ilus and Assaracus, grand-uncle of Priam,
great-grand-uncle of Aeneas himself. No, no; Virgil was not
so mal-adroit as either to utter himself, or put into the mouth
of Juno, any contempt for the honours conferred on Ganymede
by his rape. On the contrary, those honours (the highest honours
it was possible for heaven to confer, *Hymn. in Ven. 206*:

παντισσι τετιμενος αθανασιοισιν,

Herod. *l. c.*:

εκθειασθηναι το παιδος του μειρακιου ες μυθον και την Διος αρπαγην,

and compare Valer. Flaccus 2. 414:

“pars et frondosae raptus expresserat Idae,
illustremque fugam pueri,”)

are the objects of Juno's jealousy (jealousy, observe, not con-
tempt. Compare Statius, *Silv. 3. 4. 13*:

“illa [Ida] licet sacrae placeat sibi laude rapinae,
nempe dedit superis illum, quem turbida semper
Iuno videt, refugitque manum, nectarque recusat;”

Ovid. *Met. 3. 256*:

“sola Iovis coniux non tam culpetne [poenam Actaeonis] probetne
eloquitur, quam clade domus ab Agenore ductae
gaudet, et a Tyria collectum pellice transfert
in generis socios odium. Subit ecce priori
causa recens, gravidamque dolet de semine magni
esse Iovis Semelen,”

where, no less than in our text, there are two special jealousies of the same pre-eminently jealous goddess, confluent no less than the two special jealousies in our text into a jealous hatred of a whole race) just because they are so high (for neither were Juno's morals those of our more refined era, nor was Jupiter's predilection for Ganymede offensive to her *per se*, but only in so far as it affected herself, only in so far as Ganymede came between her and Jupiter); and being so high, and conferred besides on a scion of a hated race—"invisum genus"—a race only the more hated on account of those very honours, are with the greatest propriety set down here last in the list, though first in order of time, of those old grudges with which the royal consort's retentive memory (*memorem*) blew into flame the sparks of anger (*iram*) freshly struck out of her heart of flint by that Trojan expedition to Italy, which threatened to put an end to her cherished dream of Carthaginian greatness, and formed the subject of our author's poem. Great, however, as has been Wagner's mistake, and total as has been Wagner's misconception of the drift and meaning of the words, the mistake and misconception have, like most others of the same commentator, found not merely an asylum but an impregnable *arx* in the Lyceums of Germany, from behind the battlements of one of which was hurled a few years ago at the obscure author of the paragraph "rapti," in the *Adversaria Virgiliana* of the Göttingen Philologus—happily however without the effect of totally annihilating him—the following formidable *falarica*:—

"Wenn anderwärts rapere bloss zur Bezeichnung des Raubens ohne alle Nebenbedeutung gebraucht wird, so folgt daraus nicht, dass es nicht auch mit einer solchen gebraucht werden könne. Wie viele Wörter erhalten oft gerade durch den Zusammenhang, in welchem sie stehen, und selbst durch den Ton, in welchem sie gesprochen werden, eine ganz scharfe, nur für ihre Stelle berechnete Bedeutung! Und dies selbst im gewöhnlichen Gespräche. Wem fiel es z. B. ein abzusprechen, dass das Wort 'schön' durch Verbindung oder Betonung im Gedankenzusammenhange etwas ganz anderes bezeichnen könne, als seine ursprüngliche Bedeutung angibt?" Beilage zum Programm des Grossherzogl. Lyceums zu Freiburg i. B. für 1858—9, von K. Kappes. Freiburg i. B. Universitäts-Buchdruckerei von H. M. Poppen & Sohn.

Nor is the error of our author's German translator much

less than that of his German commentators; for though in Voss's

"sammt dem verhassten Geschlecht, und wozu Ganymedes geraubt sei," there is no contempt either of Virgil himself or of Virgil's Juno for Ganymede, there is on the other hand no honores at all, nor any even the smallest equivalent for that important word—that, to say the least of it, last third of the whole thought, whose first third is Ganymede, and whose second third is RAPTI. The whole three thirds are indispensable. Had GANYMEDIS been omitted, it might have been queried of whose rape the discourse was; or if it had been quite clear of whose rape the discourse was, the relation of the rape, on the one hand to Juno and on the other to the INVISUM GENUS, had not been sufficiently evident at first sight, had been to be made out by historical reference and inquiry. Had RAPTI been omitted, and only GANYMEDIS and HONORES expressed, the rape had not been at all presented to the eye of the reader, but only the honours conferred in heaven on the already-translated Ganymede; and had HONORES been omitted, and only RAPTI and GANYMEDIS expressed, there would have been on the one hand, as in Voss's translation there is, and as there is in Ovid's (*Fasti*, 6. 43):

"causa duplex irae: rapto Ganymedo dolebam;
forma quoque Idaeo iudice victa mea est,"

for Juno no more than half the ground for offence (viz., the rape only, and not both the rape and the honour conferred by the rape, not only on Ganymede himself, but on the whole detested race); and on the other hand, the graceful compliment to Augustus and the Roman nation—viz., that one of their ancestors enjoyed the *honor* of being translated to heaven expressly to be the "puer amatus" of Jove—had been altogether wanting. Voss's omission is the more remarkable, because it is the omission of a translator accustomed scrupulously and conscientiously to supply his readers with a more or less exact representative of each individual word of his author, not only on those occasions on which he believes he has made out the thought which the words taken together are intended to express, but on those at least equally numerous occasions on which, aware that he has

himself been unable to discover that thought, he makes not even the smallest attempt to present it to his reader.

RAPTI, not (with Wagner, Forbiger and Kappes) contemptuous, and meaning *entführt*, but carried off, snatched up to heaven, Lucan, 1. 195:

. . . "O magnae qui moenia prospicis urbis
Tarpeia de rupe, Tonans, Phrygiique penates
gentis Iuleae, et rapti secreta Quirini,"

where rapti Quirini is precisely the RAPTI GANYMEDIS of our text, and where by no possibility can contempt or disrespect of any kind be meant. Ovid, *Met.* 9. 271 (of Hercules):

"quem pater omnipotens, inter cava nubila raptum
quadriiugo curru radiantibus intulit astris,"

where so far is raptum from being *entführt*, or conveying disrespectful or dishonourable inuendo that it is actually joined with "quadriiugo curru radiantibus intulit astris," and Hercules raptus drives like a second Elijah in triumphal chariot or coach-and-four into heaven. Ovid, *Met.* 2. 506:

. . . "et celeri raptos per inania vento
imposuit caelo, vicinaque sidera fecit,"

where the rapti, viz., Calisto and Arcas, not only are not *entführt* or otherwise dishonourably treated or spoken of, but have the high honour paid them of being turned into constellations and fixed permanently in the sky: and, especially, Ovid, *Met.* 11. 754 (of Aesacus):

"regia progenies, et si descendere ad ipsum
ordine perpetuo quaeris, sunt huius origo
Ilus et Assaracus raptusque Iovi Ganymedes,
Laomedonque senex, Priamusque novissima Troiae
tempora sortitus,"

where Ovid, always clear and transparent as the Castalian stream itself, sets forth in his brief "Jove-ravished" the honour conferred on Ganymede by his rape, leaving to Virgil to add honores for the benefit of those who require to be told that Jove's rape was an honour—then, as in after times, the greatest honour could be conferred on mortals. Also Tacitus, *Hist.* 1. 26:

“adeoque parata apud malos seditio, etiam apud integros dissimulatio fuit, ut postero Iduum die, redeuntem a coena Othonem rapturi fuerint, nisi,” &c. *Hist. 1. 27*: “Ibi tres et viginti speculatores consalutatatum Imperatorem, ac paucitate salutantium trepidum, et sellae festinanter impositum, strictis mucronibus rapiunt.” And *Hist. 1. 29*: “Adfertur rumor rapi in castra incertum quem senatorem, mox Othonem esse qui raperetur,” where the grave historian designates the carrying-off of Otho by his friends, in order to place him on the throne of the Caesars, by the identical term by which our author designates the carrying-off of Ganymede in order to instal him as the “puer amatus” of Jove. Compare *Genesis, 5. 24*: “And Enoch walked with God; and he was not; for God took him:” an *enlèvement* never not regarded honourable either by Jew or Christian, and placed in the same category with the rape of Ganymede, even by a Prime Minister of the British Crown; Gladstone, *Juventus mundi*: “The legend of Ganymede, which was afterwards perverted to the purposes of depravity, is in Homer perfectly pure, and indeed seems to recall, though it is in a lower form, the tradition of Enoch, ‘who was not, for God took him’” (*Gen. 5. 24*).

Compare also Anthol. Palat., *Append. Planud.*, c. 16, *Epigr. 48*:

Προκλος εγω Πανλου, Βυζαντιος, ον περι δωμη
τηλεθυσοντα Δικης βασιληϊος ηρπασεν αυλη,
οφρ' ειην στομα πιστον ερισθενεος βασιληος,
αγγελλει δ' οδε χαλκος, οσον γερας εστιν αιθλων,

where it is as impossible to doubt the honourable nature of the rape as it is to overlook the reference to, and direct comparison with, the rape of Ganymede.

The more dishonourable in Juno's estimation had been the honours conferred by Jupiter on a house she hated, the more composing and consoling, not the more inflaming, had been also the effect of those honours on Juno's mind.

HONORES. Apul. *Met. 4. 84* (Venus, who is jealous of the honours paid to Psyche, threatening Psyche, for whom men had forsaken the worship of Venus): “Sed non adeo gaudens ista, quaecunque est, meos honores usurpabit.”

33 (a).

HIS ACCENSA SUPER

"Super his, aut de his; aut super metum Carthaginis, his quoque accensa," Serv., ed. Lion, the former of the two interpretations being preferred by Burmann: "super his accensa, i. e., propter haec." Most other commentators, however, prefer the latter; which is, as I think, undoubtedly the true one:—First, because the causes of Juno's hostility to the Trojans are thus the more clearly set out and distinguished from one another. Secondly, because *super* is joined after the same manner and in the same sense with *incendere* by Valer. Flaccus (2. 126), where, speaking of Fame, already and of herself kindled or inflamed, he says:

"hanc super incendit Venus atque his vocibus implet."

Thirdly, because it is Virgil's own habit thus to use *super* adverbially: *Aen.* 7. 461:

"saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli,
ira super;"

11. 225:

"hos inter motus, medio in flagrante tumultu,
ecce super moesti magna Diomedis ab urbe
legati responsa ferunt;"

2. 70:

"cui neque apud Danaos usquam locus, et super ipsi
Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt;"

and fourthly, because it is so used by Phædr. 4. 23. 14:

"super etiam iactas, tegere quod debet pudor;"

add to all which, we are expressly so informed by Priscian, *Inst.* 14. 52 (ed. Hertz ap. Keil): "Invenitur [*super*] tamen etiam verbo adiuncta vel nominativo participii in quo sine dubio adverbium esse ostenditur, ut Virg. in I. *Aeneid.*:"

"his accensa super, iactatos aequore toto".

33 (b)—36.

IACTATOS AEQUORE TOTO
TROAS RELIQUIAS DANAUM ATQUE IMMITIS ACHILLI
ARCEBAT LONGE LATIO MULTOSQUE PER ANNOS
ERRABANT ACTI FATIS MARIA OMNIA CIRCUM

Not ACTI FATIS MARIA OMNIA CIRCUM, but ERRABANT MARIA OMNIA CIRCUM—these words, ERRABANT MARIA OMNIA CIRCUM, being a repetition of IACTATOS AEQUORE TOTO, and IACTATOS AEQUORE TOTO being a return to, or repetition of, “multum ille iactatus alto,” verse 7; all these wanderings, all this tossing about on the sea being in their turn, as we are informed in the next line, but so many difficulties put in the way of the foundation of the Roman nation. The subject-matter of our text is: How did these wanderings, this tossing over the whole sea, happen? Why, if the Roman nation was to be founded, was it not founded at once, out of a face, as the vulgar expression is? Our text informs us why. Juno was set against it; could not, indeed, prevent its happening in the long run, but (according to ancient no less than to modern religious opinion—see Rem. on “vi superum”, 1. (8a)), could put obstacles in the way, could make it all but impossible; could delay, annoy, tease, harass, and perplex to no end the chosen of heaven, the called according to heaven’s purpose. Hear herself (7. 313):

“non dabitur regnis, esto, prohibere Latinis,
atque immota manet fatis Lavinia conjux:
at trahere, atque moras tantis licet addere rebus:”

or, if you don’t believe the queen of heaven, hear the king (10. 625):

“hactenus indulsisse vacat. Sin altior istis
sub precibus venia ulla latet, totumque moveri
mutarive putas bellum, spes pascis inanes;”

in other words, *if thou want any thing more than this, know that even I, however willing, am yet wholly powerless to help thee, for*

that Jupiter is not speaking of any unwillingness of his own to oblige Juno, but solely of the restraint under which he in common with Juno was held by the almighty fates appears, not only from the word *vacat*, "it is free to me" (viz., to oblige thee so far), but from Lucan's *exposé* of the faith (6. 604):

"impia laetatur vulgatae nomine famae
Thessalis, et contra: Si fata minora moveres,
pronus erat, o iuvenis, quos velles (inquit) in actus
invitos praebere Deos. Conceditur arti,
unam cum radiis presserunt sidera mortem,
inseruisse moras: et, quamvis fecerit omnis
stella senem, medios herbis abrumpimus annos.
at simul a prima descendit origine mundi
causarum series, atque omnia fata laborant,
si quidquam mutare velis, unoque sub ictu
stat genus humanum; tunc, Thessala turba fatemur,
plus fortuna potest."

Accordingly, Juno, making use of her indubitable right, her *concessa potestas*, ARCEBAT LONGE LATIO TROAS, RELIQUIAS DANAUM ATQUE IMMITIS ACHILLEI; and they, poor people, who could not stop, or turn about and seek a home elsewhere—for they were ACTI FATIS, impelled forward by the inexorable fates to the very spot from which Juno kept them off (LONGE ARCEBAT)—wandered about as a necessary consequence MULTOS PER ANNOS, IACTATI AEQUORE TOTO:

TANTAE MOLIS ERAT ROMANAM CONDERE GENTEM!

the very picture presented to us in different colours, at verse 236:

. . . "quibus tot funera passis
cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis."

Commentators, not understanding the drift of the passage, viz., to point out the antagonism between the two forces—the force of the fates, driving towards Latium, and the force of Juno, keeping off from it—an antagonism on which the whole action of the poem turns; and confounding *agere* with *iactare* have understood the words ACTI FATIS as expressive of the fated wanderings, troubles, adventures and sufferings of the Trojans, and busied themselves with a vain discussion how those wander-

ings, adventures, and sufferings, so constantly elsewhere ascribed to the ill-will of Juno, should here be ascribed, not to the ill-will of Juno, but to the fates. Hence Servius's "Si FATIS, nulla Iunonis invidia est. Si Iunonis invidiâ fatigabantur, quomodo dicit ACTI FATIS? Sed hoc ipsum Iunonis odium fatale est. Agebantur FATIS Iunonis, i. e., *voluntate*." Hence Heyne's "Non tam quoniam hoc Iunonis odium fatale erat, ut Servius; sed potius, quoniam hi ipsi Troianorum errores fatales erant;" and hence Voss's

. . . "und viele der Jahre
irrten, vom Schicksal gejagt, sie umher durch alle Gewässer."

Wagner has kept clear of the error—in his earlier editions by silence, in his edition of 1861 by almost literally translating from my Twelve Years' Voyage of Discovery, and *Adversaria Virgiliana*: "Sic factum est ut circum omnia maria errarent ACTI FATIS, quae eos nusquam consistere patiebantur, antequam invenissent sedem destinatam."

ACTI FATIS, driven, impelled, carried onward by the fates, in the one invariable direction, viz., towards Latium, Ovid, *Met.* 8. 3:

. . . "dant placidi cursum redeuntibus Austri
Aeacidis, Cephaloque, quibus feliciter acti
ante expectatum portus tenuere petitos;"

carried on in the one desired direction, viz., towards port, 7. 199:

"sive errore viae, seu tempestatibus acti,
.
fluminis intrastis ripas, portuque sedetis;"

not iactati, *tossed about*, **but** driven, i. e., driven in this direction, driven hither, 7. 239:

"sed nos *fata* deum vestras exquirere terras
imperiiis *egere* suis."

8. 333:

"me pulsum patria, pelagique extrema sequentem,
Fortuna omnipotens, et ineluctabile Fatum,
his posuere locis: matrisque *egere* tremenda
Carmentis Nymphae monita, et Deus auctor Apollo."

8. 131:

"sed mea me virtus et sancta oracla Divum,
cognatique patres, tua terris dedita fama,
coniungere tibi, et *fatis egere* volentem."

7. 223:

. . . "quibus actus uterque
Europae atque Asiae fatis concurrerit orbis,"

(where we have the picture of the two orbs or worlds of Europe and Asia, each of them impelled by the fates ('actus fatis'), encountering each other, dashing against each other, like two knights in the middle of the lists, exactly as we have in our text the picture of the Trojans impelled by the fates (ACTI FATIS) towards Italy, and met full in front by the thwarting force of Juno warding them off, driving them back (ARCEBAT LONGE LATIO)). Compare also *Aen.* 3. 5:

"auguriis agimur divum" . . .

and 6. 379:

"prodigiis acti caelestibus."

Ovid, *Met.* 11. 721:

. . . "fluctibus actum
fit propius corpus [Ceycis];"

not tossed backwards and forwards, or it would never have come nearer, **but** driven forwards, Senec. *Oedip.* 980 (chorus, enunciating the Necessarian philosophy):

"fatis agimur; cedite fatis;"

not we are tossed hither and thither by the fates, **but** we are driven onward by the fates, as explained by the immediately subsequent

"dura revoluta manu
omnia certo tramite vadunt,
primusque dies dedit extremum;"

and, to leave the Latin and ascend to the original Greek word, Pind. *Nem.* 11. 42 (ed. Boeckh):

. . . καὶ θνατὸν οὕτως ἔθνος ἀγεί.
μοῖρα

[where Dissen “notum *αγειν* imprimis de fato”]; **not** drives hither and thither, **but** drives or leads on, Soph. *Oed. Colon.* 1547 (ed. Elmsl.):

Oed. τηδε γαρ μ' αγει
Εκμης ο πομπος, η τε νερετρα θεος

not drives hither and thither, **but** drives or leads on. See Rem. on “*Italiam fato profugus . . . venit*,” verse 6, and on “*Cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis*,” v. 237.

35.

ARCEBAT

Ειργε, Juno's old trick; Callim. *Hymn. in Del.* 59:

τω ρα και αυτη [Juno] μεν σκοπιην εχεν αιθερος εισω,
σπερχομενη μεγα δη τι και ου γατον. ειργε δε λητω
τειρομενην ωδισι. θυω δε οι κωτο γροιοι
γαιαν εποπτεοντες. ο μεν πεδον ηπειροιο
ημενος υψηλης κορυφης επι Θρηϊκος Αιμοι
θυρος Αρης εγκλασσε συν εντεσι.

η δ' επι νησικων ετερη σκοπος ειρεικων
ηστο, κορη Θανιμαντος, πλαϊζισα Μιμνντι.
ενθ' οι μεν πολιεσαιν, οσαις επεβαλλετο λητω,
μιμνον απειλητηρες, απετρωπων δε δεχασθαι.

And Pausanias 9. 11. 2:—*Ενταυθα εισιν επι τυποι γυναικων
εικονες, αμνδροτερα ηδη τα αγαλματα ταυτας καλονσιν οι Θηβαιοι
Φαρμακιδας, λεμφθηναι δε υπο της Ηρας φασιν εμφοδια ειναι
ταις ωδισιν Αλκμηρης· αι μεν δη επειχον Αλκμηρην μη τεκειν.*

34.

RELIQUIAS DANAUM ATQUE IMMITIS ACHILLI

Lycophron, *Cassand.* 662 (ed. Potter):

εποφεται δε λευφανον τοξευματων
 του Κηραμιντου, Πενκεως, Παλαιμονος,
 "videbit deinde sagittarum Reliquias
 Alexicaci, Tediiferi, Palaemonis."

Valerian. Pierius, *Hexam. Od.*, etc., p. 110, ed. Ven. 1550:

"vivimus en miseræ post saeva incendia Romæ,*
 totque neces, pestes, exitii omne genus;
 reliquiae immanis Germani, immitis Iberi,
 vivimus, et nondum funditus occidimus."

36-48.

CUM IUNO
 HAEC SECUM
 PALLASNE EXURERE CLASSEM
 ARGIVOM ATQUE IPSOS POTUIT SUBMERGERE PONTO

 IPSA IOVIS RAPIDUM IACULATA E NUBIBUS IGNE
 DISIECITQUE RATES EVERTITQUE AEQUORA VENTIS
 ILLUM EXSPIRANTEM TRANSFIXO PECTORE FLAMMAS
 TURBINE CORRIPUIT SCOPULOQUE INFIXIT ACUTO
 AST EGO QUAE DIVOM INCEDO REGINA IOVISQUE
 ET SOROR ET CONIUNX UNA CUM GENTE TOT ANNOS
 BELLA GERO

Compare, and it can hardly be imitation, Ovid, *Met.* 4. 422

* The sack of Rome by a league in 1527 between the King (Francis I.) of France and Emperor (Charles V.) of Germany, in the Pontificate of Clement VII. (Card. Giulio de' Medici.)

(of the same Juno meditating vengeance on Ino and Athamas):

“nec tulit; et secum: Potuit de pellice natus
 vertere Maeonios, pelagoque immergere, nautas,
 et laceranda suae nati dare viscera matri,
 et triplices operire novis Minyeidas alis;
 nil poterit Iuno, nisi inultos flere dolores?
 idque mihi satis est? haec una potentia nostra est?”

37.

TANTAE MOLIS ERAT

So great a job was it, exactly as (well quoted by Conington) Liv. 25. 11: “Via, quae in portum per mediam urbem ad mare transmissa est, plaustris transveham naves haud magna mole,” without having any great job of it, without much trouble.

38.

IN ALTUM

ALTUM, not *the deep* (*profundum*), but *the high*, the Roman notion of the sea being that it was high, elevated above the land; verse 385:

“bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor,”
 where see Rem.; also Rem. on “alto prospiciens,” verse 130.

40.

AETERNUM SERVANS SUB PECTORE VULNUS

Theocr. *Idyll.* 11. 15 (of Polyphemus):

. . . εχθιστον εχων υποκαρδιον ελκος.

41.

MENE INCEPTO DESISTERE VICTAM?

Not "am I to desist," but, "am I, I Juno, to desist?" "Is it I, I Juno, who am to desist?" The key to the meaning is afforded no less by the position of MENE, first word in Juno's soliloquy (see Rem. 2. 246), than by "ast ego, quæ divum incedo regina, Iovisque et soror et coniux," verse 50, where ego is in so high a degree emphatic. Compare "Tunc ille Aeneas?" verse 621—Is it possible *thou* art that Aeneas? also, Ovid, *Heroid.* 9. 21 (Dejanira to Hercules):

"tene ferunt geminos pressisse tenaciter angues?"

—Is it *thou* they say squeezedst? Is it of thee they tell that thou squeezedst?

42.

ITALIA TEUCRORUM AVERTERE REGEM

Not merely, turn away, but turn *back*, from Italy; make him turn from Italy, so as to show his back. So Ovid (*Metam.* 9. 53), of Hercules in the combat with Achelous forcing his adversary round, and then jumping upon his back:

"impulsumque manu (certum mihi vera fateri)
protinus avertit, tergoque onerosus inhaesit."

And Virgil himself (*Aen.* 4. 389), of Dido turning her back on Aeneas as she goes away and leaves him:

. . . "seque ex oculis avertit et aufert;"

and, *Aen.* 8. 207, of Cacus driving the oxen from their stable to his cave:

"quatuor a stabulis praestanti corpore tauros
avertit,"

not merely turns off from their stable, but drives from their stable in the opposite direction: and especially, Livy, 7. 8: "His inter se vocibus concitati, clamore renovata, inferunt pedem: et primum gradu moverunt hostem, deinde pepulerunt; postremo iam haud dubie avertunt." See Rem. on 1. 572.

43.

QUIPPE VETOR FATIS

✓ We are only at the forty-third line of the poem, and behold already, for the third time put forward, the contention, the contrariety of purpose, between gods on the one hand and fate on the other, the bone of contention being always the same, viz.: the sovereignty of the world, whether to be given to Rome or Carthage. We have this contention in the very first verses of the prologue, where the fates have in the long run brought Aeneas to Italy:

"Italiam fato profugus Lavinaque venit
litora,"

notwithstanding all the exertions of adverse gods to keep him away:

. . . "multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
vi superum;"

and where (notwithstanding all the wars raised against him by these same adverse gods:

"multa quoque et bello passus" . . .

comp. 7. 310 and seqq.) he becomes the forefather of the Roman people, the pioneer of the builders of Rome:

. . . "dum conderet urbem
inferretque deos Latio, genus unde Latinum
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae."

We have it repeated, gone back upon, in the peroration or summing-up of the prologue:

. . . "iactatos aequore toto
Troas, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli,
arcebat longe Latio; multosque per annos
errabant, acti fatis, maria omnia circum;"

and for the third time we have it here, where the queen of the gods herself, about to take her first decisive step in the new campaign she is entering upon against Troy, reflects that she is going directly in the teeth of the fates, and—simultaneously with the reflection—contemptuously sets at nought the rival potency, the co-ordinate estate: QUIPPE VETOR FATIS! The fates won't allow me, forsooth! Let them hinder me if they can. I don't believe one word of it. Shall I have less of my own way than Pallas? If I sit down content, and allow myself to be thus lorded over, who from this day forward will ever again recognize me as the queen of heaven or lay one offering on my altar? In other words, what use in Gods if the Fates rule? The very question put by theist and atheist alike at the present day; and which, answered by the theist to himself as Juno answers it in her own breast, is answered by the atheist aloud as it is answered by Virgil and the poem.

45.

UNIUS OB NOXAM ET FURIAS AIACIS OILEI

UNIUS belongs not to OILEI, but forms a separate object for NOXAM, as OILEI forms a separate object for FURIAS; in other words, the structure is OB NOXAM UNIUS [hominis], ET FURIAS AIACIS OILEI: first, because it is according to our author's usual habit of expressing a complex thought, not in one complex sentence, but in two or more simple sentences; secondly, because we have the exactly similar expression "unius ob iram" standing by itself at verse 255; and thirdly, because the corresponding

Greek expression, *ενος λωβης αντι*, stands by itself in Lycophron, *Cassandr.* 365 (Sebastiani):

*ενος δε λωβης αντι, μυριαν τεκνων
Ελλας στεναξει πασα τους κενους ταιφους,
ουκ οστοθηκαις, χοιραδων δ' εφημενους.**

Compare Sall. *Histor.* 1. 41 (ed. Dietsch): "Leges, iudicia, aerarium, provinciae reges penes unum [*i. e.* Sullam];" Sen. *Herc. Oct.* 467 (Dejanira speaking):

. . . . "carmine in terras mago
descendat astris luna desertis licet,
et bruma messes videat, et cantu fugax
stet deprehensum fulmen, et versa vice
medius coactis ferveat stellis dies:
non flectet unum,"

where, as Virgil in our text by the single word *unius*, Seneca produces by the single word *unum* (the one single man, viz. Hercules) the entire effect produced by Livy, 24. 34, by the two words *unus homo*: "Et habuisset tanto impetu coepta res fortunam, nisi unus homo [one single man, viz., Archimedes] Syracusis ea tempestate fuisset." Compare also Tacit. *Annal.* 13. 20: "Sed cuicumque, nedum parenti, defensionem tribuendam; nec accusatores adesse, sed vocem unius ex inimica domo adferri." Tacit. *Annal.* 15. 44: "Unde quanquam adversus, sontes et novissima exempla meritos miseratio oriebatur, tanquam non utilitate publica, sed in saevitiam unius absumerentur." Tacit. *Agric.* 27: "Iniquissima haec bellorum conditio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur." Tacit. *Annal.* 3. 53: "Maius aliquid et excelsius a principe postulatur, et cum recte factorum sibi quisque gratiam trahant, unius invidiâ ab omnibus peccatur."

The reproach contained in *UNIUS OB NOXAM* is turned against Juno herself by Venus, verse 255: "*Unius ob iram.*"

UNIUS NOXAM, the offence of a single person; the injury, the

* *εφημενους*, ed. Canter, Leipz., 1788, in which Mr. Davies does not find any appropriate signification. The verse is translated by Canter:

"non urnis, sed scopulis insidentia."

harm done by a single person: FURIAS AIACIS OILEI, the madness of Ajax Oileus—the first clause being a thesis of which the second is an epexegetis, a general enunciation of which the second is a particularization; and the two clauses together making up the sense: on account of the insane offence of a single person, Ajax Oileus. Compare Aesch. *Sept. adv. Theb.* 1001 (Antigone of Polynices and Eteocles, who had slain each other):

ὦ δαιμονώτες ἐν αἰτῇ
 "heu insanientes in perniciē!"

where, in αἰτῇ we have the NOXA of our text, and in δαιμονώντες the FURIAS.

FURIAS OILEI. The fury of Oileus, *i. e.* furious Oileus. Claud. *6 Cons. Honor.* 105: "Gildonis furias," the fury of Gildo, *i. e.* furious Gildo. Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 265: "Hippolytus, furiis direptus equorum," the fury of horses, *i. e.* furious horses.

NOXAM ET FURIAS AIACIS OILEI. Auson. *Epigr.* (in Didus imaginem):

"sed furias fugiens atque arma procacis Iarbae,"

the war with which I was threatened by furious Iarbas.

48-49.

ILLUM EXPIRANTEM TRANSFIXO PECTORE FLAMMAS
 TURBINE CORRUPUIT SCOPULOQUE INFIXIT ACUTO

VAR. LECT.

INFLIXIT I *Rom., Med.* II $\frac{1}{3}$. III Rome, 1469; Venice, 1470; Aldus (1514); P. Manut.; all editors.

INFLIXIT II $\frac{0}{15}$. III "Cornutus ait: INFLIXIT verius, ut sit vehementius," Servius, ed. Lion; "Sunt qui legant INFLIXIT, . . . quod ego nusquam in veteribus codd. observavi. Sane vero Ti. Donatus INFIXIT . . .," Pierius.

O. *Fr., Pal., Ver., St. Gall.*

This passage has been generally understood in the sense assigned to it by Voss:

“ihn, der hell ausdampft aus durchschmettertem Busen den Gluthauch,
hub sie im Wirbel empor, und spießt an ein scharfes Gestein ihn.”

How is our author to be relieved from the opprobrium of having placed so absurd, so revolting a picture in the vestibule, on the very threshold, of his great poem? Is it by summarily rejecting not only these two, but the whole four verses as spurious? “Rau in *Schediasm.* p. 24, hos quatuor versus tumore tragicos insignes ab hoc loco alienos et ab alia manu adiectos habet,” Forbiger. The whole four verses are in all the MSS., and quotations are made from one or other of them by Probus, Servius, Macrobius, and Priscian. Is it by reading INFIXIT? Nobody has yet pointed out a single MS. in which that reading is to be found. Is it by understanding INFIXIT to be used in the sense of illisit? “Ipsum vero Pallas fulmine percussum procellae vi scopulo etiam illisit,” Heyne. Who ever before heard of infigere used in such sense? Or what was to hinder Virgil, if he had meant illisit, from saying illisit, with Hyginus, 116: “Ajax Locrus fulmine est a Minerva ictus, quem fluctus ad saxa illiserunt, unde Aiakis petrae sunt dictae.” The word would have suited his measure precisely as well. Is it by understanding the unhappy wretch to have been already dead when he was thus spitted on the sharp rock? “Ihn selbst mit dem Blitze, und liess sodann seinen Leichnam von den Wellen an die Klippen spiessen,” Ladewig. If such had been the meaning, we had had, not ILLUM EXPIRANTEM PECTORE (or CORPORE) but pectus (or corpus expirans). ILLUM EXPIRANTEM can only be spoken of a living man, and even if it could be spoken of a corpse, the picture had been scarcely less revolting, less absurd; the act performed by Pallas scarceley less undignified, less unworthy of the goddess. How then? In what other way, if in none of these, is Virgil's painting, Pallas's action, to be vindicated, the painting to be made worthy of the painter, the action of the actor? In the simplest way in the world, viz., by understanding infigere to be used in our text

in the only sense in which *infigere* is ever used anywhere, viz., in that of *infixing*, *i. e.* forcing into a place or thing, in such manner that the object so forced remains fixed in it, cannot get out: Cicer. *de Divinat.* 2. 31: "Timide fortasse signifer evelebat, quod fidenter infixerat." *Aen.* 9. 746:

. . . . "portaeque infigitur hasta."

12. 375:

"lancea consequitur, rumpitque infixā bilicem
loricam."

Senec. *Oedip.* 1036 (Jocasta speaking):

. . . "utrumne pectori infigam meo
telum, an patenti conditum iugulo imprimam?"

Aen. 12. 721:

"cornuaque obnixa infigunt"

Tacit. *Ann.* 1. 43: "Cur enim primo concionis die ferrum illud, quod pectori meo infigere parabam, detraxistis." Waltherius, 1292:

"nam veniens [hasta] clipeo sic est ceu marmore laevi
excussa, et collem vehementer sauciat, usque
ad clavos infixā solo."

Aen. 4. 4:

. . . "haerent infixi pectore voltus
verbaque."

Sil. 12. 738:

. . . "natis infigunt oscula matres."

Sil. 8. 127 (of Dido):

"oscula, qua steteras, bis terque infixit arenae."

Ovid, *Trist.* 1. 5. 9:

"haec mihi semper erunt imis infixā medullis."

Senec. *Thyest.* 97 (Tantalus to Megaera):

. . . "quid famem infixam intimis
agitas medullis."

INFIXIT, then, in our text is not impaled, but the very opposite, infixed, *firmly fixed in or on*; and differs from *imposuit*

only in the greater firmness with which the object is placed, inasmuch as it is not merely placed *on*, but placed *in*, fixed *in*. Compare Ovid, *Metam.* 2. 506 (of Callisto and Arcas carried off and placed among the constellations):

. . . "et celeri raptos per inania vento
imposuit caelo, vicinaque sidera fecit,"

where the sense were not changed, but only rendered stronger, the action intensified, by the change of *imposuit* into *infixit*. But SCOPULO ACUTO, what is it? "The sharp rock on which he was impaled, or spiked; the sharp rock which ran into his body," answer all the commentators: "Spiesst an ein scharfes Gestein ihn," Voss; "Liess seinen Leichnam von den Wellen an die Klippen spieessen," Ladewig. But we have seen that he was not impaled or spitted at all, but only *infixed*, *firmly fixed in* or *on*. SCOPULO ACUTO, therefore, is the sharp rock on which he was firmly fixed. But how or in what manner was he thus infixed? What was the picture in Juno's mind as she uttered these words? Was it of Ajax, snatched out of his ship in a whirlwind, and carried through the air to a rock and set on it, as Niobe was snatched up in a whirlwind and carried through the air to Mount Sipylus (Ovid, *Met.* 6. 310:

"flet tamen, et validi circumdata turbine venti
in patriam rapta est, ubi fixa cacumine montis
liquitur, et lacrymas etiamnum marmora manant;"

where, let it be observed *en passant*, that "fixa cacumine montis" is not *impaled on* but *fixed on*, *i. e.* set on, planted on, the summit of the mountain); as Callisto and Arcas were carried up to heaven (Ovid, *Met.* 2. 506:

. . . "et celeri raptos per inania vento
imposuit caelo, vicinaque sidera fecit");

and as, bating the chariot of fire and horses of fire, our own Elijah was carried up to the same place (*H Παλ. Διαθ., Βασιλ.* 4. 2. 1: *Και εγενετο εν τω αναγειν Κυριον εν σισσεισμου τον Ηλιου ως εις τον ουρανον. Ibid.* 4. 2. 11: *Και ιδου αρμα πυρος, και ιπποι πυρος, και διεστειλεν αναμεσον αμφοτερων και ανεληφθη Ηλιου εν σισσεισμου ως εις τον ουρανον*)? No; this were too

widely to deviate from the myth which always represents Ajax as in the water, as swimming and struggling personally with the waves; Quint. Calab. 14. 548:

Αἴας δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν περινηχέτο δουρατι νηος,
 ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ χειρεσσὶ διήνυν αἰμυρά βενθῇ,
 ἀκαμάτω Τίτηνι βίην ὑπεροπλὸν εἰκώς·
 σχίζετο δ' αἰμυρὸν οἶδμα περὶ κρατερῆσι χερεσσὶν
 ἀνδρὸς ὑπερθυμοῖο· θεοὶ δὲ μὴν εἰσορώοντες
 ἠγορήν καὶ κάρτος ἐθαμβεῖον ἄμφι δὲ κυμα
 ἄλλοτε μὲν φορεῖσκε πέλωριον, ἧτ' ἐπ' ἀκρὴν
 οὐρεὸς νηηλοῖο δι' ἡέρος· ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
 νηοθεν ἀνδρὰ φαραγξὶν ἐνεκρυφέν· οὐδ' οὔτε χεῖρας
 καμνέ πολυτλήτους· πολλοὶ δὲ μέγ' ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα
 σβέννυμενοι σμαραγίζον ἐσὼ ποντοῖο κεραινοὶ·
 οὐπώ γάρ οἱ θυμὸν ἐμῆδετο κῆρι δαμασσαι
 κούρῃ ἐριγδουποῖο Δίος μῦλα περ κοτεούσα,
 πρὶν τλήναι κακὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἀλγέσι παγχυ μογήσαι·
 τουνέκα μὴν κατὰ βενθοῦ· ἐδαμνετο δῆρον οἴζυς
 παντοθε τειρομένον.

Philostr. *Icon.* 2. 13 (of the painting in the Neapolitan gallery, of Ajax on the rock of Gyarus): *Αἱ τοῦ πελαγὸς ἀνεστηκνῖαι πέτραι, καὶ ἡ ξέουσα περὶ αὐτὰς θαλάττα, ἥρως τε δεινὸν βλέπων ἐπὶ τῶν πέτρων, καὶ τι καὶ φρονηματος ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν θαλάτταν, ὁ Λοκρὸς Αἴας. Βεβλήται μὲν τὴν εἰαυτοῦ νᾶν, ἐμπύρου δὲ αὐτῆς ἀποπηδήσας ὁμοσε κελωρῆκε τοῖς κύμασι, τῶν μὲν διεκπαίων, τὰ δὲ ἐπισπῶμενος, τὰ δὲ ὑπαντλῶν τῷ στερνῷ. Γυραὶ δ' ἐντιχῶν (αἱ δὲ Γυραὶ πέτραι εἰσὶν ὑπερφαινούσαι τοῦ Αἰγαίου κολπῶν), λόγους ὑπερφρονᾶς λέγει κατὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Ποσειδῶν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς Γυρας στέλλεται, φοβερὸς, ὦ παι, καὶ χεῖμωνος πλείως, καὶ τὰς χαιτὰς ἐξηρμενος. Καὶ τοι ποτε καὶ συνεμαχεί τῷ Λοκρῷ κατὰ τὸ Πίον, σκῆρονουντι δὲ καὶ φειδομένῳ τῶν θεῶν, καεργῶνν αὐτὸν τῷ σκηπτρῷ. Νῦν δὲ ἐπεὶ δὴ ὑβρίζοντα ὄρα, τὴν τριαινὰν ἐπ' αὐτὸν φέρει, καὶ πεπληξεται ὁ ἀρχὴν τῆς πέτρας, ὁ ἀνεχὼν τὸν Αἰάντα, ὡς ἀποσεισάιτο αὐτὸν αὐτὴ ὑβρεῖ· Seneca, *Agam.* 537:*

. . . "transit [fulmen] Aiace[m], et ratem,
 ratisque partem secum et Aiakis tulit.
 nil ille motus, ardua ut cautes salo
 ambustus exstat, dirimit insanum mare,
 fluctusque rumpit pectore, et navem manu

complexus in se traxit, et caeco mari
 collucet Aiax: omne resplendet fretum.
 tandem occupata rupe, furibundum intonat,
 superasse nunc se pelagus, atque ignes;"

Val. Flacc. 1. 372:

. . . "et tortum non ab Iove fulmen Oileus
 qui gemit, Euboicas nato stridente per undas."

Or, is the picture in Juno's mind that of Ajax in his ship; of the ship of Ajax whirled away by the turbo and stuck on a rock, as Serestus (5. 204) is said to have stuck on a rock—

. . . "saxis in procurrentibus haesit"—

the ship which carried Serestus having stuck on a rock? No; for first, this were not merely a departure, but a double departure, from the myth, which represents the ship as foundering at sea, and Ajax saving himself by swimming (Philostratus, as above: *Βεβλήται μὲν τὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦν, ἐμπύρου δὲ αὐτῆς ἀποπηδήσας ὁμοσε κελωρῆκε τοῖς κύμασι, τῶν μὲν διεκπαιῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐπισπῶμενος, τὰ δὲ ὑπαντλῶν τῷ στεγνῷ . . . ὁ δ' Αἰᾶς* [having reached and clambered up the rock] *οἶον ἐκ μέθης ἀναφερῶν περιὰθρει τὸ πελάγος οὔτε ναῦν ὀρῶν, οὔτε γῆν*); and, secondly, ILLUM in the emphatic position—first word in the line, and so far preceding its verb, and joined, besides, to EXPIRANTEM—can only be Ajax himself personally; whose fate, as contradistinguished from that of the vessels, already disposed of in the two preceding lines, comes now to be treated of.

What then was that fate? what was it happened to Ajax? He was struck with lightning, and thrown by the storm on a sharp rock. Juno does not specify more particularly; she is not relating the story to persons ignorant of it, and therefore requiring, in order to understand it, to be informed of the details; she is referring to the well-known myth for her own satisfaction only, and in illustration of her own case. The details are no doubt all present in her memory: how Ajax was struck with lightning; how the ship he was in, set on fire by the lightning, was whirled away by the storm; how Ajax leaped into the sea out of the burning vessel just before it went down, and, with

the greatest difficulty reached, by swimming, the sharp, rugged, inhospitable rock of Gyarus. Instead of going through all these particulars, Juno "sequitur summa fastigia rerum"—strikes Ajax with lightning, catches him in a whirlwind, and fixes him on a sharp rock. Her TURBINE CORRIPUIT, SCOPULO INFIXIT reminds us of *veni, vidi, vici*. In the one case the blanks are filled up by the mythographer, as in the other by the historian. "This is all very well," I am told, "if we only had an example of some one else infixed on a rock without being impaled on it." Let us see. What is it Seneca says of himself when he is about to be banished to Corsica (*Epigr. 9. 13*)?

"ille tuus quondam magnus, tua gloria, civis
infigar scopulo. Corduba, solve comas."

Is not this "infigar scopulo" the very SCOPULO INFIXIT of our text? What more remote from Seneca's thought than all notion of impaling? Or what more remote from the same Seneca's thought than all notion of being pasted, or glued to anything, when, speaking of the same exile, he says to Crispus, *Anthol. Lat.* (Meyer), 135. 11:

"en hic qui iaceo saxis telluris adhaerens!
mens tecum est, nulla quae cohibetur humo."

Let us see again: with what word is it Prometheus expresses his being infixed on Caucasus by Jupiter, as a ship is tied (adnectunt) to the shore by sailors? Is it not by this very infixit? Attius' translation of Aeschylus' lost tragedy, *Προμηθεὺς λυόμενος* (Cicero, *Tusc. Quaest. 2. 10*):

PROM. . . . "navem ut horrisono fi
noctem paventes timidi adnectunt navitae:
Saturnius me sic infixit Iupiter,
Iovisque numen Mulcibri adscivit manus.
Hos ille cuneos fabrica crudeli inserens,
perrupit artus: qua miser sollertia
transverberatus, castrum hoc Furiarum incolo."

"Jupiter," says Prometheus, "infixed me here, pinned me here, fastened me here, with nails driven through my limbs"—an infixing more mechanical, indeed, than that of Seneca on the island of Corsica, but being still the point-blank opposite of im-

paling. Nor let any one demur to the authority of Seneca and Attius, or insist that such loose metaphorical use of *infigere* is rare and exceptional; such use of the word is of the commonest:

. . . "haerent infixi pectore vultus
verbaque;"

"haec mihi semper erunt imis infixae medullis;"

and

. . . "natis infigunt oscula matres,"

quoted above. And—still more loose and metaphorical, as well as still more parallel to our text—Sil. 9. 173 (Decius to the Capuans):

"hi [Romani] sunt qui vestris infixum moenibus hostem
deiecere manu, et Capuam eripuerunt superbis
Samnitum iussis,"

where an enemy, not merely not in possession of the fortifications of the city but not even attacking the city, and only threatening to attack it (Liv. 7. 29–33, inclusive), is said to be *infixus* on the fortifications; also Attius, *Prometh.*, quoted above, Prometheus speaking:

"atque haec vetusta, saeculis glomerata horridis,
luctifica clades nostro infixae est corpori,"

where the "*clades infixae corpori*" is the "*vultur.*" Compare also the precisely similar figurative application of *affigere*, 5. 852:

. . . "clavumque affixus et haerens
nusquam amittebat;"

10. 160:

. "Pallasque sinistro
affixus lateri;"

Val. Max. 2. 1: "Iuvenes . . . aliquem ex patribus conscriptis, aut propinquum, aut paternum amicum, ad curiam deducebant, affixique valvis expectabant, donec reducendi etiam officio fungerentur;" **also** of *inhaerere*, the intransitive of *infigere*, Flor. 4. 12: "Daci montibus inhaerent: Cotisonis regis imperio, quoties concretus gelu Danubius iunxerat ripas, decurrere solebant, et vicina populari;" Flor. 2. 6: "Nec ideo tamen

Italia visceribus inhaerentem submovere poterat Annibalem;" **and** of haerere, Flor. 2. 2 (of Regulus): "Ipsam belli caput Carthaginem urgebat obsidio, ipsisque portis inhaerebat."

SCOPULO INFIXIT, then, in our text, is not *impaled on a rock*, not even *fixed into a rock*, but *fixed on a rock*, no matter how—stuck on a rock, as we would say; and differs in no respect except the greater intensity of the compound verb from "fixus cautibus," the expression used by Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* 5. 196, in his penciling of the same picture:

. "fixusque Capharei
cautibus, inter aquas flammam ructabat Oileus,"

nor in any respect, except its similarly greater intensity, from "cautibus affigere," the expression used by Pliny in his account of crowds of informers pinned to sharp rocky precipices by Trajan (Plin. *Paneg.* 35): "Memoranda facies, delatorum classis permissa omnibus ventis, coactaque vela tempestatibus pandere, iratosque fluctus sequi, quoscunque in scopulos detulissent. . . . Quantum diversitas temporum posset, tum maxime cognitum est, quum iisdem, quibus antea cautibus innocentissimus quisque, tunc nocentissimus affigeretur; quumque insulas omnes, quas modo senatorum, iam delatorum turba compleret, quos quidem non in praesens tantum, sed in aeternum repressisti, in illa poenarum indagine inclusos;" in which last passage we have culprits carried by angry billows (as in our text Ajax by the turbo), and pinned *to* sharp and precipitous cliffs (as in our text Ajax is pinned *in* or *on* a scopulus acutus)—the meaning being, in the one case as in the other, not literally and mechanically pinned, but figuratively pinned; in other words, confined to or on a cautes, or on a scopulus acutus, by means of the surrounding sea. Compare the similar metaphorical use of affigere, Valer. Maxim. 2. 1. 9: "Quocirca iuvenes, senatus die, utique aliquem ex patribus conscriptis, aut propinquum, aut paternum amicum, ad curiam deducebant, affixique valvis expectabant, donec reducendi etiam officio fungerentur," and the τειχεῖς χοιραδῶν ἐφημεροῖς ("sepulcra scopulis insidentia," Canter, *sepulchres seated on scopuli, set on scopuli, stuck on*

scopuli) of this very Ajax and his comrades, Lycophr. *Cassandr.* 365 (Sebastiani):

ενος δε λωβης αντι μυρων τεχνων
Ελλας στεναξει πασα τους κενους ταφους,
ουκ οστοθηκας, χοιραδων δ' εφημενους.

SCOPULO, one of the Gyarae, a group of sharp, bare, aiguille-shaped rocks standing up out of the Aegean sea, Hom. *Odys.*

4. 499:

Αιας μεν μετα νηυσι θαμη δολιχρητμοισιν.
Γυρῆσιν μιν πρώτα Ποσειδάων ἐπελάσσειν,
πέτρῃσιν μεγάλῃσι, καὶ ἐξεσάωσε θαλάσσης·
καὶ νῦν κεν ἐκφυγέῃ Κῆρα, καὶ ἐχθόμενος περ Ἀθηνῆ,
εἰ μὴ ὑπερφιάλον ἔπος ἐκβάλῃ, καὶ μεγ' ἀσθθῇ·
φῆ ῥ' ἀεχθῇ θεῶν γυγῆειν μέγα λαίτμα θαλάσσης.
τοὺν δὲ Ποσειδάων μέγαλ' ἐκλύεν ἀνθησαντος·
αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ τριαίναν ἔλων χερσὶ στήβαρῃσιν
ἤλασε Γυραίην πέτρην, ἀπο δ' ἐσχίσεν αὐτήν·
καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοθι μένει, τὸ δὲ τρυγὸς ἐμπέσει ποντῷ,
τῷ ῥ' Αἴας τὸ πρῶτον ἐφεζόμενος μέγ' ἀσθθῇ·
τὸν δ' ἐφορεῖ κατὰ ποντόν ἀπειρόν τι κυμαίνοντα.
[ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐνθ' ἀπολώλεν, ἐπεὶ πῖεν ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ]:

Philostr. *Icon.* 2. 13 (of the Neapolitan painting): Αἱ τοὺν πελάγους ἀνεστειλῆναι πετραι, καὶ ἡ ζέουσα περὶ αὐτὰς θαλάττα, ἥρως τε δεινὸν βλέπων ἐπὶ τῶν πετρῶν, καὶ τι καὶ φρονημάτων ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν θαλάτταν, ὁ Λοκρὸς Αἴας. . . αἱ δὲ Γυραι πετραι εἰσὶν ὑπερφαινοῦσαι τοῦ Αἰγαίου κόλπου . . . καὶ πεπληξεται ὁ αἰχὴν τῆς πέτρας, ὁ ἀνεχὼν τὸν Αἴαντα, ὡς ἀποσεισάιτο αὐτὸν αὐτῇ ὑβρεῖ. . . ὁ μὲν δὲ Ποσειδὼν ἐμβάλων τὴν τριαίναν ἀπαράξει τὸ τρυγὸς αὐτῷ Αἴαντι τῆς πέτρας, αὐτὸς δὲ Γυραι αἱ λοιπαὶ μένουσι τε, ἐς ὅσον θαλάττα, καὶ ἀσπίλοι ἐστιγῆζοσι τῷ Ποσειδῶνι: Quint. Calab. 14. 580:

καὶ νῦν κεν ἐξηλύξε κακὸν μορὸν, εἰ μὴ ἂν αὐτῷ
• ῥήξας αἶαν ἐνερθεν ἐπὶ προεήχε κολωνῇν
εἴτε παρὸς μεγάλῳ κατ' Εὐχελάδοιο διαίτῳ
Πάλλας αἰφαιμένη Σικελὴν ἐπικαββάλε νῆσον,
ἣ ῥ' ἐπὶ καίεται αἶαν ἐπ' ἀκαμάτοιο γίγαντος,
ἀθάλοεν πνεύοντος ἔσω χθονός· ὡς ἂν Λοκρὼν
ἀμφεκαλύψεν ἀνακτὶ δεσπυμορὸν οὐρούς· ἀκρῇ
ὑβρὸς ἐξερρίπονσ' ἄρ' ἐν δὲ κακώτερον ἀνδρῶν
ἀμῆν δὲ μὲν θανάτοιο μέλας ἐκίχησ' ὀλέθρος·
γῆν οὐκ ὡς δαμάσσειν καὶ ἀνυγῆται ἐνὶ ποντῷ:

and Seneca, *Agam.* 552:

. . . "plura cum auderet furens,
tridente rupem subruit pulsam pater
Neptunus, imis exserens undis caput,
solvitque montem; quem cadens secum tulit;
terraque et igne victus et pelago iacet."

On one of these rocks Pallas, not impaled, but infixed Ajax, as Seneca (above) expected to be infixed on the scopulus of Corsica; as Prometheus (above) was infixed, though more closely and mechanically, on the Caucasian rupes; as the first Napoleon was infixed on the "naked rock" of St. Helena—

"ein nackter Fels, fern von Europas Küste,
ist zum Gefängniß ewig ihm bestimmt;"

and as, in our own times, Garibaldi was infixed on the *scoglio* of Caprera, *La Riforma* [Newspaper], Florence, Oct. 28, 1867: "Sullo scoglio di Caprera essi avevano incatenato [*infixed, confined*, for he was not put into chains] non Garibaldi ma il destino d'Italia." If it was proper for Seneca, *Epigr.* 9. 14 (above) to designate Corsica by the term scopulo, and (*Consol. ad Helv.* 8: "Toties huius aridi et spinosi saxi mutatus est populus") to designate the same island by the term saxum; if it was proper for Pindar to designate Delus, after it had been fixed on immovable pillars, by the term *πετρα* (Pind. *Fragm.* 5, ed. Dissen (of Delus):

δη τότε τεσσαρες ορθαι
πρεμων κλωρονων χθονων,
αν δ' επικρανους σχεθον πετρων αδαμαντοπεδιλοι
κιονες,"

where Delus is called *πετρα* merely to distinguish it from floating Delus), how much more proper was it for Virgil to designate by the term scopulo one of the Gyarae—all of them together little more than a reef of rocks in the Aegean, and on that account serving in later times, like Corsica itself, as a prison for state criminals? (Juvenal, 10. 170:

"ut Gyari clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho"

—where, be it observed *en passant*, not only have we the same term scopulus applied to the island, as in our text, but clausus

is as nearly as the different circumstances of the case permit, *infixus*: *ibid.* 1. 73:

“aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum;”

ibid. 13. 244:

. . . “dabit in laqueum vestigia noster
perfidus, et nigri patietur carceris uncum,
aut maris Aegaei rupem, scopulosque frequentes
exulibus magnis.”)

Sidon. *Apoll. Epist.* 1. 7: “Sed et iudicio vix per hebdomadem duplicem comperendinato, capite multatus [Arvandus] in insulam coniectus est serpentis Epidaurii: ubi usque ad inimicorum dolorem devenustatus, et a rebus humanis veluti vomitu fortunae nauseantis exputus, nunc ex vetere senatus consulto Tiberiano triginta dierum vitam post sententiam trahit, uncum et gemonias, et laqueum per horas turbulenti carnificis horrescens,” where a no-less-to-be-pitied, however much less renowned culprit than Ajax, or any of Ajax’s just-mentioned fellows in misfortune, is flung violently into the island of the Tiber—“coniectus in insulam serpentis Epidaurii” (*mutatis mutandis*, our author’s *SCOPULO INFIXIT ACUTO*)—there, out of all human society, beyond all hope of escape or deliverance, to languish out the brief interval during which, if not divine at least—next thing to divine—imperial retributive justice, not to appear too blood-thirsty, holds execution suspended over the head of its victim. Also Marcian, 1. 5, *De Interd. et Releg.*: “Exilium triplex est: aut certorum locorum interdictio, aut lata fuga, ut omnium locorum interdictio praeter certum locum, aut insulae vinculum, *i. e.* relegatio in insulam;” also Tacit. *Annal.* 1. 3: “Nam senem Augustum devinxerat adeo, uti nepotem unicum Agrippam Posthumum in insulam Planasiam proiiceret”—flung away into the island of Planasia. Plin. *Paneg.* 34: “Congesti sunt in navigia raptim conquisita, ut tempestatibus dediti abirent, fugerentque vastatas delationibus terras; ac si quem fluctus ac procellae scopulis reservassent, hic nuda saxa et inhospitale littus incoleret; ageret duram et anxiam vitam, relictisque post tergum totius generis humani securitate, moereret.” Euseb. *Vit. Constant.* 2. 20: *μεταλλοις τε κακοπαθειν παραδοθεντες, η νησους οικειν κριθεντες.* Euseb. *Vit. Const.*

2. 31 (*Lex Constantini de pietate in Deum et de Christiana religione*): *Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσους οὐ βουλευμένους νῆσοι κατέχουσιν, τῆς προμηθείας ταύτης ἀπολαῖναι προσταττομένῳ ὥπως οἱ μέχρι νῦν ὁρῶν τε δισχωριαῖς καὶ περιρριπτοῦ περικεκλεισμένοι θαλάσσῃ, τῆς σκυθρωπῆς καὶ ἀπανθροῦπον ἐρημίας ἐλευθερωθέντες, τοῖς φίλτατοῖς σφας αἰετοῦς ἀποδῶεν, τὸν ἐνχταῖον ποθὸν πληρῶσαντες.* Tacit. *Hist.* 1. 2: "Plenum exiliis mare; infecti caedibus scopuli"; and, translating from Tacitus, Macchiavelli, *Discorso sopra la prim. Deca di T. Livio*, libr. 1. 10: "Vedrà Roma arsa, il Campidoglio dai suoi cittadini disfatto, desolati gli antichi templi, corrotte le cerimonie, ripiene le città di adulterj: vedrà il mare pieno di esilj, gli scogli pieni di sangue," where "scogli pieni di sangue" ("infecti caedibus scopuli") are scogli full of the blood of culprits who had been first exiled to them (thrown into exile on them, infixi scopulis), and then during their exile put to death. Also Mela, 3. 1: "In ipso mari monumentum Caepionis, scopulo magis quam insulae impositum:" *Vita S. Fulgent.*, postfixed to his works, *Biblioth. Patr. Venet.*, 1776, vol. xi. p. 396: "Et de ipso quoque monasterio sub secreto recedens, ad insulam Circinam paucis comitantibus fratribus, navigavit; ubi in quodam brevi scopulo, cui nomen est Chilmi, ubi iam monasterium fabricari mandaverat, lectioni et orationi et ieiuniis vacans, &c.;" and Göthe, *Iphig. auf Taur.*, act v. sc. 3:

IPHIG. "verbanne mich zur Strafe meiner Thorheit
an einer Klippen-Insel traurig Ufer."

"Well, if INFIXIT does not signify that the rock ran into Ajax, that Ajax was spiked on it, at least ACUTO does; else why the sharpness of the rock mentioned at all?" To signify that it was an aiguille-shaped rock; a spike, pin, or pen standing up out of the sea—the very shape, as has just been seen, of all the rocks of the group: Philostr. *Icon.* 2. 13, quoted above: *Αἱ τοῦ πελαγὸς ἀνεστῆγκιαι πετραι*; and again, *ibid.*, *λεῖκη μὲν ὑποκυμάτων ἡ θαλάττα, σπιλαδες* δ' αἱ πετραι δια το αἰεταίνεσθαι*; *Aen.* 3. 76:

. . . "Gyaro celsa Myconoque revinxit;"

* Du Cange, Gloss. in voce spiletum vel spiletus: "Ital. *spiletto*, *acicula*."

Petron. *Epigr.* (apud Wernsd.):

“hac alta Gyaro ligavit, illac
constanti Mycono dedit tenendam.”

The notion of impaling or running into the body is as little contained in the epithet *acutus* bestowed on one of these rocks as it is contained in the same epithet bestowed on the *silex* which rose out of the *dorsum* of Cacus's cave, 8. 233:

“stabat acuta silex, praecisis undique saxis
speluncae dorso insurgens, altissima visu,
dirarum nidis domus opportuna volucrum.”

Exactly as *acuta silex* is here nothing more than a peak, spike, or needle of flint, rising up high out of the *dorsum* of Cacus's cave, *ACUTO SCOPULO* in our text is nothing more than a rocky *aiguille* peering high out of the water; Apollon. Rhod. 3. 1369:

. . . Κόλχοι δὲ μέγ' ἰκχον, ὡς ὅτε ποντος
ἰκχεν οὔξεισιν ἐπιβρομῶν σπιλαθεῖσι.

The view then in Juno's mind is that of Ajax pinned on a Gyarean scopulus by Pallas. Why does she leave him there? Why does she follow the myth no further? Because it is the action of Pallas she is describing, and the action of Pallas in the myth went no farther, hardly even so far. The action of Pallas ended with the sinking of Ajax's vessel: and Ajax, his vessel being sunk, struggled through the water (Quintus Calaber and Philostratus, as above) till he reached the scopulus and clambered up it. This might be all, with sufficient correctness, ascribed to Pallas, what was not expressly done by her with her own hand being at least done with her permission; Quintus Calaber, as above:

οὐπω γὰρ οἱ θῆμον ἐμῆδετο κηρὶ διακασσαι
κουρῇ ἐριγδουποιο Ἰλος μάλα περ κοτιουσα,
πρὶν τλήναι κακὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἀλγεῖσι παγχυ μογήσαι·
τοίνεκα μὲν κατὰ βένθος ἐδάμνατο θήρον οἷζες
παντοθε τιμωμένον.

But Juno could not so pervert the myth as to ascribe to Pallas the breaking-off of the neck of the rock on which Ajax was

seated, and the precipitation of it with Ajax into the sea. Neither could she introduce Neptune to take his part in the drama, and give the *coup de grâce* to her unhappy enemy. That would have been to put herself out of court: it would then no longer have been Pallas, but Pallas and Neptune who triumphed over Ajax. Juno therefore stops with the action of Pallas, whose triumph is sufficiently complete for Juno's purpose of comparison, her enemy having been struck with lightning, shipwrecked, and left sitting on a bare spike of rock in the middle of the sea—the very view, it will be observed, presented by the painter of the ancient picture in the gallery at Naples, described by Philostratus, and perhaps often seen and admired by Virgil himself. But though Juno and Virgil and the Neapolitan painter all left Ajax infixed on the rock, the punishment of the unhappy blasphemer did not end there; Homer (as above):

του δὲ Ποσειδῶν μεγάλ' ἐκλυεν ἀνδρῶσαντος·
 αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα τριαινῶν ἐλὼν χερσὶ στιβαρῶσιν
 ἤλασε Γεραιὴν πέτρην, ἀπὸ δ' ἐσχίσεν αὐτήν·
 καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦθι μένει, τὸ δὲ τρυγὸς ἐμπέσει ποντῷ,
 ἰὼ δ' Ἀίας τὸ πρῶτον ἐγείζομενος μετ' ἀσθῆν'
 τὸν δ' ἐφορτὶ κατὰ πόντον ἀπειρόνῃα χυμῶνοντα.
 [ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐνθ' ἀπολώλεν, ἔπει πλεν ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ];

also Quint. Calab. (as above):

καὶ νῦν κεν ἐξηλύξῃ κακὸν μῦθον, &c.,

Philostr. (as above): Ὁ μὲν δὲ Ποσειδῶν ἐμβάλων τὴν τριαινῶν ἀπαράξει τὸ τρυγὸς αὐτῷ Αἰάντι τῆς πέτρας; and Seneca, *Agamemnon* (as above):

"tridente rupem subruit pulsam pater
 Neptunus, imis exerens undis caput,
 solvitque montem, quem cadens secum tulit;
 terraque et igne victus et pelago iacet."

This is the last scene of the drama, and to this last scene it is—to Ajax, not infixus scopulo, but plunged along with the scopulus into the sea, and there perishing—the author of the *Ibis* refers, verse 341:

"viscera sic aliquis scopulus tua figat, ut olim
 fixa sub Euboico Graia fuere sinu."

ILLUM—ACUTO. Having described generally in the preceding verses how Pallas employed the thunderstorm (IGNEM, VENTIS) upon the fleet (viz., dispersing with it and burning the ships, and turning up the sea from the bottom), our author now proceeds to particularize how she used the same agency against Oileus himself—viz., first struck him with lightning, and then, seizing him with a whirlwind, cast him on the Gyarae, and there left him. The ILLUM of the latter verses corresponds to the CLASSEM ARGIVUM, IPSOS, and RATIS of the former; the FLAMMAS of the latter to the IGNEM of the former; the EXPIRANTEM TRANSFIXO PECTORE of the latter to the EXURERE of the former; the TURBINE of the latter to the VENTIS of the former; the INFIXIT of the latter to the SUBMERGERE, DISIECIT, and EVERTIT of the former; and the SCOPULO ACUTO of the latter to the PONTO and AEQUORA of the former.

48 (b).

EXPIRANTEM TRANSFIXO PECTORE FLAMMAS

“Probus et TEMPORE legit,” Servius. “Ineptum TEMPORE. Qui enim, traiecto tempore, exhalaverit flammas, quum exhalare sit pectoris?” Wagner. Wagner is right in his conclusion that the reading TEMPORE is naught, but he is not right in his premiss that PECTORE and EXPIRANTEM imply actual respiration. Pectus is here used, not in its limited and peculiar sense of the chest, thorax, or that part of the body by means of which we breathe, but in that wider less well-defined sense in which the Greek *στήθος* and *στέφρον* are sometimes used: viz., of that middle part of the body (between the properly so-called pectus and the properly so-called venter) which is commonly denominated *ἡγερες* or *praecordia*, and which is not unfrequently extended by euphemism so as to embrace the whole

region from the neck and shoulders above to the pubes below;
3. 426:

. . . "pulchro pectore virgo
pube tenus;"

Maximian, *Eleg.* 5. 30:

"atque sub exhausto pectore pingue femur;"

Ovid, *Met.* 4. 359 (of Salmacis):

"subiectatque manus, invitaque pectora tangit;"

Lucret. 4. 1262 (ed. Wakef.):

"nam mulier prohibet se concipere, atque repugnat,
clunibus ipsa viri Venerem si laeta retractet;
atque exossato ciet omni pectore fluctus;"

Sidon. Apoll. *Epist.* 2. 9: "Excusso torpore meridiano, paulisper equitabamus, quo facilius pectora marcida cibus coenatoriae fami exacueremus;" in all which passages the euphemism is sufficiently evident. Compare also Apul. *Apolog.* (ed. Flor. p. 485): "Pectoris enim primorem cutim [*i. e.* corporis prim. cut.] vitiligine insignit, et omnimodis maculationibus convariat" (where Pricaeus quotes from an old epigram,

"cur tua faemineo caeduntur pectora socco,"

and from another (de Pantomimo):

"mascula femineo derivans pectora flexu;"

on which having observed: "ut legend. e MS. Salmasii Cod. supra monitum," the same critic goes on to quote from Claudian:

"omnia quae sensu volvuntur vota diurno
pectore sopito reddit amica quies,"

and concludes with the observation: "Eadem Graeci enunciatione στερον ponunt: Eurip. *Phoeniss.* 134:

. . . Αρη δ' Αιτωλον εν στερονι; ιχει.

Scholias: Το στερον ανει του ολου σωματος; ειπεν"); also, Longin. *de Subl.* 32: Την μεν κειραλην αυτου γησιν ακροπολιν ισθμον δε μεσον διωκοδομησθαι μεταξυ [αυτης και] του σιηθους; τον αυχνα; and 5. 182:

"et salsos ridet revomentem pectore fluctus;"

not, surely, *vomiting back out of his breast or lungs*, to the exclusion of his belly, but *vomiting back out of his interior, out of his inwards*—a use of *pectus* exactly similar to that of *latus* for the same part or even for the whole body, *Hor. Od. 3. 27. 25*:

“sic et Europe niveum doloso
credidit tauro latus.”

And that *EXPIRANTEM* in our text is to be taken as loosely and in as wide a sense as *PECTORE* appears **no less from** 3. 579:

. . . “ingentemque insuper Aetnam
impositam ruptis flammam expirare caminis,”

where *Aetna*, **and** from *Aeschyl. Prom. 358* (of Typhon):

ἀλλ’ ἦλθεν αὐτῷ Ζηνὸς ἀγρυπνον βέλος,
καταιβάτης κεραυνὸς ἐκπνεῶν φλόγα,

where even the thunderbolt itself, *ex-spires* flame, **than from** *Sidonius Apollinaris, Carm. 5. 196*:

. . . “fixusque Capharei
cautibus, inter aquas flammam ructabat Oileus,”

where the act of *Ajax*, expressed in our text by the term *expirare*, is expressed by the less elegant, less ambiguous term *ructare*, to eject out of the mouth gases brought up, not from the lungs, but from the *praecordia*, *φρενες*, or region of the stomach; **and** from. *Sil. 12. 148*:

“adparet procul Inarime, quae turbine nigro
fumantem premit Iapetum, flammisque rebelli
oro eiectantem,”

where the similar act of *Japetus* is described by *oro eiectare*, **not to ex-spire or breathe out of the lungs**, but **to throw or eject out of the mouth**; and so, correctly, *Servius* (ed. *Lion*): “non animam dicit flammam, sed, cum anima, fulminis flammam vomentem.”

Neither, therefore, the *PECTORE* nor the *EXPIRANTEM* of our text is to be taken literally, or as if the meaning were that, *Ajax's chest having been penetrated by the lightning, Ajax expired flame from his lungs, or Ajax's lungs expired flame, i. e. his breath became flame*; but both words are to be understood so widely as to afford the meaning that the lightning,

having penetrated the praecordia, flamed out of the mouth
(Valer. Flacc. 2. 23:

“hunc [Typhoeum] profugum, et sacras revomentem pectore flammas,
ut memorant, prensu ipse comis Neptunus in altum
abstulit, implicuitque vadis;”

Claudian, 6 *Cons. Honor. 186* (Eridanus addressing Alaric):

. . . “nec [ne Burm.] te meus, improbe, saltem
terrui exemplo Phaeton, qui fulmina praeceps
in nostris efflavit aquis”),

or, having penetrated the praecordia and set the inwards on fire, the flame of the burning inwards issued at the mouth, giving Ajax the appearance not, let it be well observed, of breathing fire—for fire, to be breathed, should not only be expired but inspired also, should play to-and-fro—but of being, like a burning house or a volcano, on fire inside, the flames which were consuming him making vent for themselves through his mouth. Compare Quintus Calaber, 14. 582:

εὐτε παρὸς μεγαλοῖο κατ’ Εγκελαδοῖο δαΐφρων
Πάλλας αἰρωμένη Σικελὴν ἐπικαββαλε νησον,
ἢ ῥ’ ἐτι καίεται αἶεν ὑπ’ ἀκαματοῖο γίγαντος
αἰθαλοῖεν πνέοντος, εἰσω χθονος,

where αἰθαλοῖεν πνέοντος is as little to be understood strictly and literally of breathing fire, *i. e.* having a fiery breath, as EXPIRANTEM FLAMMAS in our text; and where the comparison is, not of Ajax struck with lightning by Pallas and breathing fire, or having a breath of fire in consequence, with Enceladus struck with lightning by Jupiter and breathing fire, or having a breath of fire in consequence; but of Ajax struck with lightning by Pallas, and set on fire inside and flaming out of the mouth in consequence, with Enceladus struck with lightning by Jupiter, and set on fire inside and flaming out of the mouth in consequence. Compare also Statius, *Theb. 11. 1* (of Capaneus): “expiravitque receptum fulmen,” where the same expression is no less metaphorical; also, Aesch. *Prom. 361*:

. . . γρῆνας γὰρ εἰς αὐτὰς τυπείς [Τυφῶν],
εψεψαλωθή καὶ ξεβροντηθή σθένος:

Eurip. *Alcest.* 3 (Apollo speaking):

*Ζεὺς γὰρ κατακτείνῃ παιδὶ τὸν ἐμὸν αἷτιος,
Ἀσκληπιὸν, στερννοῖσιν ἐμβαλὼν γλῶσσαν*

in the former of which examples, *φρενας*, and in the latter *στερννοῖσιν* (to be understood no doubt in its wider sense of *φρενες* or *praecordia*), is the PECTORE of our text: Sil. 14. 477:

*"innatat ecce super transtris fumantibus asper
Ornytos, ac longam sibimet facit aequore mortem;
qualis Oiliades, fulmen iaculante Minerva,
surgentes domuit fluctus ardentibus ulnis,"*

where we have our unfortunate Oiliades set on fire even to his very arms by this same revengeful fulmen of Pallas.

I do not know whether Heyne, if he had rightly understood the passage, and perceived that not actually breathing fire, but only fire issuing out of the mouth was meant, would have demurred so much, would have so much wondered that a chaste poet should call on him to imagine anything so extravagant: "Illud vero castum poetam ausum esse miror, eum, qui fulmine percussus erat in pectore, ignem ore exhalare;" but however he understood the passage, he should at least, before pronouncing his judgment on the picture, have reflected that the main interest of a myth lies in its contempt of mere matter-of-fact, its violation of the invariable laws of nature, and that the very essence of all poetry, that which distinguishes poetry from prose, is its ideality, its being imaginable only, not realizable; and should, besides, have recollected that the precise picture had been already presented by the most staid, sober, and philosophical of poets; Lucret. 6. 386:

*"quod, si Iupiter atque aliei fulgentia divei
terrifico quatiunt sonitu coelestia templa,
et iaciunt igneis, qua quoique est quomque voluptas;
quur, quibus incautum scelus avorsabile quomque est,
non faciunt, ictei flammæ ut fulguris halent
pectore prefixo, documen mortalibus acre?"*

49.

TURBINE CORRIPUIT

Stat. *Theb.* 1. 364:

"Ille tamen [Polynices], modo saxa iugis fugientia raptis
miratus, modo nubigenas e montibus amnes
aure pavens passimque insano turbine raptas
pastorum pecorumque domos, . . .
haurit iter."

The defect of style, out of which all the confusion of the commentators has arisen, lies in the rapidity with which the author passes from *ILLUM CORRIPUIT*—seized him (being still in his ship, *i. e.*, seized him and his ship) in a whirlwind—to *SCOPULO INFIXIT*—pinned him (his ship having been sunk) *to* or *on* a rocky peak (*χοιρας*) in the middle of the sea.

50-51.

AST EGO QUAE DIVUM INCEDO REGINA IOVISQUE
ET SOROR ET CONIUX

"Incedere proprie est nobilium personarum; hoc est cum aliqua dignitate ambulare," Serv. (ed. Lion). "Incedere wird besonders von der feierlichen, würdevollen Haltung im Gange gebraucht: verse 501, von der Dido, 'incessit regina,' Ruhnke, zu Terent. *Andr.* 1. 1. 100; *Eun.* 5. 3. 9; deshalb der majestätischen Juno eigenthümlich *Ἡραίων βασιλεύειν*. . . . Also nicht für sum, sondern ganz eigentlich," Thiel. "Incedere est ingredi, sed proprie cum quadam pompa et fastu," Gesner. "Incessus dearum, imprimis Iunonis, gravitate sua notus,"

Heyne. And so also Holdsworth, Ruæus, and very recently, Kappes (*Progr. Freib.*).

I think, on the contrary, that *incedo*, both here and elsewhere, expresses only the stepping or walking motion generally; and that the character of the step or walk, if inferrible at all, is to be inferred only from the context. Accordingly (Livy, 2. 6) “*magnifice incedit*;” (Catull. 42. 8) “*turpe incedere*;” (Ovid, *Amor.* 2. 4. 23) “*molliter incedit*;” (Ovid, *Met.* 2. 772) “*passu incedit inert*;” Justin, 6. 2. 6; “*Melius est incessu regem quam imperium regno claudicare*;” Tacit. *Hist.* 3. 56 (of Vitellius): “*ad omnes nuncios vultu quoque et incessu trepidus, dein temulentus*;” Cicero, *Pro Sextio* (ed. Lamb., p. 461); “*Alter, o dii boni, quam teter incedebat, quam truculentus, quam terribili aspectu!*” Plin. *N. H.* 10. 38: “*Omnibus animalibus reliquis certus et unius modi et in suo cuique genere incessus est, aves solac vario meatu feruntur et in terra et aere*;” and especially Tacit. *Hist.* 4. 11: “*Nec deerat ipse [Mucianus] stipatus armatis, domos hortosque permutans, apparatu, incessu, excubiis, vim principis amplecti, nomen remittere*” (where “*in-cessus*” is no more royal gait than “*apparatus*” is royal style and surroundings, or “*excubiae*” royal night-guard; and where Mucianus is not said to affect royal gait, or affect royal style and surroundings, or affect royal night-watch, but to affect royalty by his gait, style, and surroundings, and night-watch); also Tacit. *Hist.* 3. 31: “*Sed ubi Caecina, praetexta lictoribusque insignis, dimota turba, consul incessit, exarsere victores*,” where the meaning is not that Caecina showed by the peculiar gait with which he walked that he was consul, but that Caecina, walking with his usual gait or as an ordinary man walks, showed by the apparatus by which he was surrounded—viz., by his robe of state and by the lictors which drove the crowd out of his way—that he was consul.

The emphasis, therefore, is not on *INCEDO*, but on *REGINA*; and the meaning is, *I who step, or walk, Queen of the Gods*: the dignity of the step being, not expressed by *INCEDO*, but inferrible from *REGINA*.

INCEDO REGINA, as 5. 68: “*Iaculo incedit melior*,” 2. 578,

"Ibit regina;" 5. 269, "Ibant evincti tempora ramis;" Eurip. *Phoeniss.* 594:

POL. πρὸς τίνος; τίς ὡδ' ἀτρωτός, ὅστις εἰς ἡμᾶς ξυφός
φονιον ἐμβαλὼν, τὸν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀποισκεται μοῖρον,

ET. ἐγγύς, οὐ πρὸσω βεβήκως. [*He is near, not far off.*]

IOVISQUE ET SOROR ET CONIUX.—Both the *ET*'s are emphatic:
IOVISQUE *et* SOROR *et* CONIUX.

51.

UNA CUM GENTE

GENTE is opposed to CLASSEM, verse 43, the meaning being that, whereas Pallas was able at once and with ease to have her will of the "classis Argivum," consisting of numerous gentes (tribes or nations), she [Juno] was baffled during a series of years by one single tribe or nation (UNA GENTE).

52 (a).

BELLA GERO

The plural number aggravates; and the two words taken together, the verb being in the present tense, indicate the difficulty she *has had* and *still has*, the organized and obstinate resistance she *has met* and *still meets*. Having this strong sense, they are placed in the emphatic position. See Rem. 2. 246, and compare Propert. 2. 12. 13:

"in me tela manent, manet et puerilis imago;
sed certe pennas perdidit ille [Cupido] suas;
evolat, heu! nostro quoniam de pectore nusquam,
assiduusque meo sanguine bella gerit."

52-53.

ET QUISQUAM NUMEN IUNONIS ADORET
PRAETEREA AUT SUPPLEX ARIS IMPONAT HONOREM

VAR. LECT.

ADORET **III** Donat.; Aldus (1514); Pierius (neque tamen [*i. e.* although the Roman MS. reads ADORAT and IMPONET] *contemnenda est vulgata lectio ADORET et IMPONAT*); Junta; Grotius (quoted below); D. Heins.; Heyne; Wakef.; Jahn.

ADORAT **III** Venice, 1470; N. Heins. (1670); Gossrau; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Forb. (1852); Ribb.; Coningt.

IMPONAT **III** Donat.; Aldus (1514); Pierius (see above); Junta; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.

IMPONET **I** *Rom., Med.* **III** N. Heins. (1670); Gossrau; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Ladew.; Haupt; Ribb.

IMPONIT **II** cod. Canon. (Butler). **III** Venice, 1470; Pottier
O *Fr., Pal., Ver., St. Gall.*

Ovid, *Met.* 6. 171 (Niobe speaking):

. . . "our colitur Latona per aras,
numen adhuc sine thure meum est?"

ADORET. Grotius, *Epist.* 268 (G. J. Vossio), Amstel. 1687,
p. 101: "Regnat Cardinalis Ricelias—

. . . "et quisquam numen Iunonis adoret
posthac!"

Numen being, as I have shown at verse 12, self-originating, irresponsible will and pleasure, NUMEN IUNONIS is neither the deity of Juno, nor the might of Juno ("der Juno Macht," Voss), nor a mere equivalent for Juno ("*Me*, at quanto gravius!" Heyne, Forbiger), but the self-originating, irresponsible will and pleasure of Juno; and the question asked is not who will

adore Juno's deity? or, who will adore Juno's might? or, who will adore Juno? but who will adore Juno's irresponsible will and pleasure? Juno might have asked, who will adore me? or, who will adore Juno? or, who will adore Juno's might? or, who will adore Juno's majesty? or, who will adore Jupiter's consort and sister? or, who will adore the queen of heaven? or, who will adore the Saturnian queen? but her question is none of these; her question is: who will adore Juno's numen, *Juno's self-originating, irresponsible will and pleasure*? And why is it precisely this question and no other which Juno should ask? Plainly because it is of her numen laesum, of the infringement of her privilege of independent, irresponsible will and pleasure, she is complaining all through. Pallas, she tells us, did what she pleased with Ajax Oileus and the Grecian fleet, had her whole will and pleasure (numen) of them, but I, so much Pallas's superior, I the queen of heaven, I Jove's sister and consort, cannot have my will and pleasure (numen) with these paltry Trojans. Who will ever hereafter adore my numen, my sovereign will and pleasure? who expect anything from it? who, to propitiate it, lay a gift on my altar? Compare 3. 437:

"Iunonis magnae primum prece numen adora:
Iunoni cane vota libens, dominamque potentem
supplicibus supera donis,"

where we have this same "numen Iunonis"—in connexion too with adoration by means of prayers and gifts, pointedly distinguished not merely from the personality ("Iunoni" "dominam"), but even from the other chief attribute of the goddess, her power ("potentem"). See Rem. on "numine laeso," 1. 12, and on "tolerabile numen," 5. 768.

55.

VENTORUM IN PATRIAM

PATRIAM is not taken loosely, or as merely signifying the place where Jupiter had confined the winds, but, as shown by the immediately subsequent LOCA FOETA FURENTIBUS AUSTRIS, the place of their birth, their native soil; accordingly, we find them here before they were placed under the dominion of Aeolus, Val. Flacc. 1. 576:

"continuo Aeoliam Tyrrhenaque tendit ad antra

 aequore Trinacrio refugique a parte Pelori
 stat rupes horrenda fretis, quot in aethera surgit
 molibus, infernas toties demissa sub undas.
 nec scopulos aut antra minor iuxta altera tellus
 cernitur: illam Achamas habitat nudusque Pyracmon.
 has nimbi, ventique domos, et naufraga servat
 tempestas; hinc en terras latumque profundum
 est iter; hinc olim soliti miscere polumque
 infelixque fretum: neque enim tunc Aeolus illis
 rector erat, Libya cum rumperet advena Calpen
 oceanus, cum flens Siculos Oenotria fines
 perderet, et mediis intrarent montibus undae;
 intonuit donec pavidis ex aethere ventis
 omnipotens, regemque dedit, quem iussa vereri
 saeva cohors. in monte chalybs iterataque muris
 saxa domant Euros: cum iam prohibere frementum
 ora nequit, rex tunc aditus et claustra refringit
 ipse volens, placatque data fera murmura porta,"

a passage which seems to fix the time at which Jupiter placed the winds, the old inhabitants of this island, under the dominion of king Aeolus, viz., when they had gone so far, made such ill use of their uncontrolled liberty, as to force the waves in between Italy and Sicily, and to separate Africa from Europe at Gibraltar.

58.

VINCLIS ET CARCERE FRAENAT

VINCLIS is **not** to be understood literally, or as signifying that the winds were actually chained—that they were not, is sufficiently clear both from the reason of the thing itself, and from the sequel, according to which it appears that on the antrum being thrown open they rushed forth and swept sea and land—**but** it is to be understood in that looser sense in which it is so often used, viz., in the sense of *restraint* or *confinement*, 2. 134:

“eripui fateor leto me et vincula rupi,”

where see Rem.; Cic. *in Verr.* 5 (ed. Lamb., p. 200): “quid si aufugisset, si vincla rupisset?” Cic. *in Cat.* 4 (ed. Lamb. 332): “Vincula vero, et ea sempiterna, certe ad singularem poenam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt;” Tacit. *Hist.* 4. 57: (“Pignusque tanti sceleris nece aut vinculis legatorum daretur;” Claud. *in Rufin.* 2. 482:

“exaequat [Rhadamanthus] damnum meritis, et muta ferarum cogit vincla pati,”

confines in wild beasts, within the shapes of wild beasts; Marcian, I. C. [= Jurisconsultus], lib. v. de Interd. et Releg.:* “Exilium triplex est: aut certorum locorum interdictio: aut lata fuga, ut omnium locorum interdictio, praeter certum locum: aut insulae vinculum, *i. e.* relegatio in insulam.”

VINCLIS ET CARCERE. “Alii ‘vinclis carceris’ tradunt, ut [2. 627] ‘quam ferro excisam crebrisque bipennibus instant,’” Serv. (ed. Lion), followed by Heyne (“Vincula per carcerem declarantur, non enim compedes esse possunt”), and undoubtedly with reason, CARCERE defining the kind of restraint or confine-

* The fragments of Marcian are to be found in various parts of Justinian's Pandects (Pandect. Florent.), which contains an index referring to the places in the Pandects where Marcian's writings are cited.

ment meant by VINCLIS to be the restraint or confinement of a prison, exactly as, *Aen.* 7. 325:

. . . "haud vincolo nec legibus aequam,"

"legibus" defines the kind of restraint or confinement meant by "vincolo" to be the restraint or confinement of laws.

The proposition of Nauck (*Jahn, Jahrb.*, suppl. 14, p. 556) to separate VINCLIS from FRAENAT and join it to PREMII, is not to be acceded to—first, on account of the excellent sense just pointed out which is afforded by VINCLIS ET CARCERE, joined with FRAENAT; secondly, on account of the exact parallel "tenebris et carcere," 6. 734:

. . . "clausae tenebris et carcere caeco,"

where "carcere" defines the darkness meant to be the darkness of a prison; and thirdly, on account of the actual junction of vinclis and carcere by Val. Flacc. 1. 601 (Boreas speaking of himself):

"nec mihi libertas imis freta tollere arenis.
qualis eram, nondum vinclis et carcere clausus!"

where not only have we vinclis and carcere joined together, but both words are applied by Boreas himself to this very confinement of his, spoken of by Virgil. Compare Soph. *Antig.* 955 (Ahrens):

ζυγχθη δ' οξυχολος πας ο Δρυαντος,
Πρωτων βασιλες, κροτομοις οργαις.
εξ Διονυσου πετρωδει καταμαρτυρος εν δεσμο,

where πετρωδει εν δεσμο is exactly the VINCLIS ET CARCERE of our text [*Nervo vinctus est etiam impotens irae filius Dryantis, quem Bacchus saxoso conclusit in carcere*]. See Rem. on "vincola rupi," 2. 134.

Of that other use of the conjoined terms vincla and carcer, with which our author's use of those terms in our text has been confounded by Voss:

. . . "in Band' einschliesst und Gefängniß,"

we have an example in Cicero (*in Cat.* 1. 8): "Sed quam longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere qui se ipse iam

dignum custodia iudicarit?” where the intervening “*atque a*” not merely unites “*carcere*” and “*vinculis*,” but indicates the latter to be a climax of the former. In English we would say: from prison; aye, from chains.

VASTO ANTRO IMPERIO PREMIT AC VINCLIS ET CARCERE FRAENAT. No commentator, so far as I know, has ever attempted to show the structure of this sentence, nor indeed could it be shown so long as it was taken for granted that the words VINCLIS ET CARCERE were used literally, viz., in the sense of chains and a prison. The commentators, understanding the words so, found themselves on the horns of this dilemma: If they said that VASTO ANTRO belonged to both clauses, and that the structure was VASTO ANTRO PREMIT IMPERIO AC FRAENAT VINCLIS ET CARCERE, i. e. *rules and restrains with chains and a prison, in a vast cave*, they would be asked, what is a prison in a vast cave? If they said VASTO ANTRO belongs only to PREMIT IMPERIO, and the structure is PREMIT IMPERIO VASTO ANTRO, ET FRAENAT VINCLIS ET CARCERE—CARCERE being a repetition of VASTO ANTRO, and the second clause a variation of the first—they would be asked, by what authority do you take on you to separate from VASTO ANTRO a clause which is plainly no less intimately connected with it than IMPERIO PREMIT, both clauses standing equally opposite to it on the far side of LUCTANTES VENTOS TEMPESTATESQUE SONORAS, and being indissolubly connected with each other by the conjunction AC? Unable to answer either question, they wisely left both structure and meaning unmooted, and the passage remained altogether without elucidation. VINCLIS ET CARCERE once rightly understood, viz., as figurative and signifying *confinement*, all difficulty is removed: the clause VINCLIS ET CARCERE FRAENAT is not a variation of VASTO ANTRO IMPERIO PREMIT, but a co-ordinate of IMPERIO PREMIT, both co-ordinates equally belonging to VASTO ANTRO, and, taken together, affording an example of that preposterous construction so convenient to the verse-maker, so inconvenient and perplexing to the reader, which informs us first of what happened last, and last of what happened first.

59 (a).

ILLI INDIGNANTES

There can, I think, be little doubt that (for much of this fine picture of the winds indignantly roaring about the *claustra* of the *carcer* in which they are confined, and, upon the opening of those *claustra*, rushing out and furiously sweeping over land and sea, Virgil is indebted to the chariot-races of the *Ludi Circenses*, in which the horses, ready yoked, were kept confined, until the moment of starting, within a *carcer*, separated only from the *spatia* of the *circus* by *claustra*, for the opening of which the horses used to be seen testifying their impatience by neighing and snorting, and pawing against them with their feet, and on the opening of which they rushed forth (*VELUT AGMINE FACTO*), two, three, or four chariots abreast, and swept the *spatia* with the impetuosity of the whirlwind.)

In proof of the correctness of this opinion, I beg the reader, first, to observe that almost all the words of the description, and notably the words *LUCTANTES*, *IMPERIO PREMIT*, *FRAENAT*, *FREMUNT*, *MOLLIT ANIMOS*, *TEMPERAT IRAS*, *FERANT RAPIDI SECUM*, *VFERRANT PER AURAS*, are applicable to the *manège*: secondly, to refer to Val. Flaccus (l. 611), where, in a manifest copy of the scene before us, he will find the winds to be styled, in express terms, *horses rushing from the career*, “*Fundunt se carcere laeti Thraces equi, Zephyrusque*,” &c.; and, thirdly, to compare Virgil’s whole description with the description which Sidonius Apollinaris (*Carm.* 23. 331) has given of the chariot-race:

“illi ad claustra fremunt, repagulisque
incumbunt simul, ac per obseratas
transfuant tabulas, et ante cursum
campus flatibus occupatur absens:
impellunt, trepidant, trahunt, repugnant,
ardescunt, saliunt, timent, timentur,
nec gressum cohibent, sed inquieto

duratum pede stipitem flagellant.
 Tandem murmure buccinae strepentis,
 suspensas tubicen vocans quadrigas
 effundit celeres in arva currus.
 Non sic fulminis impetus trisulci," &c.

Let him compare, also, Ovid, *Met.* 2. 153; Lucret. 6. 194; Stat. *Theb.* 6. 397, et seq.; and Virgil himself, *Aen.* 5. 144.

Hence new grace and beauty to the whole passage, and proof additional to that adduced at verse 85, that the winds were let loose, not through a breach made in the side of a hollow mountain, but through the mouth of a cave, the *Urgeos* being pushed aside.

59-60.

MAGNO CUM MURMURE MONTIS
 CIRCUM CLAUSTRA FREMUNT

MONTIS depends not on CLAUSTRA, but on MURMURE—first, on account of the grander picture thus afforded; secondly, on account of the better cadence of the verse, a pause between the final dactyl and spondee always occasioning more or less of roughness; thirdly, on account of the similar junction of the same words in the same position and in the same sense, not only by Lucan, 10. 321 (of the Nile):

. . . "ac multo murmure montis
 spumeus invictis canescit fluctibus amnis,"

but by our author himself, verse 249, below:

"unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis
 it mare proruptum;"

and fourthly—and, of itself alone, sufficient reason—because the *claustra* about which the winds roar are not of the mountain, but of the career or cave. CLAUSTRA MONTIS—had such been the construction—had been the mountain itself, the mountain regarded as the *claustra* or barrier of the country behind it;

Flor. 3. 3 (of the Cimbri): "nec segnius quam minati fuerant, tripartito agmine, per Alpes, *i. e.* claustra Italiae, ferebantur;" Tacit. *Hist.* 3. 2: "Quid tum claustra montium profutura?" Servius, therefore, when he says: "Non CIRCUM MONTIS CLAUSTRA sed CUM MAGNO MONTIS MURMURE fremebant," is perfectly right, a praise I have seldom to bestow on Servius.

MONTIS. See Rem. on "molem et montes," 1. 65, *ad fin.*

CLAUSTRA, "spiracula," Heyne, Forbiger. Certainly not, for if by CLAUSTRA were meant the spiracula, the vents, there need be no fremere of the prisoners at all circum claustra; they had nothing to do but march out at once. On the contrary, CLAUSTRA are the barriers, the impediments, with which the spiracula are closed—the MOLEM ET MONTES ALTOS of verse 65; the CAVUM MONTEM of verse 85; the "obiecto monte" with which the same Aeolus "premat Boream Eurumque Notumque," Stat. *Silv.* 3. 2. 42, quoted below; the "saxo" with which the same Aeolus "premat portam et omne claudat iter," Stat. *Theb.* 10. 246, quoted below; the "carcere saxi" under which Notus did not lie confined on the night on which Julius Caesar ventured across the Adriatic in an open boat, Lucan, 1. 86, quoted below; the "ahenos postes" which Aeolus dashed to in the face of the same winds striving to get out, and so drove them back into their confinement, Claud. *Rapt. Proserp.* 1, quoted below. Compare 2. 258:

. . . "pinea furtim
laxat claustra Sinon;"

2. 491:

. . . "nec claustra, neque ipsi
custodes sufferre valent;"

7. 185:

. . . "portarum ingentia claustra;"

Flor. 3. 3 (of the Cimbri): "nec segnius quam minati fuerant, tripartito agmine, per Alpes, id est claustra Italiae, ferebantur." Claustra is always something solid, something which closes up an opening, not the opening itself, exactly the Greek *κλήθρα*; Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1294 (nuntius ex domo):

διεῖξεν δὲ καὶ σοὶ κλήθρα γὰρ πύλων ταύτης
διαγίνεται θύραια δ' ἡσπομένη ταχὺ
τοιοῦτον, οἷον καὶ στεγνοῦν' ἐποικτισσαι:

Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1260 (the nuntius):

δεινον δ' αὔσας, ὡς υφ' ἡγ' ητοῦ τινος,
 πύλαις διπλῆς ἐνῆλαι. ἐκ δὲ πυθμενων
 ἐκλινε κοίλα κληθρου, καμπίπτει στήγῃ.

[*tanquam si viam quis praemonstraret, in geminas fores invectus est [Oedipus] funditusque evellit cava claustra, atque in cubiculum irruit.*]

Not even in the case of straits is *claustra* the straits properly so called, *i. e.* the passage between the headlands; on the contrary, it is the barriers which approach so near as only not totally to intercept the thoroughfare. Therefore, 3. 411:

. . . "angusti rarescent claustra Pelori,"

the headlands of Pelorus shall appear to separate, so as to leave a wider space between; shall retire each from the other. *Spiracula* is as unhappy a synonym as could well in any case be imagined for *claustra*; has a peculiar—dare I venture to say a happy—unhappiness as a synonym for *claustra* confining the winds, winds being of all created beings the least confinable by airholes.

60—61.

CELSA SEDET AEOLUS ARCE

SCEPTRA TENENS MOLLITQUE ANIMOS ET TEMPERAT IRAS

The view which has been most generally taken of this picture—a picture, like many other of Virgil's pictures, as much praised and celebrated as it is little understood, is, that it represents Aeolus seated on an *arx*, or high rock, or eminence, in the interior of a cave which serves the double purpose of a palace for himself and a prison for the winds, and there, in the midst of his unruly subjects, wielding his sceptre and exercising his authority: "Dat illi pro regia antrum vastum, ubi ille *PREMIT IMPERIO*," etc., Lemaire;

"high in his hall the undaunted monarch stands,
 and shakes his sceptre, and their rage commands" (Dryden);

"Aeolus autem in deorum numero computatus et qui ventorum Deus dictus est, cuius talis erat imago depicta; stabat enim *in* antro lineâ veste indutus, tenens sub pedibus flabra, instrumenta fabrilia; in manu autem utrâque tenebat cornua, quae ori admovens, ea subflare, et ab unoquoque cornuum sex ventos emittere videbatur," Albricus Philosophus, *De Deorum imaginibus libellus*. The other, directly opposite and generally less received view is, that it represents Aeolus seated on a throne on the top of the mountain, or in a castle on the top of the mountain, under which the winds are confined, and wielding his sceptre and exercising his authority there: "CELSA in ARCE, extra antrum, alto in montis cacumine, infra [vers. 144] aula dicta, seu regia," Heyne; "*Celsa arx* est domus regia in cacumine montis instructa," Thiel;

. . . "hoch sitzt auf der Zacke bezeptert
Aeolus, sänftigt den Geist, und stillt des Zornes Empörung" (Voss).

I am at a loss to say according to which of these views the picture is most caricature, most calculated to excite the laughter of the beholder—the king on the top of the lofty mountain, and his subjects in a cave under it; or the king on an eminence in the middle of the cave under the mountain, and his subjects around him. But Virgil is not a caricaturist, nor are his pictures, his characters, or himself, ever to be laughed at. His king Aeolus dwells like other kings CELSA ARCE, in a lofty keep, *Burg, Schloss*, or castle, at such distance from his subjects as is consistent with royal dignity. This *celsa arx* is his Homeric *δοματα καλα* (*Od.* 10. 13), the *κησιγεν δομα* (*ibid.* 10. 10) in which he resides along with his six daughters and his six sons (*ibid.* 10. 5:

του και δωδεκα παιδες ενι μεγαροις γυγασιν
εξ μιν θυγατρες, εξ δ' υιους ηρωοντες:

ibid. 10. 11:

. . . νυκτας δ' αυτε παρ' αιδοιης αλοχοισιν
ευδουσ' εν τε ταπησι και εν τρητοις λεχεσσιν)

and out of which, in the immediate vicinity of the cave (*δομοι δ' αγγιστα πελονται*), the potentate is represented by Quintus

Calaber as issuing on this very occasion to liberate his prisoners, 14. 474:

ἵκετο δ' Αἰόλην, ἀνέμων οὐδὲ λαβρόν ἀεντῶν
ἀντρά περὶ στεινότησιν ἀρηραμέν' ἀμφὶ πέτρῃσι,
κοῖλα καὶ ἠχηέντα. δομοὶ δ' ἀγχισταὶ πέλονται
Αἰόλου Ἰπποταδῶ. κίχεν δὲ μιν ἐνδον εὐντα
σιν ἰ' ἄλοχῳ καὶ παισὶ θυωδέα. καὶ οἱ εἶπεν
οἴπος' Ἀθηναίῃ Λακωνίων ἐπεμνηθετο νοστώ.
αὐτὰρ οἳ' οὐκ ἀπιθήσε, μολῶν δ' ἐκτοσθε μέλαθρον,
χερσὶν ἐπ' ἀκαματοῖσιν ὄρος μετὰ τυφῇ τριαινῇ,
ἐνθ' ἀνέμοι κελεύειναι δούσηχες ἠελιζόντο
ἐν κέντρῳ κενθριμῶν· περιερχέ δ' αἶεν ἰωὴ
βρυχομένη ἀλεγεινῇ· βῆ δ' ἐρρηξέ κολωνῆν.

It is through the middle of the great hall of this arx (Ovid, *Ep. 11. 65* (Canace to Macareus):

. . . "media sedet Aeolus aula")

not, surely, through the middle of the prison of the winds, the nurse is conveying, hid among olive branches in a basket, the just-born fruit of Canace's incest, when the crying of the child betrays to Aeolus his daughter's shame, and the palace resounds with the wrath of the king:

. . . "insana regia voce sonat;"

and so, centuries ago, the arx of Aeolus was rightly understood by my own modest, unknown, neglected Dublin Stanyhurst:

. . . "King Aeolus, highly
in castel settled, theyr strief dooth pacifie wisely."

See Rem. on "haec habet regna," 6. 566.

SEDET. In this palace, this celsa arx, this regia—

. . . "insana regia voce sonat"—

Aeolus SEDET, not literally *sits*, or *is in the sitting position*, but *has his seat*, *sedem habet*, *resides*, exactly as we say in English "the Queen's royal seat of Windsor," "London is the seat of government;" exactly as Callimachus (*Hymn. in Del.* 219) says of Juno:

. . . σὺ δὲ χραιοῦσαι καθῆσαι
Γυνήσιν οὐλύμποιο,

exactly as Creon says to Medea (Seneca, *Medea*, 269):

"egredere, purga regna; letales simul
tecum aufer herbas; libera cives metu.
Alia sedens tellure sollicita Deos,"

and exactly as Virgil himself (*Aen.* 9. 3) says of Turnus:

. . . "luco tum forte parentis
Pilum Turnus sacrata valle sedebat,"

was residing.

The celsa arx (castle on an eminence) of the king and governor is in the strongest contrast with the vastum antrum, the speluncae atrae of the *détenu*s; Stat. *Silv.* 2. 129:

. . . "nos, vilis turba, caducis
deservire bonis, semperque optare parati,
spargimur in casus: celsa tu mentis ab arce
despicias errantes, humanaque gaudia rides."

That such contrast of the site of the prison with the site of the arx was really intended by our author, is shown by the position of CELSA, first word of its sentence, first word of the account of the residence of Aeolus, first word after the description leaves the prison.

SCEPTRA TENENS.—**Not** actually holding his sceptre in his hand,

"shakes his sceptre" (Dryden);

απο πτερης σκηπτρου χειριζων (De Bulgaria);

. . . "realmente adorno
di corona, e di scettro, in alto assiso" (Caro);

but invested with regal power, in possession of the supreme authority, as Stat. *Theb.* 1. 140:

. . . "ut sceptrā tenentem
foedere praecipiti semper novus angeret haeres;"

Ovid, *Er Ponto*, 3. 2. 59:

"regna Thoas habuit, Maeotide clarus in ora:
nec fuit Euxinis notior alter aquis.
sceptrā tenente illo, liquidas fecisse per auras
nescio quam dicunt Iphigenian iter;"

Lucan, 8. 558:

. . . "iam iure sine ullo
Nili sceptrā tenes;"

Coripp. Johann. 1. 480:

. . . "cuius iam Maximianus in armis
antiquos persensit avos, Romana per orbem
sceptrā tenens, Latii princeps?"

And, separately, SCEPTRA, not literally, *sceptre*, but *supreme dominion*; *Aen.* 1. 82:

"tu mihi, quodcunque hoc regni, tu sceptrā, Iovemque
concilias;"

1. 257:

. . . "sic nos in sceptrā reponis?"

4. 597:

"tum decuit, quum sceptrā dabas;"

9. 9:

"Aeneas urbe et sociis et classe relictā
sceptrā Palatini sedemque petit Evandri"

(where we have again the actual junction, and by Virgil himself, of sceptrā and sedes, both in the same metaphorical sense as in our text); *Sil.* 1. 44:

"sceptraque fundarit victor Lavinia Teucris;"

and TENENS, not literally, *holding in the hand*, but, *possessing*:
Aen. 1. 143:

. . . "tenet ille immania saxa
vestras, Eure, domos;"

11. 505:

. . . "tenent Danai qua deficit ignis."

MOELLIT ANIMOS ET TEMPERAT IRAS.—These words, like **SEDET** and **TENENS**, do not refer particularly to any present act of Aeolus, to his soothing the winds with his sceptre, or from his throne, but to the general mollifying, taming, breaking-in effect produced on them by their confinement and restraint, under the command of a governor (see *Rem.* 1. 58): *Stat. Silv.* 3. 2. 42:

"et pater, Aeolio frangit qui carcere ventos,
.
arctius obiecto Borean, Eurumque Notumque
monte premat;"

Stat. *Achill.* 1. 355 (Thetis to Lycomedes):

. . . "tu frange regendo
indocilem [Achillem]."

The words are connected in the sense with the preceding IMPERIO PREMIT AC VINCLIS ET CARCERE FRAENAT, as if Virgil had said, "Premens imperio suo, et fraenans vinclis et carcere, mollit animos," &c. And accordingly we are told (verse 62), NI FACIAT, unless they were thus mollified, not by that special and personal conciliation generally supposed to be expressed by the words, SCEPTA TENENS SEDET MOLLITQUE, but by being kept in prison, and under government, they would, in their untamed violence, sweep the whole world before them; to prevent which consummation, HOC METUENS, the provident Father of all placed them under the mollifying influence of confinement and a governor. "Mollire (*to soften*) is to be carefully distinguished from lenire (*to soothe*); the latter being to produce a softening effect by soft measures; mollire, to produce the softening effect by any measures, no matter how severe or rigorous; in the passage before us, VINCLIS ET CARCERE. Compare Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* 2. 134: "Dentibus mollitur cibus;" Hor. *Sat.* 1. 4. 20:

"usque laborantes dum ferrum molliat ignis."

Exactly similar to the use of mollire in our text is that of mulcere, verse 70, where see Rem.

TEMPERAT IRAS, *moderates their anger, moderates the violence of their anger*; verse 150: "temperat arqnor," *moderates the violence of the sea*. See Rem. 1. 150 (*b*).

64.

ABDIDIT

"Verbarg," Voss. No; but *stowed away, put away in a place apart, or by themselves*; first, because the idea of *hiding* is, notwithstanding the contrary opinion of the lexicographers, foreign

from this word, which always means simply *putting away, apart* (ab-do)—compare *Georg.* 3. 96: “abde domo;” *Aen.* 2. 553: “lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem,” &c.; and secondly, because it was plainly Jupiter’s intention to put the winds, not in a place where they could not be readily seen or found, but merely in a place apart.

65.

MOLEMQUE ET MONTES

“*Id est, MOLEM MONTIS, et est figura hendiadys*” . . . says Servius, plainly understanding a single mountain to be meant, out of a cave in the interior of which Aeolus (verse 85), with a thrust or push of his spear on the side of the mountain, sets free the imprisoned winds:

. . . “cavum conversa cuspide montem
impulit in latus, ac venti . . .
qua data porta ruunt,”

and such perhaps has been Virgil’s meaning; for, **first**, how little store is to be set by the plural MONTES appears from the plural SPELUNCIS, used verse 64 as equivalent to and meaning no more than ANTRO, verse 56, and from the plural divis (8. 103: “Amphitryoniadae magno divisque”) used as equivalent for and meaning no more than divo (“Amphitryoniadae magno divo”), as well as from the plural “modis miris,” verse 354, not meaning *in more than one wonderful manner*, but only *in a wonderful manner*. **Secondly**, although our English habits of thought and expression might lead us to understand the MOLEM ET MONTES which Jupiter INSUPER IMPOSUIT on winds already described as confined in speluncae, to have been actually placed over those speluncae, still it is by no means improbable, taking into account our author’s so frequently illogical forms of expression, that nothing more is meant by the two distinct statements, “stowed away in caves” and “placed a mass

and high mountains over them," than "stowed away in a cave in the interior of a high and massy mountain;" and, **thirdly**, such precisely is the view taken of the Aeolian carcer by Quintus Smyrnaeus, 14. 474:

ἔκετο δ' Αἰολίην, ἀνέμων ὄθι λαβρὸν αἰντῶν
 ἀντρα περὶ, στεινερῶσιν ἀρηραμέν' αἰμῇ πετρῶσι,
 κοίλῃ καὶ ἡχέεντῃ. δομοὶ δ' ἀγχιστα πέλονται
 Αἰόλου Ἰπποταῖο. κίχεν δὲ μιν ἐνδὸν ἰόντα
 σὺν τ' ἀλόχῳ καὶ παισὶ δυνώδεκα. καὶ οἱ εἶπεν
 ὀλλποσ' Ἀθηναίῃ Ἀκναίων ἐπεμνηδετο νοστώ.
 Ἄνταρ οὐκ ἀπιδῆσι, μολῶν δ' ἐκτοσθε μέλειθρων,
 χερσὶν ὑπ' ἀκαμπτῶσιν ὄρος μέγα τυψέ τριμῆν,
 ἐνθ' ἀνέμοι χελαδεῖναι δούσηχες ἠελιζόντο
 ἐν κενεῷ κευθμῶνι· περὶαχέ δ' αἶεν ἰωῆ,
 βρυχομένη ἀλεγεινῇ βίῃ δ' ἐρρηξέ κολῶνην,

and by Val. Flacc. 1. 576:

"continuo Aeoliam Tyrrhenaque tendit ad antra

 aequore Trinacrio refugique a parte Pelori
 stat rupes horrenda fretis; quot in aethera surgit
 molibus, infernas toties demissa sub undas.
 nec scopulos aut antra minor iuxta altera tellus
 cernitur: illam Acamas habitat, nudusque Pyracmon.
 has nimbi ventique domos, et naufraga servat
 tempestas; hinc in terras latumque profundum
 est iter: hinc olim soliti miscere polumque
 infelixque fretum: neque enim tunc Aeolus illis
 rector erat, Libya cum rumperet advena Calpen
 Oceanus, cum flens Siculos Oenotria fines
 perderet, et mediis intrarent montibus undae,
 intonuit donec pavidis ex aethere ventis
 Omnipotens, regemque dedit, quem iussa vereri
 saeva cohors: in monte chalybs iterataque muris
 saxa domant Euros; quum iam prohibere frementum
 ora nequit, rex tunc aditus et claustra refringit
 ipse volens, placatque data fera murmura porta,"

as well as by Val. Flacc. 8. 321:

"ergo, ubi diva [Iuno] rates hostemque accedere cernit,
 ipsa subit terras, tempestatumque refringit
 ventorumque domos; volucrum gens turbida fratrum
 erumpit. classem dextra Saturnia monstrat,"

in all which places the Aeolian carcer is not a cave under a mountain, and to be got at by shoving or shunting the mountain aside, but a cave in a mountain and to be got at through the side of the mountain. So little clearly, however, is this meaning expressed by our author that two of his best commentators, La Cerda and Heyne, failed to perceive it, and understanding the speluncae of the winds to be under the mountain, represented Aeolus as liberating his prisoners by pushing the mountain to one side—"totus mons in latus dimovetur:" an interpretation soon afterwards repudiated by the later of the two commentators in favour of the theory that the prisoners were set at liberty, not by any mere push of the spear held in the hand, but by a cast of the spear so powerful as to break open the mountain's side: "Egregie autem dei et potentia et impetuosum obsequium declaratur, uno sub ictu (non ut olim accipiebam *in latus dimoto*, verum) latere montis percusso hasta dei, perrupto et sic patefacto, . . . hanc intorquet, immittit, ruptaque rupe viam ventis facit, qua erumpant." Happily we know nothing in English, and except in Virgil and his imitators, little even in Latin, of this form of epexegetis, this awkward embarrassing illogical make-shift of the versifier, this grand hendiadys of the grammarian.

The Servian, however, is not the only view which may be taken of the Aeolian carcer. Another view—in some respects more, in other respects less, probable—has sometimes presented itself to me, viz., that the MOLEM ET MONTES placed by Jupiter over the winds (INSUPER) may not have been, as I suppose (somewhat rashly, perhaps) Servius to have thought, a real mountain containing within it the winds in their vastum antrum or atrae speluncae, but only (in case we retain so much of the Servian view as to understand MOLEM ET MONTES ALTOS to mean one single object) a figurative mountain, *i. e.* a tall and massy boulder, cromlech or Stonehenge block, placed immediately on the opening of the antrum, or (in case we understand MOLEM ET MONTES ALTOS to mean, as it seems more obviously to mean, a plurality) a heap of such massy blocks, the one sole block or one of the heap of blocks (as the case may be) being.

not struck on its side, but pushed aside, viz., from off the opening, by Aeolus, verse 85, and so the winds set at liberty. The arguments which have occurred to me in favour of this view are—**first**, the frequent use by our author himself, no less than by other writers, of *mons* in the figurative sense, or as meaning no more than a boulder or block of stone: *Georg.* 3. 252:

“at neque eos iam frena virum, nec verbera saeva,
non scopuli rupesque cavae atque obiecta retardant
flumina, correptosque unda torquentia montes,”

where “*montes*” are mere boulders or blocks of stone; Juvenal, 3. 257:

“nam si procubuit, qui saxa Ligustica portat
axis, et eversum fudit super agmina montem
quid superat de corporibus? quis membra, quis ossa
invenit?”

where “*montem*” is a mere boulder or block of stone; Statius, *Theb.* 2. 559:

“saxum ingens, quod vix plena cervice gementes
vertere humo, murisque valent inferre iuveni,
rupibus evellit; dein toto sanguine nixus
sustinet, immanem quaerens librare ruinam,
. stupet obvia letho
turba superstantum, atque emissi turbine montis
obruitur,”

where the boulder or block of stone which has just been called “*saxum ingens*” is called *mons*: Ammian. 17. 4: “*quibus colligatus mons ipse effigiatus scriptilibus elementis . . . cavea locatur in media*,” where an obelisk is called *mons* and not merely *mons* but “*mons ipse*,” Silius, 4. 295 (ed. Ruperti):

“haud aliter structo Tyrrhena ad littora saxo
pugnatura fretis subter caecisque procellis
pila, immane sonans, impingitur ardua ponto;
immugit Nereus, divisaque caerulea pulsu
illisum accipiunt irata sub aequora montem,”

where even a *pila* is called *mons*; and especially Virgil himself, *Aen.* 12. 684:

"ac veluti montis saxum de vertice praeceps
cum ruit avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber
proluit, aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas;
fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu,
exultatque solo, silvas, armenta virosque
involvans secum,"

where we have the literal mons and the figurative mons close cheek-by-jowl to each other—nay, stranger and more wonderful still, the one falling from the top of the other. **Secondly**, that such view of the Aeolian carcer, viz., that it was *under* not *in* the MOLEM ET MONTES is immediately and inevitably suggested by INSUPER IMPOSUIT. **Thirdly**, that, this view being taken, it is at once perceived how the winds escape immediately on the push given by Aeolus's spear, viz., through the mouth of the cave from which the push of the spear has removed the superimposed MOLEM ET MONTES (or one of them); whereas, the Servian view being taken, it is necessary to imagine between the push of the spear and the escape of the winds either a wide-thrown-open door or a wide breach in the side of the mountain. **Fourthly**, that no less an authority than Statius represents Aeolus as closing up the carcer of the winds "obiecto monte"—(*Silv.* 3. 2. 42):

"et pater, Aeolio frangit qui carcere ventos
.....
arctius obiecto Borean Eurumque Notumque
monte premat,"

—not surely with an opposed mountain, but with an opposed boulder or great block of stone, as placed beyond doubt not only by the reason of the thing, but by Statius's own exact parallel, *Theb.* 10. 246:

"non aliter moto quam si pater Aeolus antro
portam iterum saxo premat imperiosus, et omne
claudat iter, iamiam sperantibus aequora ventis,"

where the literal expression is used as being more propitious to the measure than the figurative, exactly as in the parallel passage and in our text the figurative expression, being more propitious to the measure than the literal, is used in preference; only secondary regard being, according to the general practice of poets, paid

in either case to the clearness of the sense. **Fifthly**, the boulder or figurative mons with which, according to this view, the Aeolian cave is stopped up, verse 65, and which Aeolus, verse 85, pushes away with his spear so as to give the winds egress, is exactly **the** θυρεος of the cave of Polyphemus, Hom. *Od.* 9. 240:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ἐπεθήκε θυρεὸν μέγα κρητὸν ἄκρας
ὀβριμον· οὐκ ἂν τόνγε δῖω καὶ ἑκὼς ἀμαξίῃ
ἐσθλῇ τετρακύνκλω ἀπ' οὐδοῦς ὀχλήσσων
τοσσὸν ἡλεβατον πέτρην ἐπεθήκε θυρήσιν·

the "immane saxum," and the "obex fracti montis" of the cave of Cacus, 8. 225:

"ut sese inclusit, ruptisque immane catenis
deiecit saxum, ferro quod et arte paterna
pendebat, fultosque emuniit obice postes:"

Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 563:

"illo [Cacus] aditum fracti praestruxerat obice montis;
vix iuga movissent quinque bis illud opus.
nititur hic humeris, coelum quoque sederat illis,
et vastum motu collabefactat onus.
quod simul evulsum est, fragor aethera terruit ipsum
ictaque subsedit pondere molis humus,"

and the λίθος μέγας σφoδρα of Christ's sepulchre, *Ev. Marc.* 16. 3: καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἑαυτὰς· τίς ἀποκλείσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς θυρᾶς τοῦ μνημείου; καὶ ἀναβλέψασαι θεωροῦσιν, οὐκ ἀποκλείσται ὁ λίθος· ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφoδρα—**all** of them boulders or great blocks of stone pushed, rolled, or otherwise applied to the mouth of the cave when it was necessary it should be closed, and pushed, rolled, or otherwise moved away when it was necessary it should be opened; and, **sixthly**, that no sufficient reason has ever yet been assigned, either why the Aeolian cave should be without such usual θυρεος, or why, such usual θυρεος being in its place, the prison warder should let the winds out, not with a simple push of the θυρεος to one side, but with a spear-thrust on the wall of his own prison which breaches it as widely as ever was breached in after times the wall of a Clerkenwell jail by burglars armed with lucifer matches and gunpowder.

Let every one have his own opinion: there is none perfectly

unobjectionable, so well has confused expression—perhaps even confused thought—been glossed over and made to look beautiful by harmonious versification. The poet's motto and all the poets striving is "videri." He says himself "victor virum volitare per ora," and the one only sure way to that goal is "videri."

65-66.

INSUPER IMPOSIT

Placed on the top of them; *Aen.* 3. 579:

. . . "ingentemque insuper Aetnam
impositam,"

placed on the top of him; *Sen. Herc. Fur.* 317 (Megara speaking of Hercules alive in Hades):

"demersus ac defossus, ac toto insuper
oppressus orbe, quam viam ad superos habet?"

—oppressed with the whole world on the top of him.

85-86.

CAVUM CONVERSA CUSPIDE MONTEN
IMPULIT IN LATUS

To those who, with Heyne, on his second and more deliberate view, imagine they see in MONTEN not a mons placed over the Aeolian cave, but a mons containing that cave in its interior, CAVUM of course presents no difficulty—is, on the contrary, the

very epithet which convinces them how correct the view they have taken both of *MONTEM* here and of its correlative *MOLEM ET MONTES*, verse 65, viz., that the one no less than the other is the very Aeolian carcer, the hollow mountain of the winds, exactly as Ovid's "mons cavus," (*Met.* 11. 593) is the hollow mountain of Sleep:

"est prope Cimmerios longo spelunca recessu,
mons cavus, ignavi domus et penetralia Somni."

Not so, however, those who may prefer the alternative view I have suggested at verse 65, viz., that the *MONTEM* of our text, no less than the correlative *MOLEM ET MONTES* of verse 65, are only the boulder and boulders closing up the mouth of the actual prison ("vastum antrum," verse 56, and "speluncae atrae," verse 64). To them *CAVUM* is at first blush a difficulty—a difficulty which, however, vanishes as soon as they recollect the *κοίλα κληῖθρα* of Sophocles (*Oed. Tyr.* 1260:

δαιμον δ' αἶσας, ὡς υἱηγήτοιο τινος,
πυλίας διπλίας ἐνῆλατ'. ἐκ δὲ πυθμενων
ἐλλινε κοίλα κληῖθρα, κἄμπλιπτε σιγῇ

[*tanquam si viam quis praemonstraret, in gemituas fores invectus est Oedipus funditusque evellit cava claustra, atque in cubiculum irruit*]),

and the *σταθμα κοίλα θιρῶων* of Theocritus (*Idyll.* 24. 13:

ταμος ἀγ' αἶψα πέλωρα θύω πολυμηχανός Μη
χανάεις ἡρισσοῦντας ἐπο σπινραισι δρυκοῦντας
ὥρσεν ἐπὶ πλάτυν οὐδον, ὅθι σταθμα κοίλα θιρῶων
οἰκον, ἀπὸ κλισίας ἡεῖται βίτης Πρακλῆα).

and perceive that the *θιρῶος* or boulder shutting up the cave may be styled *cavus* on account of the *cavity* (viz., the *cave* itself) behind or below it, with the same propriety with which the *κληῖθρα* of Homer and the *σταθμα* of Theocritus are styled *κοίλα*, on account of the cavities behind them respectively.

IMPULIT IN LATUS, either pushed to one side (shunted), or struck on the side, according to the view which may have been taken of *CAVUM MONTEM* and *MOLEM ET MONTES*. If those expressions have been understood to signify the mountain containing the actual cave or carcer, then *IMPULIT IN LATUS* is,

pushed or struck on the side, so as either with candid, incautious Heyne, to breach the carcer wall (see Rem. on "molem et montes"), or with warier Voss (literal as usual, and eschewing all explanation), to allow passage out ("wo sich Ausgang öffnete"), or with half-and-half Wagner to open claustra ("ut claustra laxentur"). And of *impellere* in *latus* used in such sense, viz., as equivalent to strike or push on the side, there is at least this sufficiently indubitable example, *Stat. Theb. 1. 114*:

"ut stetit [Tisiphone] abrupta qua plurimus arce Cithaeron
occurrit caelo, fera sibila crine virenti
congeminat, signum terris, unde omnis Achæi
ora maris late, Pelopeiaque regna resultant.
audiit et medius cæli Parnassus, et asper
Eurotas, dubiamque iugo fragor impulit Oeten
in latus,* et geminis vix fluctibus obstitit Isthmos,"

while of *impellere* by itself, in the sense of striking, the examples are even numerous; *Georg. 1. 254*:

. . . "infidum remis impellere marmor;"

Ovid, *Met. 3. 657*:

. . . "impellit properantibus æquora remis;"

Tibullus, 2. 5. 3:

. . . "vocales impellere pollice chordas;"

Ovid, *Met. 10. 145*:

. . . "impulsas tentavit pollice chordas;"

Sil. 11. 217:

"cui patuere Alpes, saxa impellentia cælum;"

and especially Claud. *de Rapt. Proserp. 11. 179*:

"sic, quum Thessaliam scopulis inclusa teneret
Peneo stagnante palus, et mersa negarent
arva coli, trifida Neptunus cuspide montes
impulit adversos: tum forti saucius ictu
dissiluit gelido vertex Ossaëus Olympo;
carceribus laxantur aquae, fractoque meatu
redduntur fluviusque mari, tellusque colonis;"

* Struck Oeta on one side, so as to make it doubtful, *i. e.* so as to make it totter.

where not only is the CUSPIDE MONTEM IMPULIT of our text repeated as nearly as need be in "cuspide montes impulit," but "impulit" is explained by "saucius ictu." To which example may be added Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 519:

"altera gramineo spectabis Equiria campo,
quem Tybris curvis in latus urget aquis,"—

"the grassy plain which Tyber presses on the side with its water."

If, on the contrary, CAVUM MONTEM and MOLEM ET MONTES have been understood to be the *ἄρρεος* or boulder closing the mouth of the carcer, then IMPULIT IN LATUS is not, struck on the side, but pushed to one side, as Stat. *Theb.* 6. 656:

. . . "hunc potius, iuvenes, qui moenia saxis
frangere, qui Tyrias deiectum vaditis arces,
hunc rapite; ast illud cui non iaculabile dextrae
pondus? et abreptum nullo conamine iecit [Hippomedon]
in latus,"

threw the disk, not on its side, but to one side, aside, *i. e.*, out of the way; Stat. *Theb.* 6. 542 (of Leander embroidered on a garment):

. . . "Phryxei natat hic contemptor ephebus
aequoris, et picta translucet caeruleus unda:
in latus ire manus, mutaturusque videtur
brachia, nec siccum speres in stamine crinem,"

the hands go, not on the side, but to the side, aside, sideways; Stat. *Theb.* 9. 802:

. . . "sed ferri lumine diro
turbatus sonipes, sese dominumque retorsit
in latus, atque avidam transmisit devius hastam,"

jerked himself and his rider, not on the side, but sideways, to one side, *i. e.* shyed, so as to let the spear pass by without touching either; Claud. *de Rapt. Proserp.* 16. 74:

. . . "dum vellere Pelion Otus
nititur, occubuit Phoebo, moriensque Ephialtes
in latus obliquam proiecit languidus Ossam,"

flung Ossa obliquely to one side.

66.

REDEMQUE DEDIT.

"Regemque dedit," Val. Flacc. 1. 592 (quoted Rem. 1. 55). With respect to the *fact* of the king's being the gift of heaven to the winds, there is no more difference of opinion between the two poets than there is at present in Germany between any two loyal subjects with respect to the fact of the Emperor's being the gift of heaven to that country; or than there was within our own recollection—(aye, and still is, if royal mint epigraphs tell truth)—between any two loyal subjects anywhere with respect to the fact of any particular crowned head's being a similar gift. That the gift is represented by Virgil as providential, ("id metuens," "ni faciat"), the offspring of that wise foresight which anticipates and obviates coming evil, and by Valerius Flaccus as an afterthought, the "posthuma proles" of bitter experience —

. . . "neque enim tunc Aeolus illis
 rector erat, Libya cum rumperet advena Calpen
 oceanus, cum flens Siculos Oenotria fines
 perderet, et mediis intrarent montibus undae"—

is a mere variety of manner, not at all affecting the matter of fact. The older account, the first colouring of the picture, is of course the more imaginative and Platonic; the later, the more philosophic and Darwinian. The gift itself, in whichever light viewed, presents not a few of the characters of another scarcely less celebrated gift of heaven—that sweet, deep, and refreshing sleep, which, care-easing, heart-healing, eye-closing, ear-stopping, hand-and-foot-tying, noisy-tongue-and-throat-hushing, "dono divum gratissima serpit;" and in the kindest, most good-natured, most disinterested manner in the world, takes on itself, for eight hours out of every four-and-twenty, the entire direction and management of our too often crazy, creaking, hard-to-be-managed rudder—

"pone caput, fessosque oculos furare labori
 ipse ego paullisper pro te tua munera inibo."

66-67.

QUI FOEDERE CERTO

ET PREMERE ET LAXAS SCIRET DARE IUSSUS HABENAS

FOEDERE CERTO.—“Certa lege, ratione; non temere et pro eorum impetu,” Heyne. “Certis legibus astrictus,” Wagner (1861). “Lege certa,” Gossrau. “Foedus is here nearly equivalent to *lex*,” Conington—an explanation which seems to me to be rather inconsistent with the important word *iussus*. How were it possible for Aeolus’s government of the winds to be at one and the same time “*certa lege, ratione*,” and in conformity with and obedience to the varying will of a superior bound by no *lex*, no *ratio*? Until this question be answered, I shall take the liberty of understanding FOEDERE in its other and no less usual sense of *pacto* or *covenant*, viz., *covenant* entered into between Jupiter and Aeolus, according to which Aeolus, for the sake of certain advantages—as, for instance, territory, *arx*, and the dignity of *rex*—took on him the troublesome office of keeping the winds in order, and marshalling them hither or thither as his suzerain, imperial Jove, should direct—

ET PREMERE, ET LAXAS SCIRET DARE IUSSUS HABENAS.

Voss, agreeing with me in his interpretation of the word FOEDERE, but strangely enough confining its operation to PREMERE, and that of IUSSUS to DARE LAXAS HABENAS, and regarding IUSSUS and FOEDERE as opposed to each other, and paying no attention at all to the two ET’S which so plainly place the two infinitives and IUSSUS itself in connexion with FOEDERE, thus translates:

. . . “der bald nach gemessenem Bündniss
bändigen könnte den Lauf, und bald nach Geheiss sie entzügeln.”

PREMERE. Conington queries whether PREMERE [*ventos*], or

PREMERE HABENAS. That it is PREMERE HABENAS is, I think, placed beyond doubt by Ovid, *Met.* 2. 135:

“nec preme, nec summum molire per aethera currum,”

where it is “preme currum.”

The whole passage (HIC—HABENAS) may be resolved into five parts or clauses: the first of which, HIC VASTO—FRAENAT, informs us that king Aeolus kept the winds confined in a vast cave. The second, ILLI INDIGNANTES—FREMUNT, more particular, presents us with the prisoners impatient to get out, and roaring about the barrier of their prison. The third clause, CELSA—IRAS, as particular with respect to the governor as the second with respect to the governed, informs us that he dwells in a lofty *Burg* or castle, and that the object and result of his government is the controlling and mollifying of the unruly spirits over which he presides. The fourth clause, NI FACIAT—AURAS, explains the necessity for these precautionary measures, taken, as the fifth clause informs us, by the Father Omnipotent, who, retaining the supreme power in his own hands, left to the king only that of legate or khedive (IUSSUS)—important information by which the reader is enabled to understand without further intimation or innuendo how low the queen of heaven condescended when she tempted with a bribe the commissioned officer of the Most High, her own husband, to a breach of duty; and how well merited by the no less obsequious than self-sufficient officer, the rebuke of Neptune, the queen’s own brother. The “Tantaene animis caelestibus irac” had prepared us for outbursts of Saturnian passion; it had not prepared us for Saturnian “bribery and corruption.” Why the remarkable reticence? Why the reader left so entirely to his own discrimination and the one word *iussus*? What could be said too bad—what bad, too plainly—of the bitter, uncompromising, powerful enemy of Rome and the whole Roman race, of the sole cause of all Aeneas’s troubles? The answer is not far to be sought. The author is playing a double part all through. From first to last he is in one perpetual dilemma. Without a hostile, angry, and embittered Juno he had had no poem, no *locus standi*;

and had he insisted on having one, every Muse had fled and left him to indite alone his panegyric of Augustus. On the other hand, peace had been made with Juno on the destruction of Carthage by the second Africanus; and at the time Virgil was writing his poem, Rome's bitterest, most bitterly hated, most powerful enemy had become not merely friend and ally, but joint patroness with Venus and protectress of Rome. Exactly as his Trojan colony was in a fix between the onward-impelling fates and the perpetually repelling Juno (Rem. p. 227), the poet himself was in a fix between Juno—at the time *of* which he wrote, most malignant, most dreaded enemy; and Juno, at the time *in* which he wrote—most honoured and valued friend. How was it possible for him not to feel himself trammelled, or to conceal from his readers the trammels he felt? What sympathy had he to expect for a hero persecuted by a jealous and angry deity, who, subsequently laying aside both her anger and her jealousy, entered into a friendly alliance with the hero's descendants, and was living at the very time the poem was written on the best and most friendly terms not only with those descendants but with the poet himself—one of them. Any sympathy with a so-circumstanced hero of a so-circumstanced poet was simply impossible, and was never yet felt by any one for Aeneas. We have all of us sympathized with Dido, with Nisus and Euryalus, with Turnus, and with Pallas; many of us with Mezentius, some of us with Dares, and even with Cacus: but which of us has ever yet sympathized with Aeneas? Who, except his own mother, would ever have lifted a hand to save him, had it been possible, from his persecutress—would not rather have said he deserved all he got and should have got more. And more he assuredly would have got had the poet lived, not under Augustus, but under the Republic and before the fall of Carthage, while Juno was still the enemy of Rome, while heroes still bore some faint resemblance to Hector and Achilles, while Didos were oftener ravished than seduced, and men parleyed with their gods face to face, eye to eye, and hard word for hard word—not beating their breasts and blubbering, abject on their knees, or prostrate in the dust

moaning. Both the hero and the gods of the *Aeneis* are anachronisms; hero and gods of an heroic age, with the manners of the court of Augustus. Had the second Homer lived some two thousand years later—say in France, just before the battle of Sedan—his Aeneas had been a Napoleon, his Dido an Eugenie, the manners of his Olympus those of St. Cloud, and Juno's bribe only the more acceptable to Aeolus because prefaced with a "majesté" no less dignified than respectful. Nor will many, I should think, be indisposed to find with me in the *O REGINA* of king Aeolus's reply an emphasis, an intended contrast to the abrupt, unceremonious "*AEOLE*" of the imperial consort. Compare the short and familiar "*Cytherea*" of Jupiter, 1. 261, in reply to Venus's respectful

. . . "O qui res hominumque deumque
aeternis regis imperiis et fulmine terres."

70 (a).

ET MULCERE DEDIT FLUCTUS ET TOLLERE VENTO

"*MULCERE* autem delinire . . . alii *MULCERE* mitigare, mollire vel fovere," Serv. (ed. Lion). "*MULCERE FLUCTUS*, reprimere, et tollere eos vento, *h. e.* concitare ut alte insurgant," Heyne. "Einzuschlafen die Fluth, und wieder im Sturm zu erheben," Voss. "*MULCERE*, placare, mitigare, reprimere," Forb. "*MULCERE*, *i. e.* delinire, mitigare, ut verse 197 (201)," Gossrau. The most easily satisfied reader will look with suspicion on all these glosses as soon as he has observed that in no one of them is there the slightest allusion to any instrument by means of which Aeolus is to produce a mulcent effect on the waves—*MULCERE FLUCTUS*. He is to raise them with the wind, and to quell them: but how to quell them, or that an instrument wherewith to quell them is no less necessary than an instrument wherewith to raise them, seems not to have entered into the mind

of any one of all these five principal Virgilian commentators. Some instrument is necessary, mutters the puzzled reader; and Aeolus has none, except one which he is to use for an opposite purpose. It can hardly be that; or is Aeolus really expected to blow hot and cold with the same breath. Not with the same breath, but with two different breaths, suggests a lady who happens to be present. Aeolus, with one wind, "tollit fluctus," with the opposite wind, "mulcet fluctus." I have seen him do it a thousand times from my windows on the Passeggio, "fuori la porta a mare," at Leghorn. I have seen him there with his Libeccio or his Sirocco raise the sea into billows so high as to burst with noise and fury over the parapet-wall of the Via del Passeggio under my windows, so that if I had occasion to go into town I could only go on the opposite side of the road, not on that next the water. You would have said, had you seen the size, the force and fury of the waves, the sea would have required a month to subside into a state of calm, even if the Libeccio had ceased to blow and would let it. Well, I have seen Aeolus take such a sea, and in twelve hours—sometimes in the half of twelve hours—make it as smooth, level, and quiet as a millpond, just by calling off Libeccio or Sirocco, whichever it might be, and setting Tramontana or Greco to blow as strong in the face of the waves as Libeccio or Sirocco had been blowing at their back. I have seen this happen a hundred times at Leghorn; a hundred times have I gone to bed there, thinking I would not be able to sleep a wink for the noise of the sea and Libeccio, and yet have had a quiet night, and in the morning looked out on the sea as tranquil as a lake, Aeolus having called Libeccio off the station and put Tramontana on shortly after my going to bed. I don't doubt but the same thing is continually happening on the coast of Africa opposite, with this difference only, that it will be with Tramontana Aeolus rouses the waves there, whilst it will be with Libeccio he quells them; and you may be sure it was Virgil's observation at Baiae of this custom of his, to raise the waves with one wind and quell them with another, which put into his head that account of Aeolus's both quelling and raising the waves with the wind.

which has so puzzled you. The lady is quite right as to the matter of fact, said I, putting in my word, and might have quoted

“luctantem Icaris fluctibus Africum,”

and

. . . “praecipitem Africum
decertantem Aquilonibus,”

but I have grave doubts that it is with this matter of fact our author intends to present us, and not rather with the no less indubitable matter of fact that Aeolus sometimes quells the sea, when in a state of fury, with the same wind with which at other times (viz., when the sea is in a state of rest) he lashes it into fury. The two pictures are essentially different: in that presented by the lady, the same waves being raised by one wind and quelled by another; while in the picture which I imagine to myself, the same wind which at one time raises the quiet sea into a state of fury, at another time quells the same sea when it has been lashed into a state of fury by a wind from an opposite quarter. The two pictures being equally true in nature, I am inclined to think it is with the latter we are presented by Virgil—first, because he has written *VENTO* and not *VENTIS*, indicating thereby, as I think, that it is one and the same wind which both “mulcet” and “tollit” (“mulcet” when the sea is in a state of rage, “tollit” when the sea is in a state of calm); and secondly, because it is by a single wind Horace represents the Adriatic as both raised and quelled, *Carm. 1. 3. 14*:

. . . . “nec rabiem Noti:
quo non arbiter Adriae
maior, tollere seu ponere vult freta,”

exactly as it is with one and the same wand Mercury both puts to sleep and awakens: *Hom. Od. 5. 47*:

ελετο δε ραβδον, τη τ' ανδρων ομματα θελγει
ων εθελει, τους δ' αυτε και υπνωοντις εγειρει.

MULCERE I think more probably “mollire” or “reprimere,” “tame” or “subdue,” than either “delinire,” “fovere,” or “einzuschlafen.” See preceding part of Remark, and compare

TOLLERE (FLUCTUS) VENTO, exactly as, verse 106:

. . . "stridens Aquilone procella
velum adversa ferit, fluctusque ad sidera tollit."

Hor. *Od.* 1. 3. 14:

. "rabiem Noti,
quo non arbiter Adriae
maior, tollere seu ponere vult freta."

Val. Flacc. 1. 601 (Boreas, speaking of himself):

"nec mihi libertas imis freta tollere arenis
qualis eram, nondum vinclis et carcere clausus."

Stat. *Achill.* 1. 74 (Thetis to Neptune):

. . . "da tollere fluctus,
nec tibi de tantis placeat me fluctibus unum
littus, et Iliaci scopulos habitare sepulchri."

Stat. *Achill.* 1. 92 (Neptune to Thetis):

. . . "dabo tollere fluctus,
cum reduces Danai, nocturnaque signa Caphareus
exseret, et dirum pariter quaeremus Ulyxem."

Lucan, 5. 598 (of the storm in which Caesar crossed the Adriatic in an open boat):

"primus ab Oceano caput exseris Atlanteo
Core, movens aestus. Iam, te tollente, furebat
pontus, et in scopulos totas erexerat undas."

Lucan, 6. 27:

"Ioniumque furens, rapido cum tollitur Austro,
templa domosque quatit."

Compare Ovid, *Met.* 1. 36 (of the creation):

"tum freta diffundi, rabidisque tumescere ventis
iussit [deus], et ambitae circumdare litora terrae."

73.

INCUTE VIM VENTIS

"Duplex sensus est: INCUTE enim, si *iniice* significat, [et] VENTIS dativus est casus [hoc est parva est eorum; etiam tu eis da magnam vim]: si autem, *fac*, septimus casus est, et erit sensus 'fac vim Troianis per ventos' [hoc est per ventos vim in Troianos incute], Servius. "Concita ventos," Heyne. "Uti premendo habenas (verse 67) *demere* vim ventis, ita remittendo *incutere* dici potest Aeolus," Wagner (1861)—both Wagner and Heyne adopting the first of Servius's two explanations, and supported in their choice by Ruæus, Voss ("rege die Winde mit Macht"), Alfieri ("i venti inaspra"), Forbiger ("concita ventos vehementiores"), and Conington ("throw fury into the winds"). I object, **first**, that—the winds possessing the innate vis ascribed to them, verse 62:

NI FACIAT, MARIA AC TERRAS CAELUMQUE PROFUNDUM
QUIPPE FERANT RAPIDI SECUM VERRANTQUE PER AURAS

(with which compare Ovid, *Met.* 1. 58:

. . . "vix nunc obsistitur illis
.
quin lanient mundum;"

Met. 6. 690 (Boreas speaking):

"apta mihi vis est: vi tristia nubila pollo;
vi freta concutio nodosaque robora verto,
induroque nives, et terras grandine pulso.
.
idem ego, cum subii convexa foramina terrae,
supposuique ferox imis mea terga cavernis;
sollicito Manes, totumque tremoribus orbem;"

Lucretius, 1. 272:

. . . "venti vis verberat incita pontum,
ingentesque ruit naves, et nubila differt;"

and Lactant. *de Phoen.* 21:

"non ibi tempestas nec vis furit horrida venti")—

the winds possessing this strength *sua natura*, the addition to them of further *vis* were, on the one hand, supererogatory and absurd, and on the other hand beyond the competency of Æolus, whose commission was not to fill those with force who had only too much force already, but *PREMERE ET LAXAS DARE HABENAS*, to confine and let loose according to circumstances—at the very most, *ορνυμεν* (Hom. *Od.* 10. 22), to rouse and awake (in case, viz., of their being asleep: Quint. Cal., *Posthom.* 1. 40:

ἐντ' ἀνεμων ἐνδῆσαι μένος μέγα λαβρὸν αἰντων)

to the use of that vigour of which they were already in possession; and that, accordingly, the *gravamen* of Venus's charge, 10. 37, is not that the winds had been filled with new and unusual strength, but that they had been excited, "excitos," viz., to exert that strength which they already and by nature possessed. **And, secondly,** I object that even had it been the fact that the winds were deficient in innate vigour, and necessary for Juno, in consequence, to request Æolus to infuse additional into them for the special occasion, Virgil was precisely the writer who would have taken care not to put the subordinate request before the principal—precisely the writer who would not have placed between the Trojan fleet and the storm with which it was to be sunk or dispersed the proviso that the storm was to be one of extra quality. No, no; *VIM* is not the force, the vigour, which Æolus is to knock (*incutere*) into the winds; and even if it were, it had been as impossible for him to knock it into them "remittendo habenas" (Wagner) as it had been impossible for him to knock it out of them ("demere") "premendo habenas." *VIM* is the force, the violence, with which Æolus is, by means of his winds (*cum ventis*), to fall on the Trojan ships; the lashing, the punishment, he is to inflict on them—the very *vim* which Ovid describes the vessel as feeling, *Met.* 8. 470:

. . . "utque carina.
quam ventus, ventoque rapit contrarius aestus,
vim geminam sentit, paretque incerta duobus;"

the very vim which our author himself (10. 693) represents an exposed rock on the sea shore as braving in a storm:

. . . "rupes, vastum quae prodit in aequor
obvia ventorum furiis, expositaque ponto,
vim cunctam atque minas perfert caelique marisque."

The special vis, the special violence meant, is lashing, punishment by lashing, verbera; it being by verbera, verberando, the winds exercise their vis, their violence: Lucret. 1. 271:

. . . "venti vis verberat incita pontum [cautes, Lachm.]
ingentisque ruit navis et nubila differt,"

Lucret. 5. 953 (ed. Lachm.):

"nec dum res igni scibant tractare neque uti
pellibus et spoliis corpus vestire ferarum,
sed nemora atque cavos montis silvasque colebant,
et frutices inter condebant squalida membra,
verbera ventorum vitare imbrisque coacti."

And verbera being the especial kind of vis, of violence, inflicted by winds, incutere is the most proper word which could have been joined with vim, inasmuch as incutere is the very word used to express the infliction of violence by verbera, Sil. 2. 625:

"nec tamen evasisse datur, nam verbera Erinnyes
incutit, atque atros insibilat ore tumores [al. timores],"

Erinnyes *inflicts lashes* (an intensification of *flogs*); with which compare Ovid, *Trist.* 1. 11. 41:

"improba pugnat hiems, indignaturque quod ausim
scribere, se rigidas incutiente minas,"

inflicting threats, an intensification of *threatening*; and *Aen.* 10. 695, quoted above:

"vim cunctam atque minas perfert caelique marisque,"

where our author himself not only, as already pointed out, uses in the sense of violence of the winds, *i. e.*, in the sense of verbera ventorum, the very word which he has in our text joined with incutere, but unites it with minas (ventorum)—the very word which Ovid, as quoted above, has joined in the same sense (*viz.*, minas ventorum) with the same incutere.

If *vis* is thus with our author in his tenth book the violence, the *verbera* of a storm, and thus united by him with *minae*, the menaces of a storm; and if it is proper for Ovid to represent a storm as *incutiens minas*, inflicting threats, how much more proper is it for Virgil to represent the storm-god with his winds *incutiens* the actual violence, the *verbera*, the *vim*? Nor is it one species of violence only, *verbera*, and threats of such violence, *minae*, which are thus, as well as general violence or violence in the abstract, joined with *incutere*: other species, too, of violence are joined in the same manner with the same verb, and we have *incutere bellum* an intensification of *inferre bellum*, Hor. *Sat.* 2. 1. 38:

“sive quod Appula gens, seu quod Lucania bellum
incuteret violenta,”

exactly as we have, Sil. 2. 625, above, *incutere verbera* an intensification of *inferre verbera*; exactly as we have, Apuleius, *Met.* 7. 17 (ed. Hildebr.), *incutere ictus* an intensification of *inferre ictus*: “*coxaeque dextrae semper ictus incutiens, et unum feriendo locum, dissipato corio, et ulceris latissimo facto foramine, immo fovea, vel etiam fenestra, nullus tamen desinebat identidem vulnus sanguine delibutum obtundere;*” and exactly as we have in our text *incutere vim* an intensification of *inferre vim*.

Incutere (*in-quaterē*) *vim* is a very strong expression—perhaps the strongest form in which the infliction of bodily violence, of actual corporal punishment, can be expressed. Next in force seems to come the “*iniectare vim*” of Ammian. 14. 6; and last—very inferior in force to both, and much more vague and indefinite than either—the “*adferre vim*” of Tacitus, *Annal.* 12. 47, and our author’s own “*ferre vim*,” *Aen.* 10. 77, and “*tendere vim*,” *Georg.* 4. 399. It is with the greatest propriety the strongest form is used on the present occasion, the speaker being in the highest degree of excitement (*FLAMMATO CORDE*), and aiming at nothing short of the total extinction of Aeneas, the Trojans, and Troy—*SUBMERSAS OBRUE PUPPES, AUT AGE DIVERSOS ET DISICE CORPORA PONTO. IN INCUTE VIM VENTIS*

we have the first, the general command, the first burst of passion, *let fly at them with your winds, punish them with your winds*. In the following words, SUBMERSAS OBRUE PUPPES, AUT AGE DIVERSOS ET DISICE CORPORA PONTO, we have the particularization, the cooler, more explicit direction, in what manner and to what ultimate end and purpose the violent attack with the winds is to be made. QUE, signifying the closest most intimate union, binding together more closely and intimately than it is possible to bind by means of any other conjunction, had never been used by Virgil to unite together two so different commands—commands differing both with respect to object and means—as the command to infuse vigour into the winds and the command to sink the ships.

VENTIS, the instrument of the vis in our text, has its exact parallel in “face,” the instrument of the vis, 10. 77, and “ferro,” “veneno,” the instruments of the vis, Tacitus, *Annal.* 12. 47.

74.

AUT AGE DIVERSOS ET DISICE CORPORA PONTO

VAR. LECT.

DIVERSOS I *Rom.*, *Med.* III Pierius (“In antiquis omnibus exempl. de meliore nota, DIVERSOS legitur”); N. Heins (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Ladew.; Haupt; Ribb.
DIVERSAS III Venice, 1470; Aldus (1514); P. Manut.; D. Heins.
O. *Fr. Pal.*, *Ver.*, *St. Gall.*

The alternatives are not SUBMERSAS OBRUE PUPPES and AGE DIVERSOS ET DISICE CORPORA PONTO, but the alternatives are SUBMERSAS OBRUE PUPPES ET DISICE CORPORA PONTO and AGE DIVERSOS—the latter or second alternative being thrown in parenthetically between the two parts of which the first alternative

consists. Compare 5. 659, where "pars spoliant aras" is in like manner thrown in parenthetically between "conclamant, rapiuntque ignem" and "frondem coniiciunt;" and where the division is **not**: *they raise a shout, snatch fire from the hearths, and part strip the altars, and fling faggots and fascines and burning brands, but they raise a shout, snatch fire from the hearths, and fling faggots and fascines and burning brands, and some even snatch fire from the altars.* See Rem. 5. 659.

CORPORA.—If, on the one hand, the observation of Servius: "Tam virorum quam navium, ut ipse alio loco, cum de navibus loqueretur, 'et toto descendit corpore pestis,'" has led Jal into the mistake that CORPORA is here the Trojan ships, not the Trojans themselves ("DISICE CORPORA *navium* PONTO," Jal), the precise Ovidian parallel on the other hand (*Met.* 4. 23):

. . . "Tyrrhenaque mittis in aequor
corpora,"

where "corpora" can by no possibility be anything but the Tyrrhene sailors themselves, not only renders Jal's mistake—however fortified by Torselli's *Secreta fidelium crucis*, 1. 4. 7: "Corpora galearum cum praeparamentis suis et armis"—innocuous, but is sufficient to put even a cursory reader on his guard against the more plausible, and therefore more dangerous, error of J. H. Voss, that the bodies spoken of are dead bodies, viz., those of the drowned Trojans:

"oder zerstreu sie umher, und mit Leichnamen decke den Abgrund"
(J. H. Voss).

Of Virgil's own use of the same term elsewhere in the same sense, there is no dearth of examples; 10. 430:

6. 21: "et vos, o, Graiis imperdita corpora, Teucri!"

. . . "septena quotannis
corpora natorum;"

2. 18: "huc delecta virum sortiti corpora furtim
includunt caeco lateri."

Nor even amongst ourselves is such use of the term unfamiliar to any one who has ever heard of the Habeas Corpus Act, or

who has ever inquired at a house door: "is there anybody at home?" How literally the command DISNCE CORPORA PONTO was fulfilled appears verse 122:

"apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto."

75-77.

SUNT MIHI BIS SEPTEM PRAESTANTI CORPORE NYMPHAE

.

CONNUBIO IUNGAM STABILI PROPRIAMQUE DICABO

In imitation, as observed by Heyne, of *Iliad*, 14. 268, and seq. Both passages are in accordance with the ancient custom of rewarding faithful servants with wives. Compare *Od.* 21. 213 (Ulysses to the cowherd and swineherd):

αι χ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γέ θεός δαίμων μνηστῆρας ἀγῶνους,
ἀξομαι ἀμφοτέρους ἀλόχους, καὶ κτήματ' ὀπίσσω:

Aen. 3. 329:

"me famulo famulamque Heleno transmisit habendam."

CONNUBIO IUNGAM STABILI, theme; PROPRIAMQUE DICABO, variation. See Rem. 1. 550.

PROPRIAM, *that shall not be taken away from thee*; see Remark on "Hunc mihi da proprium," 7. 331.

78-79.

OMNES UT TECUM MERITIS PRO TALIBUS ANNOS

EXIGAT

Ovid, *Trist.* 2. 161:

"Livia sic tecum sociales compleat annos."

80—81.

TUUS O REGINA QUID OPTES

EXPLORARE LABOR MIHI IUSSA CAPESSERE FAS EST

EXPLORARE. "Recte secusne id fiat, quod velis fieri, *h. e.*, rectene haec an secus a me postules, tu ipsa videris," Heyne, Gossrau, Forbiger, Conington. I think not; that is to explain, not EXPLORARE QUID OPTES, but explorare quale sit quod optas. The meaning is: "make thou out ('reperi,' Seneca, below), determine thou, what thou wishest to be done, and I shall be most happy to be thy agent;" and so Dognatus: "Tui laboris est, *h. e.*, tuae curae, invenire quid iubeas," Cynth. Cenet.: "Tuum est deliberare quid velis." Compare Lucian, *Saturn. 1*: SACERDOS. Ω Κρονε, συ γαρ εοικας αρχειν το γε νυν ειναι και σοι τεθνυται και κεκαλλιεργηται παρ' ημων, τι αν μαλιστα επι των ιερων αιτησας λαβοιμι παρα σου; SATURNUS. Τουτο μεν αυτον σε καλως εχει εσκεφθαι ο τι σοι ενστατον, ει μη και μαρτυν αμα εδελεις ειναι τον αρχοντα, ειδεναι τι σοι ηδιον αιτειν' εγω δε τα γε δυνατα οικ' ανανεισω προς την ειχην, where εσκεφθαι, to make out, to ascertain, is exactly Virgil's EXPLORARE, a word which continues to be used in Italy to the present day in the same connexion and sense—*La Riforma* [newspaper], Firenze, Nov. 23, 1867 (of the small German states): "prima di prendere una risoluzione devono esplorare il parere della Prussia," not *make out whether the opinion of Prussia be right or wrong*, but *what the opinion of Prussia is, quid optet Prussia*. Even could the words by possibility have borne the sense assigned to them by the commentators, such meaning—conveying, as it does, the grave hint that Aeolus doubted the propriety of Juno's request—had as little become the *regulus* addressing the consort of his suzerain as it had been inconsistent with the alacrity with which the *regulus* obeyed:

. . . TUUS, O REGINA, QUID OPTES

EXPLORARE LABOR, MIHI IUSSA CAPESSERE FAS EST.

Nothing could be more polite; the trouble is all Juno's, viz., the trouble of willing and commanding; the pleasure, all Aeolus's, viz., the pleasure of obeying—MIHI FAS EST: *to me is the privilege, I count it a privilege, to do thy bidding.* TUUS is opposed to MIHI, LABOR to FAS, QUID OPTES to IUSSA, and EXPLORARE to CAPESSERE.

That there is really this polite meaning (over and above the expression of readiness to obey) in the words of Aeolus appears not merely from this analysis of the words, but from a comparison of Eurip. *Ion*, 1020, where the old slave says to Creusa:

. . . σου λεγειν, τολμαν δ' εμον

where there is the same expression of readiness to obey, but, as is quite proper—the words being those of a slave to his mistress—no expression at all either of the pleasure the speaker had in obeying, or of the trouble there was to the opposite party of commanding. The slave's words are, therefore, as curt as possible, the very counterpart of the "To hear is to obey" of the Asiatic inferior of the present day; and the lengthiness of Virgil's sentence—not very long after all, but long in comparison of Euripides' σου λεγειν, τολμαν δ' εμον—is satisfactorily accounted for. Compare *Il.* 14. 196 (Venus to the same Juno):

αυθα ο,τι φρονεις: τελευται δε με θυμος ανωγειν:

Senec. *Herc. Oet.* 272 (Dejanira to Juno):

"quid cessas, Dea?

utere furente. quod iubes fieri nefas?

reperi. quid haeres?"

and the same author's not very dissimilar contrast of the same opposite parts of hearer and speaker, *Hippol.* 619 (Phaedra to Hipp.):

"te imperia regere, me decet iussa exsequi;"

Milton. *Par. Lost*, 10. 68:

"Father eternal, Thine is to decree,
mine both in heaven and earth to do Thy will
supreme."

OPTES. "Non tantum eligere significat ut alibi (3. 109), 'optavitque locum regno,' sed etiam velle, ut hoc loco, quid optes, quid velis," Servius (ed. Lion), and succeeding commen-

tators. Near the meaning, to be sure, but perhaps not the exact meaning. Optare is of course velle, but it is also sometimes something more than velle; it is sometimes to ask, to command, and is shown by the immediately following IUSSA to have such further meaning in the present instance. Compare Ter. *Eun.* 5. 9. 26:

THR. . . . "hoc si effeceris,
quodvis donum et praemium a me. optato, id optatum feres.
GN. Itane? THR. Sic erit. GN. Hoc si efficio, postulo ut tua mihi domus
te praesente, absente, pateat; invocato ut sit locus
semper. THR. Do fidem ita futurum,"

where Gnatho, being told optare, postulates exactly as he would have done had he been told postulare. And so perhaps Servius means when he says "QUID OPTES, quod velis"—velle having sometimes (in common with our own to will, to wish, and to desire) the further meaning of to command. However this may be, it seems pretty plain that in the just-quoted passage "optato" is the conventional or euphemistic equivalent of the less delicate, less polite, more express "postulato," nor do I for my part much doubt that such precisely is the force of the optare of our text. Compare 10. 279:

"quod votis optastis, adest." . . . ;

Cic. *in Cat.* 2. 7: "Nunquam ego a diis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, . . . ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium, atque in armis volitare audiat;" also Ovid, *Met.* 8. 704:

"dicite, iuste senex, et foemina coniuge iusto
digna, quid optetis. cum Baucide pauca locutus,
consilium superis aperit commune Philemon;
esse sacerdotes, delubraque vestra tueri
poscimus,"

where "poscimus" is the correlative to "optetis" as "postulo" to "optato" in the Terentian passage, and as IUSSA to OPTES in our text. Compare also, Ovid, *Met.* 14. 139:

"excidit optarem iuvenes quoque protenus annos,"

where "optarem" must be ask for, the Sibyl not having forgotten to *wish* for, but only to *ask* for youth.

TUUS . . . QUID OPTES, EXPLORARE LABOR. Compare 4. 113:
 "Tentare precando . . . mecum erit iste labor;" 7. 331:
 "Hunc mihi da proprium . . . laborem"—Engl. *Take the trouble*; Fr. *Prendre la peine*; Germ. *Sich bemühen*.

MIHI . . . FAS EST.—*It is my privilege*. Compare 6. 563:

"nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen,"

no pure person has the privilege of setting foot on, &c. 4. 113:

. . . "tibi fas animum tentare precando,"

it is your privilege, &c. 6. 266:

"sit mihi fas audita loqui," . . .

let me have the privilege, &c. 9. 95: "Immortale fas," *the privilege of immortality*. Stat. *Silv.* 1. 2. 178:

"iamque parens Latius (cuius praenoscere mentem
 fas mihi) purpureos habitus, iuvenique curule
 indulgebit ebur,"

whose mind I have the privilege of knowing beforehand. Ovid, *Her.* 16. 63 (Paris speaking of the judgment of Paris):

"fas vidisse fuit; fas sit mihi visa referre,"

it was my privilege to see; let me have the privilege to tell. Ovid, *Met.* 2. 766 (of Pallas visiting the cave of Envy):

"constitit ante domum (neque enim succedere tectis
 fas habet) et postes extrema cuspide pulsat."

Claud. *Rapt. Proserp.* 1. 89:

"Atlantis Tegeae nepos, commune profundis
 et superis numen, qui fas per limen utrumque
 solus habes, geminoque facis commercia mundo."

82-83 (a).

TU MIHI QUODCUNQUE HOC REGNI TU SCEPTA IOVEMQUE
CONCILIAS

"Tuis in me officiis debeo totum hoc ventorum regnum,"*
Wagner (1845, 1849).

"these airy kingdoms, and this wide command,
are all the presents of your bounteous hand." Dryden.

No: *this empire such as it is*. Aeolus does not define either how great or how small his empire is, contents himself with saying *this empire such as it is*, meaning whether great or small. He could not say *great* empire, in the face of Juno, the queen of heaven, to whom the empire of Aeolus was no more than a prefecture. Neither could he say *little* empire, in the presence of her to whom he was indebted for it. He therefore very discreetly designates it by the inoffensive term QUODCUNQUE, be it great or small, whatever it is; *Aen.* 9. 287:

. . . "huius quodcunque pericli est,"

not *this great danger*, but *this danger, whatever it may be, this danger be it great or small*; *Stat. Silv.* 5. 3. 213:

"tu decus hoc quodcunque lyrae, primusque dedisti
non vulgare loqui, et famam sperare sepulchro,"

the honour of this lyre, be that honour great or small; *Sil.* 9. p. 145 (ed. Amst. 1628):

. . . "brevis hoc vitae quodcunque relictum
extendamus," ait,"

this remnant of life, whether great or small. Accordingly, Metastasio (*Ciro*, 1. 7) appropriating, as it would seem, the

* Wagner, profiting by and almost translating my *Advers. Virgiliana* (1867), has, at 9. 287, in his edition of 1861, corrected his above misinterpretation of this passage.—J. H.

Virgilian passage, and understanding QUODCUNQUE HOC REGNI to mean *a small or petty domain*—has found himself obliged, in order to counteract the bad effect of thus undervaluing a gift, to add the saving clause, “in cui felice io sono:”

. . . “quest’ ozio istesso
dell’ umil vita, in cui felice io sono,
è, lo confesso, è di tua destra un dono.”

82-83 (b).

TU SCEPTRA IOVEMQUE

CONCILIAR

“Tu mihi et dedisti et servas sceptrum (regnum) meum, dum efficis ut semper Iovis fruar favore et benevolentia,” Forbiger.
“You make power and Jupiter’s patronage mine,” Conington.

. . . “tu mi fai Giove amico,
tu mi dai questo scettro, e questo regno.” Caro.

“du hast diese Gewalt, du Jupiters Huld und den Zepter
mir ja verschafft.” Voss.

This had been the meaning had SCEPTRA been joined not to IOVEM but to REGNI, and Virgil written not HOC REGNI TU, SCEPTRA IOVEMQUE, but “hoc regni haec sceptrata Iovemque.” Then, indeed, SCEPTRA had been the repetition of REGNI under another form. But—SCEPTRA being on the one hand separated from REGNI by the second TU, and on the other united to IOVEM by the closest of all grammatical bonds, QUE—the sceptre which is meant is not Aeolus’s sceptre, but Jove’s; and Virgil says, *not* “thou conciliatest for me this empire, this sceptre, and Jove,” *but* “thou conciliatest for me this empire and sceptred Jove.” On the one hand, it had been improper and unbecoming in Aeolus first to depreciate his empire by the addition to REGNI of the modifying QUODCUNQUE, and then immediately exalt and make much of it by repeating REGNI without modification, in

SCEPTRA; and on the other hand, it had not been respectful to speak of Jove, his suzerain, in the bare, naked, single, nay curt, IOVEM. SCEPTRA IOVEMQUE, therefore, is not my sceptre and Jove, but sceptred Jove—Jove my suzerain, Jove the source of all authority.

How peculiarly proper is the attribution of a sceptre to Jove appears from Ovid, *Fast.* 5. 45, where, speaking of Majestas, that poet says:

“assidet illa Iovi: Iovis est fidissima custos:
et præstat sine vi sceptrâ tremenda Iovi.”

SCEPTRA IOVEMQUE, sceptred Jove, exactly as 11. 747, “arma virumque,” the arms and the man, *i. e.* the armed man.

82-83 (c).

TU MIHI QUODCUNQUE HOC REGNI, TU SCEPTRA IOVEMQUE
CONCILIAS

That it was the special province of Juno (secondarily, of course, and through her influence with Jupiter) to dispose of empire, appears from 1. 21:

. . . “hoc regnum dea gentibus esse
si quæ fata sinant iam tum tenditque fovetque;”

4. 106:

“quo regnum Italiæ Libycas averteret oras,”

and especially from Coluth. 145 (Juno bribing Paris):

εἰ με διακρίνων προφεισιστερον εἶδος οὐρανης,
πασης ημετερης Αἰδης ηγητορα θησω:

Ovid, *Heroid.* 16. 79 (Paris to Helen, informing her of the bribes which had been offered him by the goddesses):

. “ingentibus ardent
iudicium donis sollicitare meum.
regna Iovis coniux; virtutem filia iactat.”

TU MIHI IOVEM CONCILIAS. That it was not unusual for Juno thus to make interest with Jupiter for gods who had obliged her appears from Stat. *Theb.* 10. 130 (Iris addressing to Somnus the request of Juno):

“da precibus tantis, rara est hoc posse facultas,
placatumque Iovem dextra Iunone merere.”

The court of heaven is of course regulated—how else were it possible?—after the fashion of earthly courts, and the favour of the wife or mistress is the surest way to the ear of the sovereign.

TU, TU, TU.—The second person (generally not expressed at all) repeated here three times is in the highest degree emphatic: *thou, thou, thou only.*

CONCILIAS. Mart. Capell. 1. 30 (ed. Kopp): “Ut vidit Clarius consortio patrem Iunonis haerentem, quam noverat suffragari plurimum ac favere connubiis, laetus primo omine ipsamque concilians, in cuius arbitrio positam mariti noverat voluntatem, ita mitis affatur.”

83.

TU DAS EPULIS ACCUMBERE DIVUM

Compare Theocr. *Idyll.* 17. 14:

Αγχιειδὺς Πτολεμαῖος
.
 τήνον καὶ μακαρεῖσσι πικτὴρ ὁμοτιμον ἐθήκεν
 ἀθανάτοισι, καὶ οἱ χρυσέος δομοὶ ἐν Λίος οἰκῶ
 δεδμητῶν· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν Ἀλεξάνδρος ἦϊλα εἰδὼς
 ἐδρῆκει, Περσῶσι βαρὺς θῆος υἱολομίτρας.
 ἀντὶ δ' Ἡρακλῆος ἐδρῆ κενταυροφονοῖο
 ἰδρύεται, στερεοῖο τετυγμένα ἐξ ἀδάμαντος·
 ἐνθα σὺν ἀλλοῖσιν θαλίαις ἔχει οὐρανιδαῖσιν,
 χαίρων ὕψωνων περιωσίον ὕψωνοῖσιν,
 ὅτι σφῆων Κρονίδης μέλειν ἐξείλετο γῆρας,
 ἀθάνατοι δὲ καλεῦνται εἰς νεποδὲς γεγῶτες,

where the honour conferred by Virgil in our text, on Aeolus, is conferred by Virgil's early master on Ptolemy Lagides, and Alexander—an instance to be added to the many in which our author, even in the *Aeneis*, treads in the steps of Theocritus. See Prefatory Rem. to Book iv. Compare also Herodian, 1. 4 (Commodus of his father, Marcus): *ο μὲν γὰρ πατήρ, εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναπτάς, σπαδὸς ἤδη καὶ συνέδρος ἐστὶ θεῶν.*

If we do not elsewhere find a cover laid for Aeolus at the feasts in Olympus, it is only reasonable to expect that nevertheless there was one for him, inasmuch as we find even his subjects, the winds, had seats in the heavenly council; Stat. *Theb.* 1. 205:

. . . "mox turba vagorum
semideum, et summis cognati nubibus amnes,
et compressa metu servantes murmura venti
aurea tecta replent."

Ibid. Silv. 4. 2. 1:

"regia Sidoniae convivia laudat Elisae
qui magnum Aenean Laurentibus intulit arvis,
Alcinoique dapes mansuro carmine monstrat
aequore qui multo reducem consumpsit Ulixen;
ast ego, cui sacrae Caesar nova gaudia coenae
nunc primum, dominaque dedit consurgere mensa,
qua celebrem mea vota lyra?"

Let Goethe and Humboldt say how high an object of ambition it has been in all times, and unhappily with persons much more cultivated than Aeolus, to be admitted to the table of one's liege lord and master, "dominaque consurgere mensa."

84.

NIMBORUMQUE FACIS TEMPESTATUMQUE POTENTEM

This verse is not, as it has appeared to some commentators (see Conington *in loc.*), a mere repetition of TU MIHI QUODCUNQUE HOC REGNI TU SCEPTA IOVEMQUE CONCILIAS. It is the complement of those words, the specification of the kind of empire, the kind of REGNI just mentioned, as if Aeolus had said “mihi concilias hoc regnum nimborum tempestatumque” (see Rem. on “Progeniem,” verse 23); while at the same time it serves to bring back to Juno’s mind her own words—MULCERE DEDIT FLUCTUS ET TOLLERE VENTO; as if he had said, “hoc regnum, hoc mulcere fluctus et tollere vento, de quo loqueris.” Neither does this verse come awkwardly, as to the same commentators it has seemed to do, after DAS EPULIS ACCUMBERE DIVUM, inasmuch as it assigns Aeolus’s title to a seat at the table of the gods—that he sits there in his capacity of ruler of storm-clouds and tempests.

NIMBORUMQUE TEMPESTATUMQUE POTENTEM, lord, ruler of nimbi and tempestates, as Claud. 3 *Cons. Honor.*, Praef. 13 (ed. Corp.) (of the fledgeling eagle):

“nutritur volucrumque potens, et fulminis haeres.”

Potens, Gr. *σθενων*, Eurip. *Hec.* 49 (ghost of Polydorus speaking):

τοὺς γὰρ κατὰ σθενοντὰς ἐξητησάμην
τυμβοῦ κυρῆσαι.

85 (a).

CONVERSA CUSPIDE

It is, no doubt, to the animadversion of Forbiger—"Nescio quo iure Wagn. verba CONVERSA CUSPIDE interpretetur per: inferiore hastae parte, *συνωρτη*"—is to be attributed the abandonment by Wagner, in 1861, of his gloss of 1845, and the substitution for it of: "hasta ad montem conversa." Neither commentator seems to have been aware of the "ius" afforded to the former interpretation **by** Lucan, 7. 574:

"ipse [Caesar] manu subicit gladios, ac tela ministrat,
adversosque iubet ferro confundere vultus.
promovet ipse acies; impellit terga suorum;
verbere conversae cessantes excitat hastae;"

where—inasmuch as levelling, pointing, or couching a spear is inconsistent with using it as a stick (verbere), "verbere conversae hastae" can by no possibility mean stroke of the levelled, pointed or couched spear, and can only be: stroke of the reversed spear, stroke of the handle or wood of the spear; **by** Ovid, *Met.* 14. 299 (of the companions of Ulysses re-metamorphosed by Circe into their proper shapes):

"spargimur innocuae succis melioribus herbae,
percutimurque caput conversae verbere virgae;
verbaque dicuntur dictis contraria verbis,"

where—no less for the same reason, viz., because "verbere." stroke of the wand, is inconsistent with "conversae" in the sense of wand pointed or directed towards, than because the herbs and words used on the occasion are of the directly *opposite* quality ("contraria") to those used previously—"conversae virgae" is of necessity reversed wand, wand turned with its wrong end foremost; **by** Prudent. *Contr. Symmach.* 2. 1099:

. . . . "pectusque iacentis
virgo modesta iubet converso pollice rumpi"

(where Obbarius: "convertibat pollicem, *i. e.* in pectus dirigebat, quo indicaretur illud esse perfodiendum;" *vid.* Juv. 3. 36), where "converso pollice," so closely tallying in every respect and even to its very position in the verse, with CONVERSA CUSPIDE, expresses the turning backward of that extremity of the thumb which is usually turned forward, exactly as CONVERSA CUSPIDE in our text expresses the turning backward of that extremity of the cuspis which is usually turned forward, and forward of that extremity which is usually turned backward; **and** Paul. Oros. *Hist.* 7. 36: "Signiferum quendam . . . gladio percussit in brachio, eumque manu debilem ipso vulnere coegit pronum inclinare vexillum. Quo viso reliquae cohortes deditionem iam fieri priorum existimantes, certatim sese ad Mascezilem signis tradidere conversis"—the standards reversed, *i. e.* with the eagles turned, not as usual forward and upward, but backward and downward; **also by** Cic. *in Verr.* 5 (ed. Lamb.), p. 211: "Proximus lictor . . . converso baculo oculos misero tundere vehementissime coepit;" **and** Sil. 8. 97 (ed. Rup.):

"si qui te referant converso flamine venti."

Nor was I myself more aware than either of the two commentators of the great preponderating "ius" in favour of Wagner's gloss of 1845, when in 1853 I published in my "Twelve Years' Voyage" that erroneous interpretation which—translated *verbatim* into Latin by Wagner, and published in his edition of 1861—exhibits at this moment that commentator's latest opinion of the words. Hence new and unexpected light on the whole scene, and confirmatory proof of the opinion I have advanced above, that Aeolus did not breach the side of the mountain, but only tilted a *Σιγῆος* to one side, the reversed spear being as ill-adapted for the former purpose as it was well-adapted for the latter.

Not even all this additional light, however, suffices to dissipate the obscurity which hangs, and has always hung, over the Aeolian cave. The MONTES which Jupiter places on the top of his prisoners are ALTOS. Now "altos" is not the epithet

which we might reasonably expect to be applied to boulders, and it is the very epithet, of all others, we might expect to be applied to mountains. On the other hand, the "conversa cuspis" is the last instrument in the world with which a mountain should or could either be broken into or shunted aside. How are we to get out of this dilemma? Only in one way that I know of, viz., by understanding the *MONTES* of *MOLEM ET MONTES ALTOS* to be literal—high and massy mountains; and the *MONTEM* of *CAVUM CONVERSA CUSPIDE MONTEM* to be figurative, and to be merely a boulder, a *ἄρρεος*, stopping up the entrance into the cave. In this way all difficulty is got rid of, and the manner in which the prisoners are liberated at verse 85 made to consist with the manner in which they are confined twenty verses previously. And what hinders us from thus extricating ourselves out of the dilemma—from thus throwing the whole blame on our author himself? What but our undue and inordinate respect for an author who has been guilty in another place of the self-same laxity in the use of the self-same word, 12. 684:

"ac veluti montis saxum de vertice praeceps
cum ruit avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber
proluit, aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas,
fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu
exultatque solo, silvas armenta virosque
involvens secum;"

where, if the reader makes no mistake, and does not picture to himself a mountain falling down headlong, either from its own summit or from the summit of another mountain, it is not because our author's words are not in themselves capable of such interpretation, but because the circumstances of the case do not permit such interpretation to be put on our author's words.

Greatly in favour of the last above-adduced view of the Aeolian career, viz., that it was not, with Servius, Valerius Flaccus, and Quintus Smyrnaeus, in the interior of a mountain, but in the ground under mountains, is the physical nature of the Aeolian islands, in none of which is there any single pre-eminent mountain at all answering to the single mountain in

which, according to Servius and Valerius Flaccus—and especially according to the latter—the winds were confined. On the contrary, in all the islands there are a number of mountains (no one very pre-eminent above the others) which, being of a volcanic nature, might very well be described as covering, or placed over, caves—MOLEMQUE ET MONTES INSUPER ALTOS IMPOSUIT; Zucagni-Orlandini (Firenze, 1842), vol. xii. p. 602: “L’ isola di *Lipari* adunque ha di circuito circa 18 miglia; contiene monti tutti reputati vulcanici; il più alto di essi è detto *S. Angelo*, e ha forma di cono troncato che termina in un cratere col diametro di 250 *palmi*: al settentrione di questo elevasi un altro monte chiamato *Cratere della Castagna*, più basso del primo e tutto coperto di cenere o meglio pomice calcinata, onde compongonsi altri monticelli che con denominazione complessiva diconsi *Campo Bianco*. A mezzogiorno della città il monte della *Guardia* consta di lave sterili, e vetrose, fra le quali osservasi il vetro nero conosciuto col nome di *ossidiano*. Alle falde poi di altro monte cui chiamano *S. Calogero*, sono bagni minerali ma non solfurei, con alcune stufe; una polla d’acqua assai calda sgorga in gran copia da una crepatura del monte non molto inferiormente alle stufe; serve a far agire molini, e raffreddata è potabile. La superficie del terreno offre tufo vulcanico e, alla base, uno strato di *porcellanite* con varie sostanze insieme combinate. La città omonima, capoluogo del circondario di cui fanno parte le altre isole Eolie, vuolsi anteriore alla guerra trojana; ha sede vescovile, e travasi difesa da un ragguardevole castello.” And again, p. 604: “A ostro di *Lipari* in distanza di un miglio sorge l’isola di *Vulcano* quasi congiunta alla minore isoletta che dicesi *Vulcanello*, e distante 22 miglia dal Capo di Melazzo; il suo cratere ha la solita forma di cono troncato, e recinto di rocire scoscese formate da lave nere e rossastre. Camminando per l’erta, la sabbia biancastra di cui si ricopre, cede sotto i piedi dell’osservatore per modo che ne tocca pressochè le ginocchia; prima di arrivare al cratere trovasi una piattaforma con varie cavità fumanti e una fenditura onde uscirono lave vetrose che percosse con l’acciajo danno scintille come la selce. Se battesi col martello qualche pietra della valle che dà accesso

alla salita, si ode un fragoroso rimbombo interno, indizio che sotto esiste un gran vuoto. . . . Due miglia discosta da Lipari, verso maestro-tramontana trovasi *l' isola delle Saline* che ha di circuito quindici *miglia*; componesi d' innumerevoli lave l' una sull' altra ammonticchiate, ed offre le tracce degli antichi crateri."

CUSPIDE, the hasta, or ensign of royal authority which Aeolus carried in his hand. A trident being the ensign of royal authority assigned to Aeolus, **not only** by Quintus Smyrnaeus (*Posthom. 14. 480*:

. . . . μολων δ' εκποσθε μελαθρων,
 χερσιν υπ' ακαματησιν ορος μεγα τυψε τριακωνη,
 ενθ' ανεμοι κελαδεια δυσχητες ηυλιζοντο
 εν κενω κευθμωνε')

but by Lucan (2. 456:

"si rursus tellus, pulsu laxata tridentis
 Aeolii, tumidis immittat fluctibus Eurum"),

probably a trident is meant in our text also, the generic term *cuspidis* being substituted for the particular, in the same way as the same general term is substituted for the particular in the case of the trident of Neptune by Ovid, *Met. 12. 580*:

"at deus aequoreas qui cuspidis temperat undas;"

by Claudian, *Rapt. Proserp. 11. 179*:

"sic quum Thessaliam scopulis inclusa teneret
 Peneo stagnante palus, et mersa negarent
 arva coli, trifida Neptunus cuspidis montes
 impulit adversos;"

and by Val. Flacc. 2. 617 (of the shores of the Hellespont):

"has etiam terras, consertaque gentibus arva
 sic, pelago pulsante, reor, Neptunia quondam
 cuspidis, et adversi longus labor abscidit aevi,
 ut Siculum Libycumque latus: stupuitque fragorem
 Taurus. et occiduis regnator montibus Atlas."

85 (b).

CONVERSA CUSPIDE

. . . "zum hohlen Gebirg' hinwendend die Spitze
schlug er die Seit'." Voss.

"Hasta ad montem conversa," Wagner (1861), following the instructions of a very indifferent teacher, viz., myself, and translating *verbatim* from my "Twelve years voyage" the long sentence and full of errors, of which the just quoted words form a part. CONVERSA is not, turned towards the mountain, but simply turned, viz., in the hand, exactly as converso in the expression "converso cardine," 11. 724, is not, turned towards anything, but simply turned, viz., in the socket. The question then comes, what is turned spear, what is spear turned, viz., in the hand? I reply it is reversed spear—spear turned with its wrong end foremost: first, because such is the meaning both of "conversa hasta," Lucan; and, secondly, because, it not being Aeolus's object to penetrate, but only to push aside the mons which closed up the door of the cave (IMPULIT IN LATUS), it is not the sharp iron point of his cuspis, hasta, or trident should be employed, but the blunt butt end.

86.

VELUT AGMINE FACTO

"Erumpunt venti, non ventus; iique *agminatim*," La Cerda.

"onde repente a stuolo i venti usciro." Caro.

This is not the meaning, and not only not the meaning, but almost the very opposite of the meaning. The winds are

described not as rushing out AGMINE FACTO, but as rushing out VELUT AGMINE FACTO; not as forming themselves into a certain array, body, order, or troop, but as in their eagerness to get out rushing out all at once and together (UNA) as thick and dense *as if* they had constituted themselves into a troop, VELUT AGMINE FACTO. To have rushed out AGMINE FACTO (*agminatim*, *a stuolo*) had implied a coolness, a deliberation, foreign to the nature of winds—not to say a purpose to perform some concerted act after getting out. They are, therefore, not described as rushing out AGMINE FACTO, or as first forming themselves into order and then rushing out, but as rushing out all at once VELUT AGMINE FACTO, as thick and dense as if they had so formed themselves. They neither deliberate, nor have concerted plan, nor form themselves into a body, but rush out VELUT AGMINE FACTO—their sole thought, their whole object, being to get out, to be at liberty. Having only the one thought, the one object, they all perform the same act at the same time—all rushing out together, UNA—and so present the appearance (VELUT) of an agmen factum. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 9. 132:

. . . "calido velamina tinota cruore
dat [Nessus] munus raptae, velut irritamen amoris,"

as if it were a philtre. On the contrary, the bees, verse 438, below, and *Georg.* 4. 167, having the deliberate intention of falling on the drones and driving them out of the bee ground, and forming themselves into an actual agmen for that purpose, there is no qualifying velut attached to their "agmine facto":

. . . "aut agmine facto
ignavum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent,"

as there is in like manner no qualifying velut attached to the "agmine facto," **either** of the horsemen who, deliberately setting out for the war, actually form themselves into a troop or body for that purpose, 8. 595:

. . . "it clamor, et agmine facto
quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum,"

or of the Roman poor, who, according to Juvenal, 3. 162,

should have formed themselves into a body and left Rome *en masse*:

. . . "agmine facto
debuerant olim tenues migrasse Quirites,"

or of Inachus deliberately forming a flood, Stat. *Theb.* 1. 356:

. . . "ruit agmine facto*
Inachus, et golidas surgens Erasinus ad Arctos,"

or of the human race, who should, according to Seneca, *Ep.* 104, migrate in a body to wherever they would be free from anger, fear, and desire, if only there were anywhere to be found such a place: . . . "nullum, mihi crede, iter est, quod te extra cupiditates, extra iras, extra metus sistat: aut, si quod esset, agmine facto gens illuc humana pergeret;" **and as** there is in like manner, and for the same reason, no qualifying adjunct to the "facta nube" with which the birds drive off the eagle, 12. 253:

. . . "hostemque per auras
facta nube premunt."

And if Juvenal, in his picture of the diseases which keep dancing round the old man, uses the expression "agmine facto" without velut, 10. 218:

. . . "circumsilit agmine facto
morborum omne genus,"

his picture is only the less conformable to nature, there being no agreement or consent among the diseases to form an agmen, troop or company. Compare Senec. *Nat. Quaest.* 4. 2 (of a shoal of crocodiles routed in contest with a shoal of dolphins): "Recisis hoc modo pluribus [crocodilis], caeteri velut acie versa refugerunt;" and Claud. *Histrix*, 22 (of the porcupine):

. . . "interdum, positis velut ordine castris,
terrificum densa mucronum verberat unda,
et consanguineis hastilibus asperat armos"

* As Erasinus actually flows into the Inachus, "agmine facto" refers not to the union of the two rivers, but to the collection of the waters of the Inachus alone.

(*not* a regular camp being pitched, for the porcupine has no regular camp or camp of any sort, *but* as it were a regular camp being pitched, as if a regular camp were pitched); Livy, 8. 9: "velut tum primum signo dato coorti" (*not at* the signal then first given, but *as if* the signal had been then first given); Tacit. *Annal.* 14. 52: "Mors Burri infregit Senecae potentiam, quia nec bonis artibus idem virium erat, altero velut duce amoto, et Nero ad deteriores inclinabat" (*not* one of the two captains or generals of morals (for morals, not being an army, have no captains or generals), *but* one of the two as it were captains or generals of morals). The mistake of the commentators is complete and total; it is no less than taking description for the thing described, illustration for fact, light which shows an object for the object itself.

VELUT AGMINE FACTO is the key to the entire passage. The comparison instituted in these words between the winds rushing out of the cave and a marshalled army is tacitly carried on to the very end of the description of the storm, without being lost sight of even for a single moment. We have, first, the rushing out where egress was free—QUA DATA PORTA RUUNT—and sweeping and whirling over the country, overturning everything and putting everything into confusion:

ET TERRAS TURBINE PERFLANT.
INCUBERE MARI, TOTUMQUE A SEDIBUS IMIS
UNA EURUSQUE NOTUSQUE RUUNT CREBERQUE PROCELLIS
AFRICUS, ET VASTOS VOLVUNT AD LITTORA FLUCTUS,

where we have the several captains adumbrated even to their very names. We have then the noise and shouting:

INSEQUITUR CLAMORQUE VIRUM STRIDORQUE RUDENTUM,

the very "Exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum" (11. 313) of the actual battle. Next, in

ERIPUNT SUBITO NUBES CAELUMQUE DIEMQUE
TEUCRORUM EX OCULIS, PONTO NOX INCUBAT ATRA

we have the dust and darkness always raised in hot countries by troops whether marching or fighting, 9. 33:

"hic subitam nigro glomerari pulvere nubem
prospiciunt Teucri, ac tenebras insurgere campis
primus ab adversa conclamat mole Caicus:
quis globus, o cives, caligine volvitur atra?"

Next, in

INTONUERE POLI, ET CREBRIS MICAT IGNIBUS AETHER

we have the thunder and lightning of arms, 9. 731:

. "arma
horrendum sonuere
. . . clipeoque micantia fulmina mittit;"

and Sil. Ital. 13. 9:

. . . "concussa est Daunia tellus
armorum tonitru."

Then the imminent danger of death:

PRAESENTEMQUE VIRIS INTENTANT OMNIA MORTEM.

Then the regret of Aeneas that he had not died by the hands of a nobler enemy, of one to have died by whose hands would have given him *éclat*:

MENE ILIACIS OCCUMBERE CAMPIS

NON POTUISSE.

And, finally, we have the fates of individual ships succumbing to the overpowering foe:

IAM VALIDAM ILIONEI NAVEM, IAM FORTIS ACHATAE,
ET QUA VECTUS ABAS, ET QUA GRANDAEVUS ALETHES,
VICIT HIEMS: LAXIS LATERUM COMPAGIBUS OMNES
ACCIPUUNT INIMICUM IMBREM RIMISQUE FATISCUNT.

Thoroughly overcome, and no longer able to make the smallest resistance (VICIT), they admit, accept (ACCIPUUNT), the hostile water (INIMICUM IMBREM) into their open seams; as Mezentius—thoroughly overcome, and no longer able to make the least resistance—admits, accepts, Aeneas's sword into his undefended throat, 10. 907:

. . . "iuguloque haud inscius accipit ensem."

See Rem. on 1. 127.

How vivid in the poet's mind was the resemblance between a storm and a battle; how the storm was to him always a battle,

and the battle always a storm, appears from various passages throughout his work—2. 413:

“tum Danai gemitu atque ereptae virginis ira
undique collecti invadunt, acerrimus Ajax,
et gemini Atridae, Dolopumque exercitus omnis;
adversi rupto ceu quondam turbine venti
configunt, Zephyrusque Notusque et laetus Eois
Eurus equis; stridunt silvae, saevitque tridenti
spumeus atque imo Nereus ciet aequora fundo”

(where the comparison is the exact converse of that in our text, with the same rushing and whirling, the same overturning, the stridor, and the names of the captains, and in “undique collecti” even the *AGMINE FACTO*—of course without the *VELUT*, the agmination there being actual, not, as in our text, merely illustrative, and the *VELUT* being accordingly reserved (viz., in the form of “*ceu quondam*”) for the illustration); 7. 222:

“quanta per Idaeos saevis effusa Mycenis
tempestas ierit campos, quibus actus uterque
Europae atque Asiae fatis concurrerit orbis,
audii, ...
.
diluvis ex illo,” &c.

(where the comparison is again the converse, viz., that of an invading army to a tempest); and 12. 365:

“ac velut, Edoni Boreae quum spiritus alto
insonat Aegaeo, sequiturque ad litora fluctus;
qua venti incubuere, fugam dant nubila caelo:
sic Turno, quacumque viam secat, agmina cedunt,
conversaeque ruunt acies; fert impetus ipsum,
et cristam adverso curru quatit auram volentem.”

The reader will observe, besides, in what perfect accordance with Juno’s command (verse 73) to Aeolus, viz., to attack Aeneas’s fleet with his winds—

INCUTE VIM VENTIS SUBMERASQUE OBRUE PUPPES,
AUT AGE DIVERSOS ET DISIICE CORPORA PONTO—

is this furious onslaught of the winds, as of an attacking army rushing out of a city’s gates, on both the sea, the ships, and the

men themselves. He will observe also the terms in which Venus complains to Jupiter, and before the council of heaven, of Juno's machinations against her, 10. 37:

"quid tempestatum regem, ventosque furentes
Aeolia excitos?"

—where it is not a mere storm is complained of (that had been a small matter), but the *King* of the *Tempests*, with all his furious soldiery ("ventos furentes;" cf. "furentes Barcaei," 4. 42) raised up in arms against her ("excitos:" cf. 7. 642, "bello exciti reges," 3. 676, "genus Cyclopum excitum"), and coming against her from their country, Aeolia.

87 (a).

DATA PORTA

DATA PORTA, exactly as "data ianua," Stat. *Theb.* 3. 67 (Maeon apologizing for his escape out of the fight in which his comrades all perished):

"sed mihi iussa deum, placitoque ignara moveri
Atropos, atque olim non haec data ianua leti
eripuerunt necem."

Compare Philostr. 2. 14 (of Neptune breaking a passage for the Peneus): *ρηξει ον ο Ποσειδων τη τριαινη τα ορη και πυλας τω ποταμω εργασεται.*

87-89.

QUA DATA PORTA, RUUNT
 TOTUMQUE
 RUUNT

The application of a verb in its transitive sense to the identical persons to whom it has in the line but one before been applied in its intransitive, will, I think, hardly be defended except by those whom “decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile.”

88-94.

INCUBUERE MARI TOTUMQUE A SEDIBUS IMIS
 UNA EURUSQUE NOTUSQUE RUUNT CREBERQUE PROCELLIS
 AFRICUS ET VASTOS VOLVUNT AD LITTORA FLUCTUS
 INSEQUITUR CLAMORQUE VIRUM STRIDORQUE RUDENTUM
 ERIPUNT SUBITO NUBES CAELUMQUE DIEMQUE
 TEUCRORUM EX OCVLIS PONTO NOX INCUBAT ATRA
 INTONUERE POLI ET CREBRIS MICAT IGNIBUS AETHER

The double action of the winds on the sea is well indicated in the first three lines of this passage:—

First, they fall with force, and press on its surface (INCUBUERE) vertically, from above downwards (*Arat. Phaenom. 152*:

τημος και κελαδοντες, ετησμι ευρεϊ ποντω
 αθροοι εμπιπτονσιν,

and compare *Stat. Theb. 4. 809*:

“incubueris vadis passim discrimine nullo
 turba simul primique, nequit secernere mixtos
 aequa sitis, frenata suis in curribus intrans
 armenta, et pleni dominis armisque feruntur
 quadripedes),

forcing their way into it, and, as it were, making a hole in it, and so raising and forcing it up on all sides round: A SEDIBUS IMIS RUUNT.

And **secondly**, they roll billows to the shores, VOLVUNT AD LITTORA FLUCTUS; such billows being the effect, partly of their direct blowing, and partly of the subsidence of the water from the height to which it had been thrown up by their violent vertical descent. Compare *Georg.* 2. 310:

“praesertim si tempestas a vertice silvis
incubuit”

(where Fea:—“Piomba dall’ alto. Arato presso Cicerone (*De Nat. Deor.* 2. 44):

‘quem summa ab regione Aquilonis flamina pulsant.’

Omero referito ma non capito dal Guellio, meglio lo spiega Aulo Gellio (*Lib.* 2. c. 30): ‘Venti ab septentrionibus, ex altiore caeli parte in mare incidentes, deorsum in aquarum profunda quasi praecipites deferuntur, undasque faciunt non prorsus impulsas, sed vi intus commotas’”).

INCUBUERE . . . INSEQUITUR . . . ERIPIUNT . . . INTONUERE. In order to impart the greatest possible energy to the action, each verb not only contains an intensive particle, but is placed at the commencement of a line, and precedes its nominative.

89-90.

UNA EURUSQUE NOTUSQUE RUUNT CREBERQUE PROCELLIS
AFRICUS

, . . . “nor slept the winds
within their stony caves, but rushed abroad
from the four hinges of the world, and fell
on the vexed wilderness.”

Milton, *Par. Reg.* 4. 413.

UNA. Highly emphatic, being placed first word in the line, and repeating the idea already expressed in VELUT AGMINE FACTO.

CREBERQUE PROCELLIS AFRICUS. "Procella est vis venti cum pluvia," Servius. No, that is rather the definition of nimbus than of procella, nor should Voss have allowed himself to be misled by the very uncertain authority of Servius to translate the passage:

. . . "und, vom Regen umschauert
Afrikus."

Procella is, even according to Servius's own derivation of the word ("dicta procella ab eo quod omnia percellat, hoc est moveat"), a sudden violent blast or gust of wind, a squall. Accordingly, a procella, verse 107, ferit; Plaut. *Trin.* 836, ed. Ritsch., frangit; Lucret. 6. 123, intorquet sese; Ovid, *Trist.* 1. 1. 85, percutit; Ovid, *Trist.* 5. 5. 17, quassat; Mart. 9. 40, dispergit; Lucan, 5. 612, rapit; Petron. *Satyr.* 114, circumagit, and is even distinguished and set apart from the rain with which it may accidentally be accompanied, both by Plautus ((*ubi supra*):

"imbres fluctusque atque procellae infensae fremere, frangere malum, ruere antennas, scindere vela")

and Livy, 22. 30: "Hannibalem quoque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quae sedere in iugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse." The word subsists in the identical sense in the Italian—Pigafetta, *Prim. Viag.*: "In una procella fra le altre, che soffrimmo in notto oscurissima," *i. e.* in one squall of many which we suffered in the same night. See Comm. on "stridens aquilone procella," verse 106.

CREBER PROCELLIS. The same as procellosus, blowing in squalls, gusty, squally; the peculiar character, as I have myself frequently experienced at Leghorn, both of the Sirocco and Libeccio winds, whichever of those winds we may understand Virgil to mean by the term AFRICUS.

AFRICUS. Senec. *Quaest. Nat.* 5. 16: "Ab occidente hiberno Africus furibundus et ruens apud Graecos $\lambda\upsilon\psi$ dicitur." The same wind is now called in the Mediterranean, Libeccio.

93.

PONTO NOX INCUBAT ATRA

Epigr. Antiphili Byzantii, *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 630:

ἡδη που πατρὸς πελασας σχεδὸν, “αὐριον” εἶπον
 “ἡ μακρὴ κατ’ ἐμοῦ δυσπλοίῃ κοπασεῖ.”
 οὐπω χεῖλος ἐμυσε, καὶ ἦν ἴσος Αἰδὲ πόντος,*
 καὶ με κατετρύχεν κείνο το κούφον ἐπὸς.

96.

EXTEMPLO AENEAE SOLVUNTUR FRIGORE MEMBRA

Our author's defence against those critics who accuse him of ascribing to his hero in the passage before us a cowardly fear of death (see in Sir Walter Scott's edition of the Somers Tracts, vol. xii. p. 10, an anonymous tract entitled, "Verdicts of the learned concerning Virgil's and Homer's Heroic Poems") is sufficiently easy, viz., that Aeneas's fear is not of death, but death by drowning ("non propter mortem, sed propter mortis genus," Servius); that in the heroic times—even in Virgil's own times—death by drowning was held in especial horror (see, quoted below, Ovid, *Trist.* 1. 2. 51; Senec. *Agam.* 518, and *Hercul. Oetaeus*, 1165), and that Homer does not hesitate to ascribe (*Il.* 21, 273 (Achilles, in danger of being drowned in the Sca-
 mander):

Ζεῦ πατερ, ὡς οὐτὶς με θεῶν ἐλείνων ὑπέστη
 ἐκ ποταμοῖο σωσάει, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τι παθόμει)

to the hero of his Iliad, and (*Od.* 5. 299:

ὦ μοι ἐγὼ δειλὸς, τί νῦ μοι μῆκιστα γένηται)

* Where Grotius: "subito mare nigrius Orco est."

to the hero of his Odyssey, a similar shudder under similar circumstances. But there is another charge which may be brought against our author, and from which his exculpation is, I fear, by no means so easy, viz., that he represents his hero as expressing in one and the same breath his horror at the immediate prospect of death by drowning, and his regret at not having escaped that inglorious fate by dying where so many of his fellow-countrymen were swept away by the Simois:

UBI TOT SIMOIS CORREPTA SUB UNDIS
SCUTA VIRUM GALRASQUE ET PORTIA CORPORA VOLVIT.

It will, no doubt, be said that these words are merely *ornantia*—merely a rhetorical peroration, and not to be taken too closely in connexion with Aeneas's wish that he had died before Troy. To be sure; but still the apparent—and, as I believe, on the part of Virgil wholly unintentional—connexion is strong enough to have given rise to a belief that the words UBI TOT SIMOIS, &c., express an alternative in the wish of Aeneas, viz., that he had been in the number of those who were swept away by the Simois

("e se d' acqua perire era il mio fato,
perchè non dove Xanto, o Simoenta
volgon' tant' armi, e tanti corpi nobili?" (Caro).),

an error, no doubt, but an error which shows how *mal apropos*, in connexion with Aeneas's horror of death by drowning and wish to have died before the walls of Troy, are words which not only suggest the danger there was of death by drowning even before the walls of Troy, but bring back the particular picture of Achilles before the walls of Troy in that precise danger; of Achilles, too, deprecating death by drowning in words of which the words of Aeneas are the very echo, *Il. 21. 279*:

ὡς μ' οἴει' ἔκτωρ πτείνει, ὅς ἐνθαδὲ γ' ἐτραγ' αἰριστός·
τῷ κ' ἀγᾶθος μὲν ἐπείν', ἀγᾶθον δὲ κτεν ἐξαναρίζεν.
νῦν δὲ με λευγαλίῳ θανάτῳ τιμαρτο αἰώναι,
ἐρχθέντ' ἐν μεγάλῳ ποταμῷ, ὡς παῖδα σιγχορβόν,
ὅν οἱ τ' ἐναεῖος ἀποέρση χεῖμασι περῶντα.

Having already stated that Aeneas's horror of death by water is sufficiently justified by the examples of Ulysses and Achilles,

and by the universal opinion of antiquity, I shall not inquire into the grounds of that horror; shall **not** inquire **whether** it was owing to the circumstance that drowned bodies, being usually lost, could not have the customary sepulchral honours paid to them (Hom. *Od.* 5. 311:

τω κ' ελαχον κτερεων, και μεν χλεος ηγον Αχαιοι
νυν δε με λευγαλεω θανατω ειμαρτο αλωναι.

Ovid, *Trist.* 1. 2. 51:

"nec lethum timeo; genus est miserabile lethi;
demite naufragium, mors mihi munus erit.
est aliquid, fatove suo ferrove cadentem
in solida moriens ponere corpus humo,
et mandare suis aliquid, sperare sepulchra,
et non aequoreis piscibus esse cibum."

Alcim. Avit. *Trans. Mar. Rubri*, *Poem.* 5. 542 (paraphrasing and appropriating this very passage):

"plebs trepidat conclusa loco, finemque sequenti
expectat pavefacta die, non tela nec ullas
bellorum molita vices, sed voce levata
vatibus insistens: o terque quaterque beati,
Aegyptus quos morte tulit, tellure vel ampla
urnam defunctis suprema sorte paravit!
.
alitibus nos esca dati, nec sede sepulchri
condita deserto solventur corpora vasto."

Ronsard, *Franciade*,* c. 2 (an imitated Aeneas speaking):

"ha! tu devois en la Troyenne guerre
faire couler mon cerveau contre terre,
sans me sauver par une feinte ainsi,
pour me trahir à ce cruel souci;
j'eusse eu ma part aux tombeaux de mes pères;
où je n'attends que ces vagues amères
pour mon sépulchre.")

* One of those innumerable, once fashionable, but now forgotten poems, which the poetasters of some two hundred years ago used to manufacture out of the *Aeneid*, and pass upon the world as original works of their own. It is impossible not to be struck by the resemblance between those profess-
edly original poems, but really semi-translations of the *Aeneid*, and our modern professed translations, but really semi-original poems. Both are composed altogether *ad captum vulgi*; in the same easy, flowing, and often

or whether it was owing to the reflection that death by drowning was, in comparison with death in battle, death lost and thrown away—death redounding neither to one's own honour, nor to the advantage of one's country or the world (Senec. *Agam.* 517:

“nil nobile ausos pontus atque undae ferent?
ignava fortes fata consument viros?
perdenda mors est.”

And *Hercul. Oetaeus*, 1165 (Hercules speaking):

“mорий, nec ullus per meum stridet latus
transmissus ensis.”

And again, verse 1205:

. . . “perdidi mortem, hei mihi!
toties honestam.”

Val. Flacc. 1. 633 (of the *Minyae* expecting immediate shipwreck):

“haec iterant, segni flentes occumbere letho.
magnanimus spectat pharetras, et inutile robur
Amphitryonides.”

And especially *Silius'* imitation, 17. 260 (of *Hannibal*):

“exclamat, volvens oculos caeloque fretoque:
'felix, o frater, divisque aequae cadendo,
Hasdrubal! egregium fortis cui dextera in armis
pugnanti peperit letum, et cui fata dedere.
Ausoniam extremo tellurem appendere morsu.'”)

but shall content myself with observing that, besides either or both these grounds for the extreme emotion felt and expressed by Aeneas, there was this ground also, that it was not his own death alone which he saw impending, but the total destruction of all his surviving friends, and of the last hopes of Troy—1. 95:

PRAESENTEMQUE VIRIS INTENTANT OMNIA MORTEM.

Curiously enough, not only a similar fear of death by drowning,

sweet style, and with the same total, either ignorance or disregard, of Virgil's meaning; the sole difference between them being the greater anti-quity of the language of the former, and such change in the names of the actors, and in the places, times, and order of action, as was necessary to give to the former some colour of originality.—J. H.

but a similar envy of the happier lot of those of her companions who had died on terra firma is ascribed by Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 595, to Dido's sister when in danger of perishing in a storm:

"iactatur tumidas exul Phoenissa per undas,
humidaque opposita lumina veste tegit.
tum primum Dido felix est dicta sorori,
et quaecunque aliquam corpore pressit humum."

97.

DUPLICES

"Duas, secundum antiquum morem," Servius (ed. Lion), followed by Voss, Forcellini, Forbiger, and Conington. "Malim pro *complicatas* accipere," Steph. in *Thes.*, followed by Schirach and Caro. I know of no argument to support the latter opinion whereas the former is borne out, **no less**, on the one hand, **by** the exactly similar use made of triplex, viz., to signify three, Ovid, *Met.* 4. 425:

"et triplices operire novis Minyeidas alis;"

than, on the other hand, **by** the analogy of *Aen.* 6. 685:

. . . "alacris palmas utrasque tetendit"

(where we have the *tendere* of the two hands without any moral possibility of their being clasped), 3. 176:

. . . "tendoque supinas
ad caelum cum voce manus"

(where there is a similarly religious *tendere* of the hands to heaven, with the express statement that they are supine, and where, therefore, by no possibility can they be clasped), **and** Callim. in *Del.* 106:

Ἡρῆ, σοι δ' εἰ τι τῆμος ἀνηλεὲς ἦτορ ἐκείτω
οὐδὲ κατεκλάσθης τε καὶ ὠκτίσας, ἥνικα πηχτεῖς
ἀμφοτέρους ὀρέγουσα, μῆτην ἐφθεῖ; ξίστο τοιῷ

(where we have the extension of the two arms, which could by no possibility be clasped), **and by** the so frequent extension, sometimes of the *two*, sometimes even of *both the two*, hands in the Iliad and Odyssey—occasionally, too, under circumstances in which it is impossible they could be clasped (as *Il. 21. 115*:

. . . ο δ' ἐξέτο χεῖρε πετασσας
αμφοτέρως"

Od. 9. 417:

αὐτος δ' εἶνι θύρησι καθέζετο χεῖρε πετασσας,
εἰ τίνα που μετ' ὅσσου λαβοῖ στείχοντα θυράζει.

Od. 24. 397:

. . . Διολίος δ' ἰδυς καὶ χεῖρε πετασσας
αμφοτέρως, Ὀδυσσεύς δὲ λαβὼν κυσε χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῳ.

Il. 4. 522 and 13. 548:

. . . ο δ' ὑπτιος ἐν κονίῃσι
καππεσεν, ἀμῶ χεῖρε ἡμίλοις ἐταροῖσι πετασσας.

Od. 5. 374:

αὐτος δὲ πρηνὴς ἀλὶ καππεσσι, χεῖρε πετασσας,
νήχευται μεμῶως.

And, the very counterpart of our text, *Il. 15. 371*:

εὐχέτο, χεῖρ' ὀρέγων εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστροειντα);

and, in the third place, **by** the so constant application of duplicates to objects which, like the two hands, match or form a pair, without any, even the least, further union, implication, or combination: Lucret. 6. 1145 (ed. Munro):

"principio caput incensum fervore gerebant
et duplices oculos suffusa luce rubentes;"

Aen. 7. 140:

. . . "duplices caeloque ereboque parentes;"

Aen. 4. 470:

"et solem geminum et duplices se ostendere Thebas;"

Ovid, *Amor. 1. 8. 21*:

"fors me sermoni testem dedit: illa monebat
taliam; me duplices occulere fores."

Ovid, *Amor.* 1. 12. 27 (punning on the duplicity ("duplex natura") of writing tablets which had brought him disagreeable news):

"ergo ego vos rebus duplices pro nomine sensi?"

—have I then found you out to be as double (*i. e.* double-dealing) as your name (duplices tabellae) imports? Lactant. *de Opific. Dei*, c. 8: "Deus aures duas esse voluit; quarum duplicitas incredibile est quantam pulchritudinem prae se ferat." See Rem. on "geminae," 6. 203.

In order to express clasped hands, duplices manus must have some addition to it, such as colligere, or in nodum, or both, as Claud. *Eidyl. de piis fratribus*, 15 (ed Corp.):

"reiectae vento chlamydes; dextram exserit ille,
contentus laeva sustinuisse patrem;
ast illi duplices in nodum colligit ulnas
cautior in sexu debiliore labor."

98-102.

O TERQUE QUATERQUE BEATI

. TROIAE SUB MOENIBUS ALTIS

.

. ILIACIS OCCUMBERE CAMPIS

NON POTUISSE TUAQUE ANIMAM HANC EFFUNDERE DEXTRA

This passionate outburst of Aeneas (the same in substance as the rhetorical exclamation of the pretended Beroe to the Trojan matrons, in the Fifth Book, under so very different circumstances:

"'o miserae quas non manus', inquit, 'Achaïca bello
traxerat ad letum patriae sub moenibus! o gens
infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reservat!'")

affords a humiliating example how little after all of variety there is in the human mind; how much the thoughts even of a

great writer ply like a locomotive back and forward in one and the same track.

TROIAE SUB MOENIBUS ALTIS, *beside that noble fortress Troy*, altus being used as in "altae Romae," verse 11, and "altus Apollo," *Aen.* 6. 9, where see Comm.

ILIIACIS OCCUMBERE CAMPIS, theme; TUA ANIMAM HANC EFFUNDERE DEXTRA, variation.

103—104.

SAEVUS UBI AEACIDAE TELO IACET HECTOR UBI INGENS
SARPEDON

Observe how the poet surmounts the obvious difficulty of uniting Hector, the principal champion of Troy, and Sarpedon, the son of Jove, in one and the same sentence, without implying a preference for either, without exalting one at the expense of the other; viz., by diminishing, by an inferior position towards the end of a line, that advantage of priority of mention, which he must necessarily give to one of them; and by compensating the other for the disadvantage of being placed second in order, by the double advantage of first place in a line, and separation from the rest of the line by a sudden pause. See Comm. 2. 247.

104—105.

UBI TOT SIMOIS CORREPTA SUB UNDIS
SCUTA VIRUM GALEASQUE ET FORTIA CORPORA VOLVIT

Nothing can be plainer than that the picture here presented to the reader is that of arms and men swept away and rolled along

under its waters by the Simois. Neither can there be any doubt that this picture was suggested to our author by the Homeric accounts of men, arms, and even horses carried away by the rivers on the banks and in the immediate vicinity of which the battles were fought at Troy (Hom. *Il.* 21. 7:

. . . ημισεες δε
 ες ποταμον [Ξανθον] ειλυντο βαθυρροον, αργυροδινην
 εν δ' επεσον μεγαλω παταγω βραχε δ' αιπα ρεεθρα,
 οχθαι δ' αμφι περι μεγαλ' ιαχον· οι δ' αλαλητω
 εννεον ενθα και ενθα, ελίσσόμενοι περι διναις.
 ως δ' οδ' υπο ριπης πυρος ακριδες ηερεθονται,
 γευγεμεναι ποταμονδε· το δε φλεγει ακαματον πυρ,
 ορμενον εξαμφης, ται δε πτωσσοσι καθ' υδαρ·
 ως υπ' Αχιλλης Ξανθου βαθυδινηεντος
 πλητο ροος κελιδων επιμιξ ιππων τε και ανδρων.

Il. 21. 234:

. . . ο δ' [Ξανθος] επεσσυτο, οιδματι θυν·
 παντα δ' ορινε ρεεθρα κυκωμενος· ωσε δε νεκρους
 πολλους, οι ρα κατ' αυτον αλις εσαν, ους κταν' Αχιλλευσ·
 τους εκβαλλε θυραζε, μεμυκως ηυτε ταιρος,
 χερσονδε· ζωους δ' εσαιω κατω καλά ρεεθρα,
 κρυπτων εν δινησι βαθειησιν μεγαλησι·)

and that to such Homeric accounts our author here tacitly alludes, using the name Simois not at all to indicate that it was specially the Simois, and not the Xanthus, by which the men and arms were carried away (there is no account in Homer of their having been carried away by the Simois at all), but because—the battles being fought on the banks of both rivers, and both rivers actually uniting into one, and falling by one single channel into the sea—it was a matter of small consequence which name he used. Commentators, however, take a different view of the passage, and with one accord inform us that the allusion is to *Il.* 12. 22:

και Σιμοεις, οδι πολλα βοαγρια και τρυφαλειαι
 καππεσον εν κονησι, και ημιθεων γενος ανδρων.

“Et ex Homero tractum est,” Servius (ed. Lion), quoting the two just quoted lines. “Contendit cum Homero, *Il.* 12. 22, sq. *Και Σιμοεις οδι* (in cuius litore) *πολλα βοαγρια και τρυφαλειαι*

Καππεσον εν κοιησι, &c.," Heyne, not perceiving how incompatible with his own interpretation of the Homeric passage is his theory of parallelism between it and the Virgilian. "Imitated from Hom. *Il.* 12. 22, who, however, speaks of the spoils and bodies of those who fell on the banks of Simois," Conington, conscious how little imitation of *καππεσον εν κοιησιν* there is in CORREPTA SUB UNDIS VOLVIT, and modifying his categorical "imitated" with a very convenient "however." "It is plain that there was a communication between the rivers, but probably one dry in summer; and we may take notice that it was not in the fierce Scamandros, but in Simoeis, that there lay both heroes and their spoils; and this in the dust, not in the waters, as Virgil has vividly, but carelessly represented," Gladstone (*Juventus Mundi*, chap. 13, anno 1869)—taking a long officious stride beyond all the officials, and going out of his way to insult Virgil for following so little in the wake of Homer as to allow Simois to roll in its waters the heroes and the spoils which Homer had made lie in the dust of that river. Happily, however, both for himself and his readers, Virgil was "careless"—careless in the very sense in which the term is applied to him by those admirers of Homer who take good care never to compare Homer with him unless where they are confident the comparison will redound to the honour and glory of their idol, and the shame and disgrace of the rival god. Virgil was "careless," and instead of putting into his hero's mouth, in the moment of his extreme peril and anguish, a frigid quotation from the cool plot of Neptune and Apollo to turn upon the walls of Troy all the mighty rivers which run from Ida to the sea—the Rhesus, the Heptaporus, the Caresus, the Rhodius, the Granicus, the Aesepus, the divine Scamander, and the Simois, on whose banks many shields, and helmets, and demigods fell in the dust—made his hero ejaculate: "why did not I, too, perish, where Simois has swept away and rolls under his waters so many shields, helmets, and brave men?"—an ejaculation, the UBI SIMOIS of which, so far from corresponding with, is the point-blank opposite of, the *Σιμοεις οθι* of the alleged original, inasmuch as the Simois of the ejaculation is the actor, the

performer of the exploit described in the sequel, viz., the rolling of the shields, helmets, and corpses under its waters; whilst the Simois of the alleged original serves only to fix approximately—and with the help certainly of the Scamander, probably of all the other rivers named—the site of an action with which neither Simois, nor Scamander, nor the other rivers named have anything whatever to do.

In justice to the Manes of Virgil, I shall place in juxtaposition with this and two or three other passages of his, taken almost at random, their English representatives—I say their English representatives, because Dryden's may be truly regarded as the only translation of Virgil which is known or read in England. The literal English of the lines in the text is: *Where Simois rolls so many shields and helmets and brave heroes, bodily snatched under his waves.* There is not one word more or less or different from these in the original; now hear Dryden:

“where Simois rolls the bodies and the shields
of heroes, whose dismembered hands yet bear
the dart aloft, and clench the pointed spear.”

Again, verse 170:

“fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum;
intus aquae dulces vivoque sedilia saxo,
Nympharum domus,”

under the opposite bluff (brow) the rocks overhang so as to form a cave; inside sweet water, and seats of the living stone; house of the nymphs; hear Dryden:

“a grot is formed beneath, with mossy seats,
to rest the Nereids, and exclude the heats,
down through the crannies of the living walls
the crystal streams descend in murmuring falls;”

again, verse 420:

. . . “ubi templum illi, centumque Sabaeo
ture calant arae sertisque recentibus halant,”

where a temple and hundred altars glow for her, and breathe of fresh garlands; hear Dryden:

“where garlands ever green and ever fair
 with vows are offered and with solemn prayer;
 a hundred altars in her temple smoke,
 a thousand bleeding hearts her power invoke.”

Once more:

. . . “hoc dicens altaria ad ipsa trementem
 traxit et in multo lapsantem sanguine nati,
 implicuitque comam laeva, dextraque coruscum
 extulit ac lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem,”

“so saying he dragged to the very altar him trembling, and
 slipping in his son’s copious blood, twisted his left hand in his
 hair, and with his right lifted high his sparkling sword and
 plunged it into his side up to the hilt;” hear Dryden:

. . . “with that he dragged the trembling sire,
 sliddering through clottered blood and holy mire
 (the mingled paste his murdered son had made),
 hauled from beneath the violated shade,
 and on the sacred pile the royal victim laid,”

a passage actually quoted by Richardson as an example (precious example!) of the use of the word “slidder;” and, I venture to assure the reader unacquainted with the style of Dryden, written in sober sadness, not in rivalry of Shakespeare’s caricature of the same picture, *Hamlet*, 2. 7:

. . . “roasted in wrath and fire,
 and thus o’er-sized with coagulate gore,
 with eyes like carbuncles, the hellish Pyrrhus
 old grandsire Priam seeks,” &c.

Such, from beginning to end, with scarcely the exception of a single line, is Dryden’s translation of the *Aeneid*—“the most noble and spirited translation,” says Pope, “which I know in any language”—that translation whose very announcement, we are informed by Sir W. Scott (see his *Life of Dryden*), put all literary England into a ferment of expectation—that translation which, Johnson tells us, “satisfied Dryden’s friends, and, for the most part, silenced his enemies”—that translation which, up to the present day, is the only recognized representative at the court of English Literature, of the sweet, modest, elegant, and generally correct muse of Virgil. Blush, England! For

shame, English criticism! English poets, what or where are ye?*

FORTIA CORPORA. "Corpora mortuorum; confer supra vers. 94, DISICE CORPORA PONTO," Forbiger. And so the passage has been generally understood, viz., as if the picture were that of Simois rolling along shields, helmets, and corpses. The epithet FORTIA joined with CORPORA should have prevented this error, which, however, it has so little prevented that we have VOSS actually translating FORTIA CORPORA by "tapfere Leichname," brave corpses—yes, O student of Virgil, brave corpses! But neither here nor in the parallel quoted by Forbiger is CORPORA corpses. CORPORA is, in both places, corpora virum, i. e., viros, the men themselves, the men bodily—whether living, dead, or dying, the author does not expressly state, nor does the reader stop to inquire. In neither passage is the distinction made between the living and the dead; but in the case of the shipwreck of the Trojan fleet, the distinction is drawn between the ships themselves and those on board of them (see Comm. on "disiice corpora ponto," verse 74); and in the case of the Simois, between the men's arms and the men themselves—the brave men whom Aeneas saw carried off bodily before his eyes by the river (whether Simois or Xanthus, no

* *Postscript.*—Since the above observations were written, I met with a translation of some portions of the Second and Fourth Books of the Aeneid, by Wordsworth. The following specimen, taken at random from the work, will serve to show that modern poets have failed in their translations of Virgil no less than ancient, and that even where they have succeeded in representing the meaning, they have been wholly unable to clothe that meaning in a moderately decent or becoming garb (*Aen.* 2. 324: "Venit summa dies," &c.):—

. . . "Tis come, the final hour!
th' inevitable close of Dardan power
hath come! we have been Trojans; Ilium was,
and the great name of Troy; now all things pass
to Argos. So wills angry Jupiter;
amid a burning town the Grecians domineer."

These rhymes sufficiently declare the anguish, the bloody sweat, of the most celebrated—I may say the only celebrated—poet possessed by England since the death of Lord Byron. It is one of the finest passages which ever issued from the hand of man which is thus—shall I say travestied? or shall I say degraded?

matter) below Troy. This is the picture in the mind of Aeneas—this is the picture our author wishes to place before the reader, viz., the picture of the fighting before the walls of Troy, and of the deaths of Hector and Sarpedon, and the brave men who, as well as their helmets and shields, were carried off bodily by the Simois or Xanthus—not at all the picture of the Simois or Xanthus rolling along helmets, and shields, and corpses. Accordingly, at 11. 257, we have the identical sentiment expressed, without the “corpora”:

“quos Simois premat ille viros,” . . .

“viros” corresponding to the *FORTIA CORPORA* of our text; and at 1. 122, we have the identical distinction between the arms and equipments of the men and the men themselves:

“apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,
arma virum tabulaeque et Troia gaza per undas;”

and, not to insist on the frequent application both of *corpora* and *corpus* to living bodies, Hom. *Il.* 3. 23:

ὥστε λέων ἐχαρὴ μέγ' αὖλ' ἐπὶ σωματι κωρσας,
εὐρων ἢ ἐλαφον κερμαον, ἢ ἀγρίον αἰγᾶ,
πτερυγῶν μάλ' αἰ γὰρ τε κατεσθίει, εἰπερ ἂν αὐτὸν
σπένονται ταχέες τε κύνες, θάλεροι τ' αἰζηοί
ὡς ἐχαρὴ Μενέλαος Ἀλέξανδρον θεοειδέα
οὐ θαλμοῖσιν ἰδών·

(where *σωματι* must mean a living body, inasmuch as the living Paris could not be compared with a corpse). Ovid, *Met.* 8. 555:

“multa quoque hic torrens [Achelous] nivibus de monte solutis,
corpora turbineo iuvenilia vortice mersit.”

Ovid, *Met.* 12. 604:

“dixit [Apollo] et ostendens sternentem Troia ferro
corpora Peliden, arcus [Paridis] obvertit in illum.”

Aen. 2. 18:

“huc delecta virum sortiti corpora furtim
includunt caeco lateri;”

11. 276:

. . . "quum ferro caelestia corpora demens
appetii, et Veneris violavi vulnere dextram;"

11. 665:

. . . "quot humi morientia corpora fundis?"

and 6. 57:

"Dardana qui Paridis direxti tela manusque
corpus in Aeacidæ."

Sil. 10. 130 (ed. Rup.):

. . . "nec iam per vulnera credit
aut per tot caedes actum satis, iraque anhelat
ni letho det cuncta virum iungatque parenti
corpora, et excidat miseros cum stirpe penates."

Ovid, *Met.* 14. 779:

"ore prēmunt voces, et corpora victa sopore
invadunt, portasque petunt."

Ovid, *Heroid.* 3. 35:

"quodque supervacuum, forma praestante puellae
Lesbides, eversa corpora capta domo."

Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2. 587:

"vix precibus, Neptune tuis, captiva resolvit
corpora."

Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 3. 1. 111:

"Iphias ante oculos tibi erat ponenda, volenti
corpus in accensos mittere forte rogos."

Ovid, *Amor.* 2. 10. 27:

"saepe ego, lascivæ consumpto tempore noctis,
utilis, et forti corpore mane fui."

We have, 12. 328, Turnus actually killing fortia corpora:

"multa virum volitans dat fortia corpora letho."

That such is the sense in which our text was understood both by Silius and Claudian is sufficiently shown by their imitations—Sil. 3. 466:

"iamque Tricastinis intendit finibus agmen,
 iam faciles campos, iam rura Vocuntia carpit.
 turbidus hic truncis saxisque Druentia laetum
 ductoris vastavit iter: namque Alpibus ortus,
 avulsas ornos, et adesi fragmina montis
 cum sonitu volvens, fertur latrantibus undis,
 ac vada translato mutat fallacia cursu,
 non pediti fidus, patulis non puppibus aequus:
 et tunc, imbre recens fuso, correpta sub armis
 corpora multa virum spumanti vertice torquens,
 immersit fundo laceris deformia membris;"

Claudian, *6 Cons. Honor.* 207 (ed. Burm.):

. . . "multisque suorum
 diras pavit [Alaricus] aves, inimicaque corpora volvens
 Ionios Athesis mutavit sanguine fluctus;"

in the former of which passages corpora, being the bodies of soldiers on their march, and in the latter of which passages corpora, being bleeding bodies, must be the bodies of living men, men bodily.

106—111.

TALIA IACTANTI STRIDENS AQUILONE PROCELLA
 VELUM ADVERSA FERIT FLUCTUSQUE AD SIDERA TOLLIT
 FRANGUNTUR REMI TUM PRORA AVERTIT ET UNDIS
 DAT LATUS INSEQUITUR CUMULO PRAERUPTUS AQUAE MONS
 HI SUMMO IN FLUCTU PENDENT HIS UNDA DEHISCENS
 TERRAM INTER FLUCTUS APERIT FURIT AESTUS ARENIS

VAR. LECT.

- PRORAM I Rom. (PRORAMA·VERTIT·), *Med.* III Lad.; Wagner (*Lect. Virgil.*, suppl. ad *Philol.* 1860; also ed. 1861).
 PRORA III Venice, 1470; Aldus (1514); Pierius; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671): Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Jahn; Wagn. (1832, 1841, 1845, 1848); Ribb.
 O *Fr. Pal.*, *Ver.*, *St. Gall.*

A list of the subdivisions of the Rem:

- 106 (a). STRIDENS AQUILONE PROCELLA.
 106 (b). PROCELLA.
 107. VELUM ADVERSA FERIT.
 108 (a). FRANGUNTUR REMI.
 108 (b). PRORA AVERTIT ET UNDIS DAT LATUS.
 109 (a). DAT LATUS.
 109 (b). INSEQUITUR.
 109 (c). CUMULO.
 109 (d). INSEQUITUR CUMULO PRAERUPTUS AQUAE MONS.
 109 (e). PRAERUPTUS.
 110 (a). HI . . . HIS.
 110 (b). HI SUMMO IN FLUCTU PENDENT.

This passage has been very variously interpreted by commentators and translators—~~some~~, with Heyne, understanding the whole passage as far as ARENIS to be an account of the operation of the PROCELLA on the ship of Aeneas alone, the CUMULO

PRAERUPTUS AQUAE MONS being a very great wave which raises that ship so unequally that those who are in one part of it are elevated to the top of the wave, while those in another part of it are equally depressed ("HI, alii ex iis qui in navi sunt, *i. e.* in prora aut in transtris dextris, PENDENT SUMMO IN FLUCTU; alii, qui sinistris, aut in puppi, sunt, merguntur mari"); **and others**, *ex. gr.* Wunderlich and Wagner (still agreeing so far with Heyne as to connect INSEQUITUR CUMULO PRAERUPTUS AQUAE MONS with the ship of Aeneas), understanding the account of Aeneas's ship to terminate with the last of these words, and a new account, *viz.*, an account of the vessels of the fleet generally, to begin with the word HI: **both** sets of commentators—Heyne and his party, no less than Wunderlich and Wagner and their party—agreeing, of course, to intimate the connexion of the clause INSEQUITUR CUMULO PRAERUPTUS AQUAE MONS with what precedes, and its separation from what follows, by a semicolon placed before it and a period placed after it. Both views are, as I think, erroneous, and Heyne's the most erroneous of the two. The account of Aeneas's ship terminates with DAT LATUS, and there the period should be placed. The new account, *viz.*, the account of what happened to the whole fleet (Aeneas's ship inclusive), begins with INSEQUITUR; at the end of the clause beginning with which word, *viz.*, at MONS, a stop no longer than a semicolon should be placed, the clause beginning with that word being the premiss on which the account contained in the two following lines, of what happened to the general fleet, is built. The reference in the word INSEQUITUR (*IN-SEQUITUR*, *i. e.* *follows on, comes on next*) is not, therefore, to the immediately preceding DAT LATUS, but to the whole preceding sentence, or more properly to the main gist and basis of that sentence PROCELLA VELUM ADVERSA FERIT, of which the remainder of the sentence as far as LATUS is merely the superstructure, the enumeration of the several consequences of the stroke on the sail.

106 (a).

STRIDENS AQUILONE PROCELLA

A squall whistling with Aquilo (i. e. a squall made to whistle by Aquilo, = a whistling squall of Aquilo) *strikes the sail aback*—AQUILONE being the causal ablative of grammarians, or the cause of the whistling (STRIDENS) of the squall; exactly as *Ibis*, 203:

. . . "cum tristis hyems Aquilonis inhorruit alis,"

where "Aquilonis alis" is the causal ablative, or cause of the bristling of the "hyems." In both places, as well as Ovid, *Ep. 11. 13*:

"ille [Aeolus] Noto Zephyroque et Sithonio Aquiloni
imperat, et pennis, Eure proterve, tuis,"

the Aquilo spoken of is the wind-god Aquilo in person. Compare, on the one hand, the Homeric original, *Od. 12. 407*:

. αἰψα γὰρ ἦλθε
κεκλήγων Ζεφυρος μεγάλην σὺν λαίλαπι θύων·

(where *Zephyros* is plainly the wind-god Zephyrus in person, raging with a *λαίλαψ*, or squall, as in our text AQUILONE is the wind-god Aquilo in person, who makes a PROCELLA or squall whistle), **and**, on the other hand, the Silian imitation, 9. 513:

"ipse, caput flavum caligine conditus atra,
Vulturnus, multaque comam perfusus arena,
nunc versos agit a tergo stridentibus alis,
nunc, mediam in frontem veniens clamante procella,
obvius arma quatit, patuloque insibilat ore"

(where the wind-god Vulturnus at one time drives the soldiers before him with his whistling or whirring wings ("stridentibus alis"), and at another time meets them in the face, as the wind-god Aquilo in our text meets Aeneas, with a bawling squall ("clamante procella") and wide-open mouth ("patulo ore")). The AQUILO of our text is thus the wind-god Aquilo in person, exactly as, verse 112, "Notus;" verse 114, "Eurus;" and, verse

135, "Eurus" and "Zephyrus," are respectively the wind-gods Notus, Eurus, and Zephyrus in person: and as, Apollon. Rhod. 2, *ωρσε δε κνιμα κεκληγως πνοιησι*, i. e. the wind in person.

The commentators have not sufficiently clearly perceived—or if they have themselves sufficiently clearly perceived, have not sufficiently clearly explained to their readers—that it is the wind-god Aquilo in person, not merely the physical blast Aquilo, which is spoken of in our text. "AQUILONE, ab aquilone," Servius. "Ab Aquilone incitata, immissa; plus autem est in STRIDENS. Magna igitur venti vis a septentrione veniens ferit velum et lacerat," Heyne. "AQUILONE, 'ab aquilone,' Servius; but it seems better to render STRIDENS AQUILONE, howling with the north wind," Conington. Neither, perhaps, has our author himself, any more than Claudian, in *Rufin. 1. 241*:

. . . "non illum Sirius ardens,
brumave Rhipaeo stridens Aquilone retardat,"

quite sufficiently distinguished between person and thing answering to the same name. With a little care it can indeed be made out which is meant, but no care at all should be necessary. Let us not, however, complain; we are much better off here, where we are only not in the actual presence of an undoubtedly personal Eurus, and an undoubtedly personal Zephyrus ("Eurum ad se Zephyrumque vocat"), than we are at 5. 2.:

. . . "fluctusque atros aquilone secabat;"

or than we are at Ovid, *Trist. 1. 11. 19*:

. . . "contenti stridunt aquilone rudentes;"

in both which places—to judge by the analogy of our text, it is the wind-god which is meant; to judge by the analogy of Ovid, *Ep. 11. 139*:

"corpus, ut impulsae segetes Aquilonibus horret,"

it is only the wind. Add to all which—and in further excuse of the ambiguity not only of our text, but of the words Aquilo, Boreas, Notus, Eurus, Auster, Vulcanus, Neptunus, Ceres, Bacchus, Venus, Mars, Apollo, Musa, and suchlike words

generally—the confusion almost necessarily present in the mind of the poet between the physical instrument and the deity by whom the physical instrument is wielded: a confusion not yet quite got rid of even in our own most enlightened times.

Lucan's imitation, without, however, a god present in person, is full of life and spirit, 5. 593:

. . . "non plura locuto [Caesari]
avulsit laceros, percussa puppe, rudentes
turbo rapax, fragilemque super volitantia malum
vela tulit; sonuit victis compagibus alnus."

STRIDENS. With what propriety *stridere* is used of *Aquilo* appears from Cicero's quotation, *Tusc. Quaest. 1*, p. 126 (ed. Lamb.): "Horrifer Aquilonis stridor gelidas molitur nives."

106 (*b*).

PROCELLA .

Not the storm which has been blowing all this while, **but** a sudden exacerbation, blast, gust, or squall (see Comm. on "creberque procellis," verse 89) occurring in the midst of it, in an opposite direction to the ship's course, and therefore said to be **ADVERSA**.

107.

VELUM ADVERSA FERIT

Strikes the sail in front—in nautical language, *aback* (Fr. "La voile est coiffée").

108 (a).

FRANGUNTUR REMI

The oars are broken by the sudden shock, which is so violent as not only to stop but throw back the vessel (see below).

108 (b).

PRORA AVERTIT ET UNDIS

DAT LATUS

The prow, which should meet the billow in order that the vessel might ride safely over it, turns from it, AVERTIT. But what causes the prow so to turn? Not the force of the water operating directly either on it or on the helm, but the force of the PROCELLA which has just struck the sail. This force can never be so directly and mathematically ADVERSA as not to be a little more on one side of the vessel than the other, and this oblique force operates, of course, not equally and at one instant all along the whole length of the vessel's side, but first, and with most violence, on that end of the side which is nearest to it; and the consequence of this application of the greater force to one side of the fore part of the vessel is the turning round of the vessel on its centre of gravity—the turning round of the fore part of the vessel *from* the wind and sea (TUM PRORA AVERTIT, *Fr.* le vaisseau abatte), and the simultaneous presentation of the side of the vessel *to* the wind and sea (ET UNDIS DAT LATUS). Compare Senec. *Hippol.* 1072:

“at ille [Hippolytus] qualis turbido rector mari
ratem retentat, ne det obliquum latus,
et arte fluctus fallit, haud aliter citos
currus gubernat.”

In this position not only is the prow turned away from the wind and sea, and the vessel's side turned towards the sea, but the same side is raised up out of the water so as sometimes to expose the keel (or even capsize the vessel), while the opposite side is depressed, or over the gunwale in the water. This second effect (viz., that of falling on the side) is, like the former, produced by the operation of the wind on the sails and mast, the sails and mast giving way to the force of the wind where they are free, viz., at the tops, and resisting the force where they are fixed by the ship's hull below; the result, of course, is, that the tops of the sails and mast are borne down towards the water—sometimes so low as to touch the water, to *wet*, as the sailor says—and the ship's hull is thrown on its leeward side, while its windward side rises to an equal height out of the water;—the position which, I presume, Servius intended to indicate by his “*inclinatur*,” a comment so brief and obscure as scarce less to require illustration than the brief and dark words which it professes to illustrate. The sail or vessel thus suddenly struck by the wind in front is said by the English sailor “to be taken aback;” by the French, “*coiffer*,” or “*faire chapel*;” by the German, “*eine Eule fangen*,” and the vessel so turning round, and presenting its side to the oncoming billows is said in French “*abattre*.” But the action of the squall (*PROCELLA*) which has thrown the ship into this position, *on its beam ends*, as it is said, has not been on the ship alone; it has been on the sea also, which it has raised at the same moment into great billows, *FLUCTUSQUE AD SIDERA TOLLIT*. We have therefore, on the one hand, the ship, which has turned away its head, and is lying on its side (not the side which it has given to the sea, *DAT LATUS*, but the opposite side), powerless, and without way; and on the other hand, we have the sea thrown into billows as high as the stars, or, as we say, *running mountains high*. While matters are in this position—the sea running mountains high, and Aeneas's ship lying on its side (“*tombé sur le côté*”), with its head turned away—*INSEQUITUR CUMULO PRAERUPTUS AQUAE MONS*, *an immense swell, as high and steep as a mountain*, **not**, with Voss and Caro—

(. . . "und es stürzt das gebrochene Wassergebirg' ein;"
 . . . "e d' acqua un monte intanto
 venne come dal cielo a cader giù")

breaks on Aeneas's ship [for (a), the words are simply *follows-on in a heap*, without one word either of breaking or of Aeneas's ship; (b), such a swell falling on the ship while it lay in such position could hardly not have sunk it; and (c), the poet was little likely here so vaguely to anticipate that shipping of a sea which he was so clearly and in so very different colours to place before the reader's eyes only eight lines further on] **but** simply *comes on*, and (the narration passing from the special ship of Aeneas to the whole fleet, Aeneas's ship inclusive) raises up some of the vessels, so that they seem to hang on its top (HI SUMMO IN FLUCTU PENDENT), while the deep trough formed by the elevation of so much water into one cumulus shows the bottom to others (HIS UNDA DEHISCENS TERRAM INTER FLUCTUS APERIT).

Here, as usual (I wish I could say, as always), Virgil appears in the most favourable contrast to Silius; the picture presented by the former—viz., that of the squall violently striking the sail aback, and raising an immense swelling billow, in the midst of Aeneas's exclamation of distress—being as modest, and judicious, and agreeable to the feeling of the spectator present in thought, as the picture presented by Silius—viz., that of the squall dashing an immense mountain billow in the very face of Hannibal—is extravagant and disagreeable, and (inasmuch as followed by no consequence, such as Hannibal's being thrown down half-drowned, or carried overboard) outrageous to common sense, Sil. 17. 255:

"ecce, intorta Noto, veniensque a rupe procella
 antennae immugit, stridorque immite rudentum
 sibilat, ac similem monti, nigrante profundo,
 ductoris frangit super ora trementia fluctum."

Nor let it be said that the two pictures are the same—Silius's a copy of Virgil's. That they are not, but Silius's an improvement, as Silius thought, on Virgil's, is shown by the exact copy of Virgil's presented by Silius, 17. 246 (quoted below); where Virgil's

INSEQUITUR CUMULO PRAERUPTUS AQUAE MONS is represented faithfully and to the most minute particular by "Insequitur Boreas sublime ferens abruptum ponti latus;" and where there is no breaking of the "ponti latus" on the ship, still less on the face of a speaker, as there is none in Virgil's.

AVERTIT, intransitive; as "avertens," 1. 406.

109 (a).

DAT LATUS

Gives the side, presents the side, exposes the side to the on-coming waves (UNDIS); exactly as a horse, forced to approach some appalling object, suddenly turns away his head and presents his side to it, Coripp. Johann. 5. 753:

"est locus in mediis longe praeruptus arenis
fluminis in morem, pelagi quem margine fluctus
alluit, atque undis agros concludit amaris,
egrediens; quibus alga locis limusque relabens
atque altum tremulo nutrit sub gurgite coenum.
huc ubi pervenit, nigras equus horruit algas,
et pavidus post terga redit. tunc naribus afflans
erexit geminas (signum formidinis) aures,
datque latus, fumatque ferox, oculosque retorquet
prospiciens, nec dirum audet tentare periculum."

The expression has been wholly misunderstood by the commentators, who take the side which is spoken of, the side which is "datum undis," to be the leeward side, or the side which by the turning round of the vessel is thrown down into the water; Jal, *Virg. Naut.* § 4, note M: "UNDIS DAT LATUS veut dire bien clairement que le vaisseau immerge le côté sur lequel il tombe." It is the very contrary; it is the windward side which is thrown up out of the water, the side which by the turning round of the vessel has been thrown into the position previously occupied by the prow, and which now meets both wind and waves

("excussi manibus remi, conversaque frontem
puppis in obliquum resonos latere excipit ictus,"

says Val. Flacc. 1. 618, in his account of a vessel thrown into the same position by a similar sudden blast), and, being incapable of onward motion against them, is raised up by their force out of the water, so that the vessel lies with its leeward side down in the water, and is in immediate danger of being capsized. Happily it is not capsized. The PRAERUPTUS AQUAE MONS, raised by the blast which has thrown the vessel into this perilous position, passes not over it, but under it; and, the narration suddenly passing from the single vessel to the fleet—

HI SUMMO IN FLUCTU PENDENT; HIS UNDA DEHISCENS
TERRAM INTER FLUCTUS APERIT.

Compare Apollon. Rhod. 2. 169:

ενθα μὲν ἡλιβατω ἐναλιγκιον οὐρεῖ κυμα
ἀμφερεται προπαροιθεν ἐπαΐσσοντι εὐκοσ,
αἰεν ὑπὲρ νεφῶν ἡερμενον οὐδὲ κε φαιης
φρευξέσθαι κακὸν οἶτον, ἐπεὶ μάλα μεσσοθι νηος
λαβρον επικρεμαται, καθάπερ νεφος. ἀλλὰ το γ' ἐμπης
στορνυται, εἰ κ' ἐσθλοιο κυβερνητηρος ἐπαυρη.
τω καὶ Τιφνος οἶδε δαημοσυνησι νεοντο,
ασκηθεῖς μὲν, ἀταρ πεφοβημενοι· ἡματι δ' ἄλλω
ἀντιπερην γαίῃ Βιθυνιδι πεισματ' ἀνηψαν

((Lat. transl.: “at ille tamen sternitur si modo peritum gubernatorem offenderit”) where we have the similar mountain wave, the similar PRAERUPTUS AQUAE MONS, *ἡλιβατω ἐναλιγκιον οὐρεῖ κυμα*, threatening to fall on the ship of Jason, but not falling on it, and the ship riding over it in triumph, HI SUMMO IN FLUCTU PENDENT:

τω καὶ Τιφνος οἶδε δαημοσυνησι νεοντο,
ασκηθεῖς μὲν, ἀταρ πεφοβημενοι).

The expression is taken from the palaestra, and in whatever form—whether that of dare latus, or praeberere latus, or ostendere latus, or ostentare latus, and **whether** (as in our text, and Senec. *Hippol.* 1072:

“at ille, qualis turbido rector mari
ratem retentat, ne det obliquum latus,
et arte fluctus fallit; haud aliter citos
currus gubernat;”

and the passage just now quoted from Corippus: "est locus in mediis, &c.,") literal, **or** (as Tibull. 1. 4. 46:

"saepe dabis nudum, vincat ut ille, latus,"

and Flor. 3. 5: "nudumque imperii latus ostentabant procul Marius, Sylla, Sertorius") metaphorical—always signifies: to expose a weak part, a part not possessed of means of defence.

Dare latus, to expose the side, exactly as in Italian, dar carena, to expose the keel; Pantero-Pantira: "Dar carena è far piegare il vascello tanto da un lato, che gli si scopra la carena." The precise expression dare latus is preserved in the Portuguese "dar lado," = Fr. "donner le côté." To understand dare latus as it has been understood by Jal and the commentators is to confound the technical term for the exposure of the windward side of a vessel to the brunt of the waves, with abire in latus—the technical term for the necessarily simultaneous and equal depression of the opposite or leeward side into the water; Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* 6. 6: "sicut in vavigiis quoque evenit, ut, si inclinata sunt, et abiere in latus, aquam sorbeant." With which compare "Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley," p. 8 (Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats; Paris, 1829): "It was in the centre of this bay [bay of Spezzia], about four or five miles at sea, in fifteen or sixteen fathoms of water, with a light breeze, under a crowd of sail, that the boat of our friends [P. B. Shelley and Mr. Williams, formerly of the 8th Dragoons] was suddenly taken clap aback by a very violent squall [STRIDENS AQUILONE PROCELLA VELUM ADVERSA FERIT]; and it is supposed that, in attempting to bear up under such a press of canvas—all the sheets fast, the hands unprepared, and only three persons on board—the boat filled to leeward ["abibat in latus"], and, having two tons of ballast, and not being decked, went down on the instant, not giving them a moment to prepare themselves by even taking off their boots or seizing an oar. Mr. Williams was the only one who could swim, and he but indifferently."

109 (b).

INSEQUITUR

IN-SEQUITUR, *follows on, comes on*, i. e. *comes on immediately after the PROCELLA; succeeds to the PROCELLA*, as the immediate consequence of the PROCELLA already described as having raised the waves to the stars. Compare verses 86-91:

. . . "venti, velut agmine facto,
qua data porta, ruunt, et terras turbine perfiant.
incubuerunt mari, totumque a sedibus imis
una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis
Africus, et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus.
insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum;"

where "insequitur" is in like manner connected with the bursting forth of the winds, and their rolling of vast billows to the shore—"venti . . . ruunt . . . et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus; insequitur," &c. In our text, PROCELLA VELUM FERIT, FLUCTUSQUE AD SIDERA TOLLIT . . . INSEQUITUR. Could words be more parallel? Compare **also** 4. 160:

"interea magno misceri murmure caelum
incipit: insequitur commixta grandine nimbus"

[first there is a great rumbling in the sky, and then *comes on* ("insequitur") the shower]; **and** especially Sil. 17. 246:

"primus, se attollens Nasamonum sedibus, Auster
nudavit Syrtim correpta nubillus unda.
insequitur sublime ferens nigrantibus alis
abruptum Boreas ponti latus," . . .

where the selfsame word "insequitur" is used to express the selfsame thought, viz., the coming-on or succession of the swell, or great sea, or mountain wave, in consequence of the violence and suddenness of the blast.

109 (c).

CUMULO

A heap, pile, swell, or accumulated mass of water (Lucan. 9. 798:

“spumeus accenso non sic exundat aheno
undarum cumulus; nec tantos carbasa Coro
curvare sinus,”

the heap of water; the swollen, upraised, heaped-up water):
water gathered by the wind out of one place and heaped up
into another; a wave higher and greater than ordinary—
Lucan. 5. 643:

“nam pelagus, qua parte sedet, non celat arenas,
exhaustum in cumulos, omnisque in fluctibus unda est,”

where the “cumulos” in the former part of the line is explained
by and identical with the “fluctibus” in the latter.

109 (d).

INSEQUITUR CUMULO PRAERUPTUS AQUAE MONS

Not, with Heyne, CUMULO PRAERUPTUS, for I find no instance
anywhere of an ablative joined with praeruptus; **but**, with
Wunderlich, INSEQUITUR CUMULO, the junction of an ablative with
insequor being of common occurrence:—Ovid, *Met.* 11. 468:
“insequitur lumine”; *Aen.* 8. 146: “bello insequitur”; *Aen.* 2.
529: “infesto vulnere Pyrrhus insequitur”; Ovid, *Met.* 13. 568:
“morsibus insequitur”; *Aen.* 9. 275:

“mea quem spatiis propioribus aetas
insequitur;”

and especially 4. 160: "insequitur commixta grandine nimbus," *a shower comes on with mingled hail*, i. e. a shower of mingled hail (hail mixed with rain) comes on—"commixta grandine" not being a distinct thing from the "nimbus," but the material of which the "nimbus" consists, just as in our text CUMULO is not a distinct thing from the AQUAE MONS, but the AQUAE MONS itself, the thing of which the AQUAE MONS consists, viz., a swell or accumulation of the sea water, gathered from either side and heaped up so as to resemble a mountain: compare Sil. 1. 373:

"surgebat cumulo certatim prorutus agger,"

where the cumulus is not a different thing from the agger, but the agger itself in another form.

109 (e).

PRAERUPTUS

"In altum elevatus," Servius. No; PRAERUPTUS does not signify high, but the manner or kind of height, viz., that the height was not a gradual height, or slope, but an abrupt, perpendicular precipitous height—lit. *broken off in front*: Plin. N. H. 34. 15: "mons praerupte altus" ("mons praealtus," ed. Sillig); Suet. Tiber. 40: "Insula . . . septa undique praeruptis immensae altitudinis rupibus" (in both which examples the height is expressed by altus, the kind of height, viz., that it was precipitous, by praeruptus); Tacitus, Hist. 2. 41: "Praeruptis utrinque fossis, via quieto quoque agmini angusta," *a narrow road between precipitous ditches*. Accordingly, in our text the height and size of the swell is expressed by MONS, the shape of the swell towards Aeneas's ship by PRAERUPTUS. The mountain of water presented a perpendicular face ("latus," Sil. 17. 248:

"insequitur sublime ferens nigrantibus alis
abruptum Boreas ponti latus"

towards or in the direction of Aeneas's ship (Apoll. Rhod. 2. 580:

και σφισιν απροφαιτως ανεδυ μεγα κυμα παροιθεν
κυρτον, αποτμηγ'ε σκοπιη ισον' οι δ' εσιδοντες
ημυσαν λοξοισι κυρηασιν. εισατο γαρ ρα
νηος υπερ πασης κατεπαλμενον αμφικαλυψεν.
αλλα μιν εφθη Τυφς υπ' εيرهσι βαρυθουσαν
αγγαλασας· το δε πολλον υπο τροπιν εξεκυλισθη,
εκ δ' αυτην πρυμνηθεν ανειρυσε τηλοδι νηα
πειριων· υβρου δε μεταχρονη πεφορητο).

The PRAERUPTUS AQUAE MONS of Virgil is thus the "mons pendentis aquae" of Prudentius, *Psychom.* 650, inasmuch as what is praeruptus (perpendicular) seems to hang, to be likely to fall down or over:

"non aliter cecinit respectans victor hiantem
Israel rabiem ponti post terga minacis,
cum iam progrediens calcaret litora sicco
ulteriora pede, stridensque per extrema calcis
mons rueret pendentis aquae, nigrosque relapsos
gurgite Nilicolas fundo deprnderet imo,
ac refluxente sinu iam redderet unda natatum
piscibus, et nudas praeceps operiret arenas."

110 (a).

HI . . . HIS

"Alii ex iis qui in navi sunt, v. c. in prora aut in transtris dextris, pendent summo in fluctu; alii, qui sinistris, aut in puppi sunt, merguntur mari: nisi placet v. 106 [110] seiungere a superioribus, et de aliis navibus accipere," Heyne. Heyne should not have doubted, still less have preferred, the former interpretation to the latter. How was it possible for the vessel to have been at one and the same moment at the top and bottom of a steep mountain of water? for those at one end or one side of the vessel

to have been mounted on the crest of the water, while those at the other end or other side of the vessel were in danger of touching the ground? No, no; HI SUMMO IN FLUCTU PENDENT, HIS UNDA DEHISCENS TERRAM INTER FLUCTUS APERIT does not so entirely contradict and give the lie to INSEQUITUR CUMULO PRAERUPTUS AQUAE MONS. HI are those in one ship, or in several ships, on the top of the billow; HIS, those who are in another ship, or other ships, in the yawning trough of the sea, and so Donatus: "Fluctibus vario motu venientibus, aut erigebantur naves aliae per tumorem maris, et in sublime ferebantur, aut usque ad imum deprimebantur aliae, cum vi undae subsiderent." Compare Silius's very manifest imitation, 17. 269:

"talìa dum moeret, diversis flatibus acta
in geminum ruit unda latus, puppimque sub atris
aequoris aggeribus tenuit, cœu turbine mersam.
mox, nigris altae [*alte*, Heins., Barth.] pulsa exundantis arenae
vorticibus, ratis aethereas remeavit ad auras,
et fluctus supra, vento librante, pependit.
at geminas Notus in scopulos atque horrida saxa
dura sorte rapit (miserandum et triste!) biremes.
increpuere ictu prorae. tum murice acuto
dissiliens sonuit, rupta compage, carina.
hic varia ante oculos facies: natat aequore toto
arma inter, galeasque virum, cristasque rubentes,
florentis Capuae gaza, et seposta triumpho
Laurens praeda ducis, tripodes, mensaeque deorum
cultaque nequidquam miseris simulacra Latinis;"

Ovid, *Met.* 11. 502:

"ipsa quoque his agitur vicibus Trachinia puppis,
et modo sublimis, veluti de vertice montis,
despicere in valles imumque Acheronta videtur;
nunc, ubi demissam curvum circumstetit aequor,
susplicere inferno summum de gurgite caelum,"

in both of which passages the picture is not of persons in different parts of one and the same ship, but of a ship in different positions—now on the top of the wave, now in the trough of the sea. **Also** Val. Flacc. 8. 328:

"tollitur, atque intra Minyas Argoaque vela
Stirus abit. vasto rursus desidit hiatu

abrupta revolutus aqua. iamque omnis in astra
 itque reditque ratis, lapsoque reciproca fluctu
 descendit. trahit hos vortex; hos agmine toto
 gurgis agit; simul in vultus micat undique terror.
 crebra ruina poli caelestia limina laxat.
 non tamen ardentis Stiri violentia cedit,"

where "hos" and "hos" can by no possibility be those in one part and those in another part of the same ship, but "hos" must be those who are in ships caught in an eddy, and "hos" those who are in ships which drive before the sea. **Also** Lucan, 3. 687:

"hic recipit fluctus, extinguat ut aequore flammam;
 hi, ne mergantur, tabulis ardentibus haerent,"

where "hic" and "hi" are persons in different ships; **also** Lucan, 5. 638:

"quantus Leucadio placidus de vertice pontus
 despicitur, tantum nautae videre tremantes
 fluctibus e summis praeceps mare: cumque tumentes
 rursus hiant undae, vix eminent aequore malus;
 nubila tanguntur velis, et terra carina,"

where the picture is similar, viz., of several ships at the top and bottom of the wave alternately; **and**, lastly, our author's own similar picture, 3. 564:

"tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite, et idem
 subducta ad Manes imos desedimus unda."

110 (b).

HI SUMMO IN FLUCTU PENDENT

PENDENT, hang on the top of the wave, are elevated so high by the wave as to seem to *hang*, i. e. to be suspended in the air as birds are; Manil. 5. 291:

"pendentemque suo volucrem deprendere caelo."

Alcim. Avit., *Poem.* 1. 32:

“elatae in caelum volucres, motuque citato
pendentes secuire vias, et in aëre sudo
praepetibus librant membrorum pondera pennis.”

Ovid, *Met.* 12. 564 (of a bird shot by Hercules):

“tendit in hunc nimium certos Tirynthius arcus,
atque inter nubes sublimia membra ferentem,
pendentemque ferit, lateri qua iungitur ala.”

The opposition between the two groups of vessels indicated by **HI** and **HIS** is, that **HI** seem to be hanging in the air, **HIS** to be almost on the very ground, each group equally out of its proper or normal place, which is neither in the air nor on the ground, but on the water. See Rem. on 1. 170 (*b*).

111 (*a*).

TERRAM INTER FLUCTUS APERIT

Curiously applied by Alcimus Avitus, “De transitu maris rubri” (*Poem.* 5. 2) to the passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites:

“terram inter fluctus aperit nunc carminis ordo.”

111 (*b*).

FURIT AESTUS ARENIS

“Vident in imo arenam aestuantem ac ferventem,” La Cerda.
“ARENIS; recte Wunderlich explicat in fundo maris, coll. Ovid,

Met. 11. 499, Wagner (ed. Heyn.), Forbiger. "ARENIS; auf dem Meeresboden, nicht am Ufer," Thiel.

. . . "dort Sinkenden öffnet
tief die zerleczende Woge das Land, und es siedet der Schlamm auf."
Voss.

. . . ζεε δὲ αἰμος. De Bulgatis.

. . . "mostra giù il bollente
letto arenoso suo." Alfieri.

No; ARENIS is not *on* the sands, but, *with* the sands; the AESTUS pulls the sands violently about with it; the rage (AESTUS) is so much the more terrible on account of the drifting quick-sands which it sets in motion and carries with it; and so Donatus: "Non solum undae, verum etiam ima pelagi, tempestatum furoribus exagitabantur." Compare *Aen. 3. 557*: "Aestu miscetur arenae." *Georg. 3. 240*:

. . . "at ima exaestuât unda
verticibus, nigramque alte subiectat arenam."

Ovid, *Trist. 1. 4. 6*:

"erutaque ex imis fervet arena vadis,"

and Ovid, *Met. 11. 497*:

"fluctibus erigitur, caelumque aequare videtur
pontus, et inductas aspergine tingere nubes;
et modo, cum fulvas ex imo vertit [*verrit*, Heins.] arenas
concolor est illis; Stygia modo nigrior unda,

Aen. 9. 714:

"miscent se maria et nigrae attolluntur arenae."

Sil. 17. 269:

"talìa dum moeret, diversis flatibus acta
in gremium ruit unda latus, puppimque sub atris
aequoris aggeribus tenuit, ceu turbine mersam.
mox, nigris alte* pulsa exundantis arenae
vorticibus, ratis aethereas remeavit ad auras."

* [aliter *altas*; *alte*, Heins., Barth.]

Rutil. *Itin.* 1. 639 (of the port of Pisa, in Tuscany):

“vidimus excitis pontum flavescere arenis,
atque eructato vortice rura tegi.”

Quinct. *Declam.* 12. 16: “Caeruleus imber in naves ruit; classis inter fluctus latet; nec inter canentes collisarum aquarum spumas vela dignoscimus; egerit ex fundo arenas mare; micant ignes; intonat caelum; scissis rudentibus tempestas sibilat.”

Anthol. Palat. (ed. Dubner), 9. 290:

οἱ ἐξ αἰθου Ἀιβος, ἐκ ζαυος Νοτου
συνεζομφῶν ποντος, ἐκ δὲ νεαιτων
μυχων βυθιτις ψαμμος ἐξηρευγετο.

Quint. *Calab.* 14. 491 (of this same shipwreck):

. . . κατεκλασθη δ' ἀρ' Ἀχαιων
θυμος ἐνι στερνοισιν, ἐπεὶ νῆας ἀλλοτε μὲν που
υψηλον φερε κυμα δι' ἡερος, ἀλλοτε δ' αὐτε
οὐα κατὰ κρημνοιο κυλινδομενας φορεεσκεν
βυσσον ἐς ἡεροεντα βῆθ' οἱ ἀσχετος αἰεν
ψαμμον ἀναβλυσχε διοιγομενοιο κλυθωνος.

And, quoted by Conington, *Soph. Antig.* 586:

ομοιον ὥστε ποντωιαις
οιδμα δυσπνοοις οἶαν
Θρησσαισιν ἐρεβος υφ' αἶλον ἐπιδραμη πνοαις,
κυλινθεῖ βυσσοθεν κελαιναν
θυνη καὶ δυσανεμον,
στονω βοεμουσι δ' ἀντιπληγες αἰτια.

Also, *Georg.* 3. 350:

“turbidus et torquens flavescentes lster arenas;”

and Senec. *Thyestes*, 1017 (Thyestes, having just discovered he has eaten his children):

. . . “ardenti freto
Phlegethon arenas igneus tortas [lege *tostas*] agens,
exitia supra nostra violentus fluat.”

FURIT ARENIS, as Val. Flacc. 1. 144, “ense furens;” *Aen.* 11. 499, “furentem caede Neoptolemum.” In the same manner as “ense” and “caede,” added to “furens,” in these passages, define and enhance the fury of Aeson and Neoptolemus, informing us that the former was using his sword, and that the

latter was slaughtering all before him; so ARENIS, in our text, defines and enhances the fury of the sea, informing us that it moved and carried with it the shoaling sands. The allusion is to the Syrtes, the scene of the action, which derived their name from this very liability to be displaced and set in motion by the sea in a storm—"Nam ubi mare magnum esse, et saevire coepit ventis, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt; ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. Syrtes ab tractu nominatae," Sall. *Bell. Jugurth. c. 80*. Virgil's furere arenis is Sallust's "saevire, et trahere arenam." Compare Juvenal's cognate expression, "saevire flagellis" (10. 180); Virgil's own "saevit animis," verse 153; "inhorrui unda tenebris" (3. 195); "Averna sonantia silvis" (3. 442); and STRIDENS AQUILONE PROCELLA (verse 106, above); "Phlegethonta furentem ardentibus undis" (*Culex*, 270); "furit stridoribus" (*Culex*, 177); and, exactly parallel to, and coincident with our text, Valerius Flaccus's "Quâ brevibus furit aestus aquis" (2. 615); also, Hesiod, *Theog.* 109:

. . . ποντος ἀπειριτος; οὐρανὸν θύων.

FURIT AESTUS ARENIS. The connexion of these words is **not** with the immediately preceding semi-clause, HIS UNDA DEHISCENS TERRAM INTER FLUCTUS APERIT—which would give the jejune meaning found in the passage by La Cerda and the other expositors: Hiante unda et apparente terra, "vident in imo arenam aestuantem ac ferventem"—**but** with the *whole* clause: HI SUMMO IN FLUCTU PENDENT, HIS UNDA DEHISCENS TERRAM INTER FLUCTUS APERIT, of which clause they are the complement, filling up and completing the picture, thus:—These vessels here hang on the crest or ridge of the wave, while those there descend almost to the ground at the bottom of the trough; the ridge is high, and the trough deep; and the raging (AESTUS) of the sea is the more terrible on account of the quicksands which it has set in motion and carries along with it: the particular consequence of this "furere arenis" is set forth at verse 116:

"illiditque vadis atque aggere cingit arenae."

Taught by my "Twelve Years' Voyage" (1853), and "Adversaria Virgiliana" (1857), that the sand spoken of in our text is not sand *in situ* at the bottom of the sea ("ARENIS, in fundo maris"), but sand dragged about violently by the water—Wagner, in his edition of 1861, adds to the interpretation which he had in his edition of Heyne adopted from Wunderlich (viz., "ARENIS, in fundo maris") the explanation, "miscens scilicet eas et sursum rapiens;" an explanation which, I hope, will perfectly satisfy his readers that he has not at all changed his opinion since he adopted the interpretation "ARENIS, in fundo maris," but thought then—before either my "Twelve Years' Voyage" or "Adversaria Virgiliana" were written—exactly as he thinks in 1861, after he has read both, that the sands spoken of are sands *in situ* at the bottom of the sea ("ARENIS, in fundo maris"); and at the same time sands not *in situ* at the bottom of the sea, but mixed and carried up violently by the waters ("miscens scilicet eas et sursum rapiens") as, wonderful coincidence! he proves them to be, by the very parallels which I have ("Twelve Years' Voyage," and "Adversaria") adduced to prove that they were not sands *in situ* at the bottom of the sea, but sands violently dragged about by the waters.

AESTUS—the tiding, surging, violent motion of the sea, no matter in what direction; Plaut. *Asin.* 1. 3. 5:

"remigio veloque quantum poteris, festina et fuge,
quam magis te in altum capessis, tam aestus te in portum refert."

113-114.

SAXA VOCANT ITALI MEDIIS QUAE IN FLUCTIBUS ARAS
DORSUM IMMANE MARI SUMMO

VAR. LECT.

SAXA—ARAS I *Rom., Med.* II $\frac{5}{8}$. III Venice, 1470;* Aldus (1514);*
D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Wakef.*; Pottier.; Wagn.
(ed. Heyn.).

(SAXO—ARAS) III Philippe; Brunck.

(SAXA—SUMMO) III Wagn. (ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt.; Ribb.

SAXA - ARAS OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED III Heyne; Peerlk.

O *Fr. Pal., Ver., St. Gall.*

"SAXA, inquam; saxorum enim, non insulae vocabulo Itali appellant Aras in mediis fluctibus (inter Siciliam, Carthaginem et Sardiniam) sitas," Wagner (1861). So the meaning is not that the sunken rocks just spoken of were called Arae by the Italians, but that the sunken rocks just spoken of were the Arae, and the Arae were called rocks by the Italians; and that Virgil called the Arae rocks because the Italians called them so, and thus showed his usual discrimination in not applying to the Arae any higher title than was usually applied to them by the Italians. He deserves the thanks of the whole nation. The interpretation is new; and, being quite in accordance with grammatical rules, will be eagerly embraced by grammarians, and I wish them much joy of it.

DORSUM IMMANE MARI SUMMO. "Id dorsum est in mari summo, ut apparere non possit, nisi, ut auctor est Servius, cum mare ventis movetur," Wagner (1861). That the rocks became apparent in rough weather (viz., from the breaking of the sea on them), however probable the fact, is not mentioned or in any

* No parenthetic marks.

way alluded to by Virgil. They are with Virgil SAXA LATENTIA, hidden (our *sunken*) rocks, forming a huge DORSUM or hummock, MARI SUMMO, just reaching to, and no higher than, the surface of the sea, so that the sailor does not see them until it is too late, and he is on them.

DORSUM. Engl. *Hump*, or *hummock*; Gr. Νῶτα πετρας: cf. Eurip. *Hippol.* 128 (ed. Musgr.). The word subsists in the same sense in the Italian, Dante, *Purg.* 30. 85:

“siccome neve tra le vive travi
per lo dosso d' Italia si congela,”

where “dosso d' Italia” means the Apennines. See Comm. on “dorso,” 8. 234.

An isolated rock far out at sea was called χοιρας by the Greeks; Eurip. *Androm.* 1269 (ed. Musgr.):

ελθων παλαιας χοιραδος κοilon μυχον:

Lycophr. *Cassandr.* 387:

τονδ', οια θυπητην κηρυλον, δια στενου
αυλωνος οισει κυμα γυμνιτην φαγρον,
διπλων μεταξυ χοιραδων σαρουμενον:

Lycophr. 1036 (of Elephenor's ascending a χοιρας, and from thence haranguing his countrymen, he himself not being allowed to set his foot on his country's shore):

ος εν θαλασση χοιραδων βεβως επι
ρητρας πολιταις τας στρατοπλωτους ερει
χερσου πατρωας, ου γαρ αν φονη, ποσι
ψανσαι, μεγαν πλειωνα μη πεφευγοτα,

concerning the first of which passages the Scholiast observes: χοιρας, πασα πετρα εξεχουσα και περικλῖζομενη θαλασση σπηλαιον εχουσα, while Stephens in his *Thesaurus* says of the word χοιρας in general: “χοιρας, porcula, scrofula; peculiari nomine χοιραδες dicuntur πετραι λειαι εν θαλασση, η εξοχαι, η οχθη πετρων, Suid. [I have searched in vain in Suidas for the definition. The word χοιρας is not even to be found.] Aliis, saxa sub mari nigra, aliquantulum eminentia, ut porco nanti similia videantur”—an account so entirely agreeing with the account given of the Aræ by Virgil, viz., that they were SAXA

LATENTIA, . . . DORSUM IMMANE MARI SUMMO, as to raise a suspicion in the mind that the term *ara* in this application was neither more nor less than a corruption of the Greek *χοιρας*. However that may be, it is at least a singular coincidence that Canter in his translation of Lycophron has actually rendered *χοιραδων* in the above passage by *aras*: “*duas inter aras iactatum*”—no doubt, understanding *ARAS* in our text, not as the proper name of the *SAXA LATENTIA* spoken of, but as the generic name of all such rocks, an interpretation which it cannot be denied the passage will grammatically bear.

115-116.

IN BREVIA ET SYRTES URGET MISERABILE VISU
 AGGERE CINGIT ARENÆ

Servius is right: “In brevia Syrtium,” the shallows (Ital. *Bassifondi*) of the Syrtes, the shallow Syrtes; Lucan, 9. 316:

“mox ubi damnosum radios admoverit aevum,
 tellus Syrtis erit: nam iam brevis unda superne
 innatat, et late peritulum deficit aequor.”

Val. Flacc. 2. 615:

“qua brevibus furit aestus aquis.”

MISERABILE VISU, not *miserable*, in our sense of the word, but *pitiable*. Cf. Luc. *Prom.* οὐκίστονον θεαμα: Ovid, *Ibis*, 117:

“sisque miser semper; nec sis miserabilis ulli.”

See Rem. on l. 14.

AGGERE CINGIT ARENÆ, Fr. *ensable*.

120-121.

AST ILLAM TER FLUCTUS IBIDEM
TORQUET AGENS CIRCUM ET RAPIDUS VORAT AEQUORE VORTEX

Compare Dante, *Infern.* 26. 137:

“che dalla nuova terra un turbo nacque,
e percosse del legno il primo canto.
tre volte il fe' girar con tutte l'acque;
alla quarta levar la poppa in suso,
e la prora ire in giù, com' altrui piaque,
infìn che 'l mar fù sopra noi richiuso.”

122-123.

APPARENT RARI NANTES IN GURGITE VASTO
ARMA VIRUM TABULAEQUE ET TROIA GAZA PER UNDA

“Gurges proprie de vortice, *i. e.* de mari vel flumine profundo et in orbem acto, dicitur,” Forbiger. “GURGITE VASTO: c'est le trou aux eaux tourbillonnantes (RAPIDUS VORTEX) où sombre le navire des Lydiens,” Jal, *Virg. nauticus*, p. 342. “Gurges (ἀμπωτις, δίνη), locus in flumine profundus, in quo aqua congeritur et circum vertitur. Omnis aquarum congeries dicitur gurges,” Rob. Stephan. in *Thesaur.*, adding, with special reference to our text, “pro ipso maris periculo et veluti Syrte quadam aut Scylla.” “Gurges (ἀμπωτις, δίνη), locus in flumine profundus, in quo aqua congeritur et circum vertitur,” Gesner, in *Thesaur.*, adding, with special reference to our text, “pro ipso maris periculo et veluti Syrte quadam aut Scylla,” and then proceeding: “Non improbabilis est sententia Io. Meursii, mantissa ad libr. *de luxu Rom.* c. 12, derivantis hoc totum nomen a Gr. γοργων. Sunt enim γοργονες ap. Suidam φοβεροι εις γαστριμαργιαν. Fuerit itaque γοργων gurges pri-

mo vorax, ac deinde per metaphoram locus in mari vel flumine absorbens omnia." "*Vortex* und *gurges* sind die sich im kreis drehenden wasserstellen, welche ein bewegtes wasser voraussetzen . . . Ferner stellt *vortex*, wie der wirbel, das kreisende wasser in horizontaler richtung dar, in so fern das wasser sich bloss im kreise dreht und das, was darauf schwimmt, am weiterfliessen hindert; *gurges* aber, wie der strudel, in perpendiculärer richtung, in so fern er das, was in seinen bereich kömmt, mit sich in die tiefe zu ziehen sucht," Doederlein, *Synon.* "*Gurges*, δινη: proprie locus est in flumine profundus, in quo aqua vertitur. Sed generaliter de omni aquarum congerie dicitur et de ipso etiam mari," Facciolati, in *Lexic.* "*Gurges*, a gulf of water in circular motion, which absorbs things near it; a whirlpool," Scheller (transl. by Riddle) in *voce* "*Gurges*." "*Gurges*, ῥωνη ποταμων. Βαθος, C. κλωδων, C. αμπωτις, C. gurgites, ειλυγες," Cyrilli, Philoxeni, aliorumque veterum glossaria, a Car. Labbaeo collecta, in *voce* "*Gurges*." "*Δινη*, vortex, gurges," Henr. Stephan. (*Thesaur.* edited by Hase and Dindorf, Paris, 1833) in *voce* δινη. "*Gurgi-t* fassen wir als weiterbildung von einem nominalstamme *gurgo-* (nom. *gurgus* oder *gurgum*) mit der abstracten bedeutung *das sich im kreise herumdrehend*. . . Die wurzel ist 'gur', Griech. γυρ, in γυρός (*rund*), γῦρος, ὁ (*kreis*). Vergl. Benfey, wl. 2. 291. Das suffix -t bildet hier aus dem nominalstamme (*gurgo-*) ein 'nomen actionis' (folglich *strudel als sich drehender*, wie *vertex* von wrz. *vart*, *circumagi*)," Walter, *Die Lateinischen Nomina auf -es, -itis* (Kuhn, *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprachf.*, vol. 10, p. 198). "*Gorgo*: Ital., Provenz., Altfranz., *gore*, *gort*; Neuf Franz., *gour*, strudel, desgl. Ital., Span., Provenz., *gorga*; Fr. *gorge*, It. *gorgia*, strudel, schlund, gurgel; von *gurges*, dem nur die erste bedeutung zukommt," Diez, *Etymol. Wörterb. der Romanisch. Sprachen*.

That this is to confound two words expressive of essentially different notions, let the following examples show:—Ovid, *Met.* 2. 527:

"at vos si laesae contemptus tangit alumnae,
gurgite caeruleo septem prohibete Triones."

The blue gorges in which Juno begs Oceanus and Tethys not to allow the Triones to dip was most assuredly no vortex.—Ovid, *Met.* 14. 51:

“parvus erat gurgis, curvos sinuatus in arcus,
grata quies Scyllae; quo se referebat ab aestu
et maris et caeli, medio cum plurimus orbe
sol erat, et minimas a vertice fecerat umbras.
hunc dea [Circe] praeveniat, portentiferisque venenis
inquinat.”

The quiet little gorges which afforded Scylla a cooler bath at noon than the Sicilian sea was most assuredly no whirlpool, no vortex.—Lucan, 6. 361:

“purus in occasus, parvi sed gurgitis, Aeas
Ionio fluit inde mari.”

The little gorges with which the river Aeas flowed pure into the Ionian sea was most assuredly anything in the world but a vortex.—Sil. 1. 196:

“terminus huic roseos omnis Lagaeus ad ortus
septeno impellens tumefactum gurgite pontum.”

The sevenfold gorges with which the Lagaeus river impelled the swollen sea was most assuredly not a sevenfold vortex. **Nor** a sevenfold vortex the sevenfold gorges of the summer Nile, which Nereus drinks, Claudian, *in Rufin*, 1. 183:

. . . “Nereus,
. . . undantem quamvis hinc hauriat Istrum,
hinc bibat aestivum septeno gurgite Nilum.
par semper similisque meat.”

Nor a vortex the gorges under which Vulturinus draws so much sand along, Ovid, *Met.* 15. 714:

. . . “multamque trahens sub gurgite arenam
Vulturinus.”

Nor a vortex the pure gorges with which the same river aspires to rival the Liris in purity, Stat. *Silv.* 4. 3. 92:

“sed talis ferar, ut nitente cursu
tranquillum mare proximumque possim
puro gurgite provocare Lirim.”

Nor a vortex the Castalian gorges from which the Phoebean afflatus emanates, Claud., *Epigr.* 31:

“quicquid Castalio de gurgite Phoebus anhelat,
quicquid fatidico mugit cortina recessu,
carmina sunt.”

Nor a vortex the “altus gurgis” with which the Danube and the Rhine lord it over their neighbour rivers, Claud., *Bell. Getic.* 329:

“ . . . sublimis in Arcton
prominet Hercyniae confinis Rhaetia silvae,
quae se Danubii iactat Rhenique parentem,
utraq; Romuleo praetendens flumina regno,
primo fonte breves, alto mox gurgite regnant,
et fluvios cogunt unda coeunte minores
in nomen transire suum.”

Nor a vortex the gorges of the Nile, out of which the Nile god raises his weeping visage, Claud., *Epist.* 2. 56:

“audiat haec commune solum, longeque carinis
nota Pharos, flentemque attollens gurgite vultum
nostra gemat Nilus numerosis funera ripis.”

Nor a vortex the gorges with which a flooded river overcomes the resistance of the dykes, *Aen.* 2. 496:

“non sic, aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis
exiit oppositasque evicit gurgite moles,
fertur in arva furens cumulo, camposque per omnes
cum stabulis armenta trahit.”

Nor a vortex the enclosed gorges of the port in which ships moor safe from the troubles and terrors of the deep, Sil. 15. 178:

“considunt portu, et securae gurgite clauso
stant puppes, positusque labor terrorque profundis.”

Nor a vortex the gorges navigated against its will by the first navigator, Propert. 1. 17. 13:

“ah, pereat quicumque rates et vela paravit
primus, et invito gurgite fecit iter.”

Nor a vortex the easy gorges with which Neptune escorts the

fleet of Stilicho on its way to Corinth, Claudian, 4 *Cons. Honor.* 462:

. . . "servaturasque Corinthum
prosequitur facili Neptunus gurgite classes."

Nor a vortex the high gorges from which Scipio's fleet has a view of the Alps, Sil. 15. 166:

. . . "hinc gurgite ab alto
tellurem procul irrumpentem in sidera cernunt,
aeris Alpes."

Nor a vortex the gorges on which Aeneas's fleet is borne swiftly onward toward port by a fair wind, *Aen.* 5. 32:

. . . "petunt portus et vela secundi
intendunt zephyri. fertur cita gurgite classis;
et tandem laeti notae advertuntur arenae."

Nor a vortex the curved gorges on which Aeneas and his companions are lifted up to the sky, only to descend to the lowest *manes* when it is withdrawn from under them, *Aen.* 3. 564:

"tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite, et idem
subducta ad *manes* imos desedimus unda."

Nor a vortex the Carpathian gorges in which blue Proteus dwells, *Georg.* 4. 387:

"est in Carpathio Neptuni gurgite vates,
caeruleus Proteus, magnum qui piscibus aequor
et iuncto bipedum curru metitur equorum."

Nor a vortex the Iberian gorges in which Phoebus dips his weary horses at decline of day, *Aen.* 11. 913:

"ni roseus fessos iam gurgite Phoebus Ibero
tingat equos, noctemque die labente reducat."

Nor a vortex the black gorges of that listless, still-standing sea, where there are neither winds nor waves, nor friendly Gemini, and death's sole ferryman rows countless peoples across to the realms of Proserpine, Senec. *Herc. Fur.* 549:

"vidisti Siculae regna Proserpinae?
illic nulla Noto, nulla Favonio
consurgunt tumidis fluctibus aequora."

non illic geminum Tyndaridæ genus
succurrunt timidis sidera navibus;
stat nigro pelagus gurgite languidum;
et cum Mors avidis pallida dentibus
gentes innumeras Manibus intulit,
uno tot populi remige transeunt."

Nor a vortex that gorges on the surface of which the oars of the Argonauts are kept in time by the music of Orpheus, Val. Flacc. 1. 470:

"nec vero Odrisius transtris impenditur Orpheus,
aut pontum remo subigit, sed carmine tonsas
ire docet, summo passim ne gurgite pugnent."

Nor a vortex the gorges (viz., of the river Sicoris) by which the camp of Caesar is separated from the camp of Pompey, Lucan 4. 11:

"colle tumet modico, lenique excrevit in altum
pingue solum tumulo; super hunc fundata vetusta
surgit Iberda manu: placidis praelabitur undis
Hesperios inter Sicoris non ultimus amnes,
saxeus ingenti quem pons amplectitur arcu,
hibernas passurus aquas, at proxima rupes
signa tenet Magni: nec Caesar colle minore
castra levat; medius dirimit tentoria gurgis."

Nor a vortex either the gorges which the smaller river Cinga mixes with the gorges of the larger river Iberus, or the gorges which the larger Iberus mixes with the gorges of the smaller Cinga, Lucan, 4. 19:

"explicat hinc tellus campos effusa patentes,
vix oculo preendente modum, camposque coerces
Cinga rapax, vetitus fluctus et littora cursu
Oceani pepulisse suo, nam gurgite misto
qui præstat terris, aufert tibi nomen Iberus."

Nor a vortex the gorges in which there will be a fish, however little you expect that there will, Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3. 425:

"casus ubique valet; semper tibi pendeat hamus;
quo minime credas gurgite piscis erit."

Nor a vortex the gorges in which Arethusa was swimming

when she heard the voice of Alpheus calling to her from below, Ovid, *Met.* 5. 595:

“nudaque mergor aquis; quas dum ferioque trahoque,
mille modis labens, excussaque brachia iacto,
nescio quod medio sensi sub gurgite murmur,
territaque insisto propioris margine ripae:
‘quo properas, Arethusa?’ suis Alpheus ab undis;
‘quo properas?’ iterum rauco mihi dixerat ore.”

Nor a vortex the gurgles with which the sea alternately floods, and leaves bare, the shore, *Aen.* 11. 624:

“qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus
nunc ruit ad terras, scopulosque superiacet unda
spumeus extremamque sinu perfundit arenam;
nunc rapidus retro, atque aestu revoluta resorbens
saxa, fugit, littusque vado labente relinquit.”

Nor a vortex the shining gurgles with which the clear and blue Ticinus flows so softly and quietly as to induce sleep, and almost seem not to flow at all, Sil. 4. 81:

“caeruleas Ticinus aquas et stagna vadoso
perspicuus servat turbare nescia fundo,
ac nitidum viridi lente trahit amne liquorem.
vix credas labi; ripis tam mitis opacis
argutos inter volucrum certamine cantus,
somniaferam ducit lucenti gurgite lympham.”

Nor a vortex the in-flowing gurgles which keeps the tank constantly cold, Columella, *de Re Rust.*, 8. 17: “Sed utcunque fabricatum est, si semper influente gurgite riget, habere debet specus iuxta solum, eorumque alios simplices et rectos, quo secedant squamosi greges, alios in cochleam retortos.” **Nor** a vortex the gurgles—the, no less than the gurgles of our text, vastus gurgles—on which not merely one ship’s *debris*, but the whole fleet of Aeneas, is tossed about (3. 196):

“continuo venti volvunt mare, magnaue surgunt
aequora; dispersi iactamur gurgite vasto.”

Nor vortices the “tanti gurgites” swallowed by Charybdis—*itself* a vortex—Cicer. *Harusp. Resp.* 27: “Quam denique tam immanem Charybdim poetae fingendo exprimere potuerunt quae

tantos exhaurire gurgites posset, quantas iste [Clodius] Byzantiorum Brogitarorumque praedas exsorbuit?"

The first conclusion deducible from these examples is that for the sake of which I have been at the pains to seek them out, viz.: that gurges, not being equivalent to vortex in any one of them, is in all probability not equivalent to vortex in our text; and the second conclusion is, that whatever meaning is common to gurges in all these examples will very probably be found in the gurges of our text. Now, the meaning common to gurges in all these examples is *water in quantity, body of water, flood* (abstractedly from all notion of overflow). The blue gurges in which Juno begs Oceanus and Tethys not to allow the Triones to dip, is the blue water of the ocean, *i. e.* the blue ocean itself. The little gurges to which Scylla used to retire at noon, for the sake of quiet and a cool bath, was a stream, water, serpentine, or fountain ("fons," Servius), just deep enough to bathe in. The little gurges with which the Aeas flowed pure into the Ionian sea was the clear but slender stream of the Aeas. The sevenfold gurges with which the Lagaeon river impelled the swollen sea, no less than the Nile's sevenfold gurges which Nereus drinks, is the seven deep and broad waters, the seven deep and broad branches by which the Nile discharges itself into the Mediterranean. The gurges of the Vulturnus, under which so much sand is dragged along, no less than the pure gurges with which that river aspires to rival the Liris in purity, is the stream of the Vulturnus. The Castalian gurges, from which the Phoebean afflatus emanates, is the Castalian spring, fountain or stream. The "altus gurges" with which the Danube and the Rhine lord it over their neighbour rivers is the deep and full stream of those rivers. The gurges of the Nile, out of which the Nile god raises his weeping visage, is the Nile stream or river. The gurges with which the flooded river overcomes the resistance of the dykes is the rushing water of the flood. The enclosed gurges of the port, in which the ships moor safe and forget the labours and terrors of the deep, is the tranquil sea-water within the mole. The gurges navigated against its will by the first navigator is

the difficult and dangerous water of the deep, wide and rolling sea. The easy gorges with which Neptune escorts the fleet of Stilicho towards Corinth is the water of the Ionian sea, with a fair wind blowing. The high gorges from which Scipio's fleet has a view of the Alps is the water of the high sea between Italy and Spain. The gorges on which Aeneas's fleet is borne swiftly onward towards port by a fair wind is the water of the sea on which Aeneas's fleet is sailing. The curved gorges on which Aeneas's fleet is raised to the sky, only to be lowered to the Manes by the withdrawal of the same gorges from beneath it, is the alternately swelling and subsiding water of the sea on which Aeneas's fleet is sailing. The Carpathian gorges in which blue Proteus dwells is the water of the Carpathian sea. The Iberian gorges in which rosy Phoebus dips his tired horses at decline of day is the water of the Iberian sea. The black gorges of that listless, still-standing sea, across which death's sole ferryman rows countless peoples to the realms of Proserpine, is the black water of the Styx. The gorges on the surface of which the oars of the Argonauts are kept in time by the music of Orpheus is the water of the sea on which the Argonauts are rowing. The gorges of the Sicoris, by which the camp of Caesar is separated from that of Pompey, is the stream, or water, of the Sicoris. The gorges of the Cinga, which mixes with the gorges of the Iberus, is the stream or water of the Cinga; and the gorges of the Iberus, which mixes with the gorges of the Cinga, is the stream or water of the Iberus. The gorges in which there will be a fish, however little you may expect there will, is any water, no matter whether sea, lake, river, spring or pond; as if the poet had said: there is no water in which there may not be a fish. The gorges in which Arethusa was swimming when she heard the voice of Alpheus calling to her from below, was the water of the sea in which Arethusa was swimming. The gorges with which the sea alternately dashes forward over the rocks on the shore, and retreats and leaves them bare, is the fluctuating sea-water. The shining gorges with which the clear and blue Ticinus flows so softly and quietly as to induce sleep, and almost seem not to

flow at all, is the shining stream of the clear and blue Ticinus. The in-flowing gorges which keeps the tank constantly cold is the in-flowing body of cold water. The gorges—the, no less than the gorges of our text, “vastus gurgis”—on which Aeneas’s whole fleet was tossed about was the vast and deep sea; and the “tanti gurgites” imagined to be swallowed up by Charybdis were the torrents or cataracts or floods of water imagined to be supplied to that vortex by the sea.

As it certainly was not in a vortex of the Tiber, but in the deep, broad, and rapid stream of the Tiber, Maximian used to swim, *Eleg. 1. 37*:

“innabam gelidas Tiberini gurgitis undas;”

nor with a vortex of tears, but with a flood of tears, would the same poet’s mistress (*Eleg. 5. 89*) bewail his “deiecta mentula”:

“quo te deiectam lacrymarum gurgite plangam?”

nor in the deep vortex of the river, but in the deep stream of the river, stood the wooden bridge of Symposius’s riddle:

“stat nemo in lymphis, stat in alto gurgite silva;”

and as, more certainly still, if more certainly be possible, it was not from the bottom of a vortex, but from the bottom of the sea, Tethys and Nereus carried up (in their arms) the sunken vessel (for the storm was over, the clouds had returned to the mountain-tops, the rainbow was in the sky, and the waters were placid), Val. Flacc. 1. 655:

“emicuit reserata dies; caelumque resolvit
arcus, et in summos redierunt nubila montes.
iam placidis ratis exstat aquis, quam gurgite ab imo
et Tethys, et magnis Nereus socer erigit ulnis;”

and not torrent with his whole vortex, but torrent with his whole flood, with his whole body of water, with all his waters, Nile hunted Tisiphone, and dashed her against the sandy bottom of his channel, Val. Flacc. 4. 409:

“contra Nilus adest; et toto gurgite torrens
Tisiphonen agit, atque inis illidit arenis
Ditis opem ac saevi clamantem numina regni,”

so in like manner, and with equal certainty, it is not with vortices and a vortex, but with floods and a vortex (in other words, with a stream forming vortices in its course, *i. e.* an eddying stream), the portentous river of milk should have flowed into the sea, Juvenal, 13. 69:

. . . "tanquam in mare fluxerit amnis
gurgitibus miris et lactis vortice torrens."

[Compare Senec. *Thyest.* 13. 566 (below); also Claud. *Rapt. Proserp.* 2. 348:

"tunc et pestiferi pacatum flumen Averni
innocuae transistis aves, flatumque repressit
Amsanctus; fixo tacuit torrente vorago.
tunc Acheronteos mutato gurgite fontes
lacte novo tumuisse ferunt, hederisque virentem
Coccyton dulci perhibent undasse Lyaeo."

Panegy. Vet. 9. 8: "O miserabilem Veronensium calamitatem, quos non tam tua, quam intestina satellitum pressit obsidio! quippe Athesis ille, saxis asper, et gurgitibus vorticosus [forming vortices with its waters, whirlpooling with its waters], et impetu ferox, oppugnationem prohibebat, omnemque retro regionem evehendis copiis tutam defensamque praestabat."] And not a vortex, but a muddy frogs' pond, was that "stagnum," "lacus," and "palus" to which, no less than thrice within the space of nineteen lines, the term gorges has been applied by Ovid, *Met.* 6. 363:

"nec satis hoc; ipsos etiam pedibusque manuque
turbavere lacus; imoque e gurgite mollem
huc illuc limum saltu movere maligno.
distulit ira sitim; neque enim iam filia Coei
supplicat indignis, nec dicere sustinet ultra
verba minora dea, tollensque ad sidera palmas,
'aeternum stagno,' dixit, 'vivatis in isto.'
eveniunt optata deae; iuvat isse sub undas,
et modo tota cava submergere membra palude,
nunc proferre caput, summo modo gurgite nare,
saepe super ripam stagni considerare, saepe
in gelidos resilire lacus. et nunc quoque turpes
litibus exercent linguas, pulsoque pudore,
quamvis sint sub aqua, sub aqua maledicere tentant.
vox quoque iam rauca est, inflataque colla tumescunt,

ipsaque dilatant patulos convicia rictus.
 terga caput tangunt, colla intercepta videntur,
 spina viret; venter. pars maxima corporis, albet,
 limosoque novae saliunt in gurgite ranae."

Nor is the meaning thus obtained, by a pretty wide induction, for the term *gurgēs*, both in our text and elsewhere, not established and placed beyond doubt, especially for the *gurgēs* of our text, as well by the general context in which our text stands as by the epithet *vastus*. For, what is the general context, what the picture which the general context presents? A great wave, tumbling down headlong on the poop of one of Aeneas's vessels, whirls the vessel rapidly round thrice, and forms in the sea a vortex, whirlpool or eddy, which swallows the vessel up—*VORAT AEQUORE VORTEX*. After the catastrophe, appear swimming, or floating about, men, planks, arms, and valuables. Where? "In the vortex, whirlpool or eddy," answer the commentators. But there is no longer any vortex, whirlpool or eddy. That which there was just now, that which swallowed up the ship, not having been, like *Charybdis* or *Maelstrom*, produced by a permanent but only by a momentary cause, viz., the perpendicular tumbling of a great wave or swell into the sea, has ceased to exist, on the cause which produced it ceasing to operate, and the sea has returned to its normal state. On this sea, this deep and vast flood, *GURGITE VASTO*, present themselves, come into view (*APPARENT*), the men, arms, valuables and planks, which have been tossed out of the vessel while it was being struck from above by the wave, whirled round three times, and swallowed up by the vortex. Every individual word indicates as plainly that the objects spoken of are not in the vortex, as that they are on the surface of the vast deep. **First**, they are *NANTES*, floating or swimming. If they were in the vortex, they would neither float nor swim. They would, like the vessel out of which they were pitched, first be whirled round and round, and then they would be sunk; *Sil. 3. 474*:

"et tunc imbre recens fuso, correpta sub armis
 corpora multa virum spumanti vertice torquens,
 immersit fundo laceris deformia membris."

Next, they are *RAIU*, thinly scattered. The tendency of the

vortex would not be to scatter, but to bring together, to collect toward the apex of the inverted cone, toward the lowest point of the eddy. **Next**, they present themselves, they come into view—APPARENT. If they were in the vortex, they would not present themselves, would not come into view; the eye would have to go in search of them, and the more they were in the vortex, the less they would come into view, the farther the eye would have to go in search of them. **Next**, they are PER UNDas—everywhere on the water. If they were in the vortex they would not be PER UNDas at all, they would be *in undis*. And, finally, the place in which they appear floating, present themselves floating, is vast—GURGITE VASTO. Why should the vortex in which the ship went down become the *vast vortex*, as soon as the *debris*, the *reliquiæ*, of the ship are seen floating in it? No, no! the scene:

APPARENT RARI NANTES IN GURGITE VASTO,
ARMA VIRUM TABULAEQUE ET TROIA GAZA PER UNDas

is not a continuation of the scene:

AST ILLAM TER FLUCTUS IBIDEM
TORQUET AGENS CIRCUM ET RAPIDUS VORAT AEQUORE VORTEX,

it is a new scene. The ship, struck and three times whirled round by the precipitously falling great wave (PONTUS), has been swallowed up by the simultaneously formed vortex, which in its turn has been filled up by the return of the sea to its level, and a new scene presents itself, viz., that of men, arms, valuables from Troy, and *debris* of the sunken vessel, floating not merely on the water (GURGITE) but on the *vast* water (GURGITE VASTO), and not merely on the vast water, but everywhere over it (PER UNDas). Nor is this the only place in which vortex, gorges, and aequor are so broadly distinguished from each other that he who runs may read. We have the similarly broad distinction, Sil. 1. 592:

“vorticibus torquet [Boreas] rapidis mare, fractaque anhelant
aequora, et iniecto conduntur gurgite montes,”

where “vorticibus” are the whirlpools formed by Boreas in the sea (“mare”); “aequora” the panting, heaving, alternately rising and falling sea-surface; and “gurgite” the water covering,

burying the mountains (Seneca's "all-whelming, all-drowning gorges," *Thyest.* 867:

"monstraque nunquam perfusa mari
merget condens omnia gorges").

And the vortices, of course not the *aequor*, of Cocytus are similarly distinguished by the same author, 13. 566:

"parte alia torrens Cocytus sanguinis atri
vorticibus furit, et spumanti gurgite fertur,"

where gorges is as plainly as possible the stream of Cocytus, and "vorticibus" the whirlpools or eddies formed in that stream's course. Compare Juvenal, 13. 69, above, **and** Claud. *de Mall. Theodor. Consul.* 234:

"acrior ac rapidus tacitas praetermeat ingens
Danubius ripas, eadem clementia sani
gurgitis immensum deducit in ostia Gangen,
torrentes immane fremant, lassisque minentur
pontibus, involvant spumoso vortice silvas.
pax maiora decet"

(where the even, composed, steady gorges, or water-stream, of the immense Ganges is placed in the strongest contrast with the noisy, foaming torrent whose vortices endanger bridges and carry away trees; and the moral is drawn, that the greater the power the more becoming to it is peace, exactly as, in our text, it is the vortex which sinks the vessel, while the vast gorges allows the objects which are at its mercy to float); **and**, still more parallel to our text, Val. Flacc. 8. 321:

"ergo ubi diva rates hostemque accedere cernit,
ipsa subit terras tempestatumque refringit
ventorumque domos. volucrum gens turbida fratrum
erumpit; classem dextra Saturnia monstrat.
videre; inque inum pariter mare protenus omnes
infesto clamore ruunt inimicaque Colchis
aequora, et adversos statuunt a litore fluctus.
tollitur, atque intra Minyas Argoaque vela
Stirus abit. vasto rursus desidit hiatu
abrupta revolutus aqua. iamque omnis in astra
itque reditque ratis, lapsoque reciproca fluctu
descendit. trahit hos vortex; hos agmine toto
gorges agit. simul in vultus micat undique terror.
crebra ruina poli caelestia limina laxat,"

where the vortex draws, or sucks in, some, while the gorges drives others on; exactly as in our text, those who are not swallowed up along with their vessel by the vortex are seen swimming on the gorges.

As the literal so the figurative gorges; and Publius Gallonius (Lucil., ap. Cicer. *de Finibus*, 2. 8. 24) is not a vortex which whirls squills and sturgeons round and round, but a water—lake, pool, river, or sea—which swallows them up:

“o Publi, o gorges Galloni, es homo miser, inquit;
coenasti in vita numquam bene, cum omnia in ista
consumis squilla, atque acipensere cum in decumano,”

And the son of Q. Fabius Maximus is surnamed Gorges, not because he is a vortex and whirls his patrimony round and round, but because he is a water—pool, lake, river, or sea—which engulfs it, Macrobi. *Saturn*, 2. 9: “Ut taceam Gurgitem, a devorato patrimonio cognominatum.” Compare Prudent. *Hamart.* 251:

“exemplum dat vita hominum, quo caetera peccent:
vita hominum, cui quicquid agit, vesania et error
suppeditant, ut bella fremant, ut fluxa voluptas
diffluat, impuro ferveat ut igne libido,
sorbeat ut cumulos nummorum faucibus amplis
gorges avaritiae, finis quem nullus habendi
temperat, aggestis addentem vota talentis,”

where, however, we have not merely the correct figurative “gorges” of Lucilius and Macrobius, but that correct figurative “gorges” with “fauces” added. In other words: where we are called on to imagine not merely the pool, lake, river, or sea which swallows up, but the fauces also with which the pool, lake river, or sea swallows up: a call, I need hardly inform the Shakespearian scholar, as impossible to be complied with as Ly-sander’s, that Hermia should picture to herself not merely the darkness which in the collied night devours the lightning up, ere a man hath power to say “Behold!” but the very jaws of that darkness.

Μεγα λαιτμα θαλασσης, the far more obscure expression in which Heyne—imitating the device of laying a grain of salt on

the bird's tail, in order to cause the bird to stand still to be caught—finds the explanation of the far less obscure gurgēs—is as unworthy of Heyne as Robert Stephens's heterogeneous triad, "Gurgēs, pro ipso maris periculo, et veluti Syrte quadam aut Scylla," is unworthy of Robert Stephens; or the all depth and no width—and not merely all depth and no width, but all bottomless depth and no width—which Kappes (*Erklärung zur Aeneid. 3. 197*) recognizes in GURGITE VASTO ("Wir können uns die bedeutung von GURGITE VASTO, welche noch durch die stellung am verschluss hervorgehoben ist, am besten durch vergleichung mit der stelle aus Schwab's 'Reiter und der Bodensee' verdeutlichen, wo es heisst:

'an den schlund, an die tiefe bodenlos
hat gepocht des rasenden hufes stoss'

und

'es sieht sein blick nur den grässlichen schlund,
sein geist versinkt in den schwarzen grund'")

is unworthy of Kappes.

This is one of the very numerous instances in which, however certainly and unmistakeably taken from Homer the ground-thought of the Virgilian incident, all the particulars of the incident are as certainly and unmistakeably Virgil's own. In both, the vessel is struck with a violence which not only whirls the vessel round and round, but knocks overboard the steersman, who is immediately drowned. Others of the crew, knocked overboard along with the steersman, are, in the Virgilian account, seen floating on the vast gurgēs, the vast flood, the vast body of water; in the Homeric account, are borne by the waves round the vessel like so many seamews:

. . . χορωνησιν ικελοι περι νηα μελαιναν
κυμασιν εμφορεοντο.

Whence this difference in the Virgilian from the Homeric picture? Very plainly from the previous difference, that whereas, in the Homeric original, the vessel had not been sunk, but only whirled round, the vessel in the Virgilian copy had not only been whirled round, but sunk. In the Virgilian copy, therefore,

the persons who had been knocked overboard, and had not gone down with the vessel in the vortex, could not be represented as borne by the waves round the vessel—could only be represented as floating on the water, the vast flood, the vast waters, GURGITE VASTO. Such is the origin, the necessary—so to say, Darwinian—origin, of Virgil's GURGITE VASTO, an impressive climax wholly wanting in the so simple and *naïve* Homeric prototype.

123 (a).

TABULAE

Πινάκες, the boards of the ship; Hom. *Od.* 12. 67:

ἀλλὰ θ' ὁμοῦ πινάκας τε νηὸν καὶ σωματὰ ἡρώων
 χυμαθ' ἄλως ῥοοῖενσι πηρὸς τ' ὀλοοῖο θνητῶν.

Quint. Curt. 9. 39; "Strati erant campi sarcinis, armis, avulsarum tabularum remorumque fragmentis." Senec. *Octav.* 320:

"alii lacerae puppis tabulis
 haerent nudi, fluctusque secant."

Ovid. *Trist.* 1. 6. 7:

"tu facis ut spoliū ne sim, neu nuder ab illis,
 naufragii tabulas qui petiere mei."

123 (b).

TROIA GAZA PER UNDAE

As we would say, the wealth of Troy: Sidon. Apoll. 5. 459:

"cum patrio Cleopatra ferox circumdata sistro,
 milite vel piceo fulvas onerata carinas,
 Dorida diffusam premeret Ptolemaide gaza."

Sil. 17. 278:

. . . "natat aequore toto
arma inter, galeasque virum, cristasque rubentes,
florentis Capuae gaza."

Flor. 4. 11: "Quippe immensa classis, naufragio belli facto, toto mari ferebatur; Arabumque, et Sabaeorum, et mille aliarum gentium Asiae spolia, purpuram, aurumque, in ripam assidue mota ventis maria revomebant." Drayton (an eye-witness of the wreck of the Spanish Armada), speaking of the wreck of the Spanish Armada, in his poem of the "Birth of Moses:"

"Castilian riches scattered on the deep."

That Aeneas and his companions did not set out from Troy without the means necessary not only for a long journey, but for the establishment of a colony, appears from 2. 799:

"undique convenere, animis opibusque parati
in quascunque velim pelago deducere terras."

It is part of these "opes" which is here described as scattered everywhere over the water—TROIA GAZA PER UNDAS. See Comm. on 2. 799; 1. 367; 1. 575.

127.

ACCIPIUNT INIMICUM IMBREM

ACCIPIUNT, accept, *i. e.* conquered (VICIT, verse 126) and wholly unable to resist, receive passively, almost voluntarily.

INIMICUM, metaphorical, and joined with IMBREM signifying enemy water—in other words, the enemy, viz., the water. That this is the meaning is shown both by VICIT and ACCIPIUNT. Compare 10. 907:

. . . "iuguloque haud inscius accipit ensem,"

where see Comm.

128.

INTEREA MAGNO MISCERI MURMURE PONTUM

Repeated 4. 160, with only the difference of "caelum" in place of PONTUM.

129-130.

IMIS

STAGNA REFUSA VADIS GRAVITER COMMOTUS

VAR. LECT.

VADIS: GRAVITER COMMOTUS, ET III La Cerda; N. Heins. (1670); Brunck.

VADIS. GRAVITER COMMOTUS, ET III D. Heins.

VADIS, GRAVITER COMMOTUS; ET III Heyne; Wakef.; Wagner (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Ribb.

O. *Fr. Pal., Ver., St. Gall.*

STAGNA, *the still waters*; REFUSA, *ebbed*; IMIS VADIS, *from the bottom*, i. e. the water taken away from the depths or bottom of the sea, to make the mountainous waves. We have thus not only the striking picture of Neptune left, if not dry, at least without his accustomed quantity of water, but, at the same time, a full and satisfactory explanation of GRAVITER COMMOTUS. No wonder, indeed, he was COMMOTUS and GRAVITER—grievously discomposed and troubled. That nothing less than this is meant, no mere disturbance or derangement of the waters at the bottom of the sea, but a total displacement, is shown, **first**, by the inkling we have already had of this meaning in the strong words, verse 88: "totumque a sedibus imis ruunt" (and compare verse 110, "unda dehiscens terram inter fluctus aperit"); **secondly**, by the force of the word refusus, ebbed, poured away, or poured back from the place into which it had

formerly been poured or gathered (*Aen.* 7. 225, and Lucan, 8. 797: "refuso oceano," the ebbcd ocean; Stat. *Theb.* 1. 359 (of the lake Lerna in a storm):

. . . "stagnoque refusa est
funditus et veteri spumavit Lerna veneno");

and, thirdly and completely, by Lucan's extremely clear and explicit account of the same phenomenon, 5. 643:

"nam pelagus, qua parte sedet [Virgil's STAGNA] non celat arenas,
exhaustum in cumulos, omnisque in fluctibus unda est."

The description is as physically correct as it is graphic; the sea in calm weather consisting of vast stagna, or masses of tranquil standing water, on the top of which are waves of a moderate size; in a storm, this tranquil standing water is itself converted into waves resembling moving mountains, between which, in Lucan's exaggerated account, the bottom appears.

STAGNA, *the quiet, still-standing waters*, *Aen.* 8. 88:

"mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis."

Aen. 7. 150: "fontis stagna Numici," the pond or basin at the source of the Numicius. Tacit. *Annal.* 1. 76: "Eodem anno, continuis imbris auctus Tiberis plana urbis stagnaverat."

GRAVITER COMMOTUS. "Graviter iratus," Ruæus. "Irato," Caro. "Mit heftigem eifer," Voss. "Displeased," Dryden. No; but, *much disturbed, greatly discomposed, seriously troubled*. The identical words are used by Cicero to express the discomposure of mind produced in him by certain unexpected and disagreeable news: "Cum est ad nos allatum de temeritate eorum, qui tibi negotium facesserent, etsi graviter primo nuntio commotus sum, quod nihil tam præter opinionem meam accidere potuit; tamen," &c. (*ad Fam.* 3. 10). Virgil himself, 7. 493 (where see Comm.), applies the term—of course, without the intensifying adverb—to the starting or springing of game by the hounds; and Pliny the Younger, to the simple circumstance of being moved to write a letter: "Quæris fortasse, quo commotus hæc scribam" (*Epist.* 8. 22).

Neptune could not have been correctly represented as *angry*

at an occurrence, of the cause and all the circumstances of which he was totally ignorant; all that he knew as yet being that the sea was, owing to some cause or other, turned topsy-turvy.

130 (a).

ALTO PROSPICIENS

“Aut e mari erigens caput, aut mari providens,” Servius (ed. Lion). “Ex imo mari (ubi est regia Neptuni) prospicit,” Heyne, Wagner (1861). “In’s meer hinausschauend,” Lade-
wig, Conington (“Looking out over the sea”). I find alto, or its equivalent, ex alto, so often joined with prospicere or other verb of similar import, in the sense of the height or elevation from which a view is taken, that I have little doubt our text forms no exception, and that ALTO here too signifies not the depth or bottom of the sea, but the very opposite: the top, the height, from which the view is taken; Seneca, *de Vita beata*, 28: “Hoc vos non intelligitis, et alienum fortunae vestrae vultum geritis: sicut plurimi, quibus in circo aut in theatro desidentibus, iam funesta domus est, nec adnuntiatum malum. At ego ex alto prospiciens, video quae tempestates aut immineant vobis, paullo tardius rupturae nimbium suum, aut iam vicinae, vos ac vestra rapturae, propius accesserint.” Senec. *Ep.* 101: “Ubi vero, quidquid mihi debui, redditum est; ubi stabilita mens scit, nihil interesse inter diem et saeculum; quidquid deinceps dierum rerumque venturum est, ex alto prospicit, et cum multo risu seriem temporum cogitat.” Senec. *Ep.* 85: “Quid ergo? si ferrum intentatur cervicibus viri fortis; si pars subinde alia atque alia suffoditur; si viscera sua in sinu suo vidit; si ex intervallo, quo magis tormenta sentiat, repetitur, et per assiccata viscera recens dimittitur sanguis: non timere istum tu dices, non dolere? Iste vero dolet; sensum enim hominis nulla exuit virtus: sed non timet: invictus ex alto dolores suos spectat.”

In all these instances "alto" is the height from which the view is taken. Why not in our text? The height from which the view is taken in our text is the surface of the sea, as opposed to the bottom, where the god is supposed to have been, in his palace, when he first perceives that an unusual disturbance has taken place in his domains. To this high situation, to this look-out, to this specula of his, Neptune (*Ποσειδων πανοπτης*, Philostr. *Icon.* 2. 17) goes in our text to take a view all round (compare Sil 7. 254:

. . . "turbatis placidum caput extulit undis
Neptunus, totumque videt, totique videtur
regnator ponto")

exactly as Dido goes to her "arx summa" to take a view when she hears of the flight of the Trojans, 4. 408:

"quis tibi tum Dido, cernenti talia, sensus!
quosve dabas gemitus, cum littora fervere late
prospiceres arce ex summa, totumque videres
misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!"

verse 586:

"regina e speculis ut primum albescere lucem
vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis," &c.;

exactly as Juno to the summit of the Alban mount, to have a view of the two armies on the occasion of the duel between Turnus and Aeneas, 12. 134:

"at Iuno ex summo, qui nunc Albanus habetur
.
prospiciens tumulo, campum spectabat et ambas
Laurentum Troumque acies, urbemque Latini;"

and exactly as Jupiter goes to the vertex of heaven, in order to look down upon the earth all round, 1. 227:

. . . "cum Iupiter aethere summo
dicipiens mare velivolum terrasque iacentes
littoraque et latos populos, sic vertice caeli
constitit, et Libyae defixit lumina regnis."

That it is nothing unusual for the surface of the sea to be con-

sidered as a height or elevated position from which a view can be had all round appears **no less from** 6. 357:

“prospexi Italiam, summa sublimis ab unda,”

where the height expressed in our text by ALTO and SUMMA is expressed by “sublimis” and “summa,” **and** from 1. 385:

. . . “conscendi navibus aequor;”

than from our own so usual expressions, “the high sea” and “the high seas.” Nor can terms be more clear and explicit than the terms in which the doctrine that the sea is higher in the centre and lower towards the shore is laid down by Seneca as an universally received and undisputed doctrine (*Nat. Quaest.* 3. 28 (of the mode in which the sea is to overflow the land at the time of a universal deluge): “Nec a litore ubi inferius est [mare], sed a medio, ubi ille cumulus est, defluit. . . . Ergo quandoque placuere res novae mundo, sic in nos mare emittitur desuper, ut fervor ignis, quum aliud genus exitii placuit”). And however undeniable it may be that altus, whether with regard to the water of the sea or other water, frequently signifies the depth (*Georg.* 1. 141:

“atque alius latum funda iam verberat amnem
alta petens”),

it is equally undeniable that the same word, and (so endlessly intricate and ambiguous is language!) in the same connexion too, signifies its height, 9. 80:

“tempore quo primum Phrygia formabat in Ida
Aeneas classem, et pelagi petere alta parabat.”

That ALTO is not, as Servius in his “aliter,” and Priscian, *Inst.* 18. 190 (ed. Hertz. ap. Keil) assume it to be, the dative depending on PROSPICIENS, but the ablative depending on ex understood, is **not only** rendered probable both by the better sense thus afforded, and by the frequent junction elsewhere of the ablative of the place from whence the view is taken, either with this very prospicere itself, or some other verb of similar import (*Senec. Herc. Fur.* 132:

“iam caeruleis evectus equis
Titan summa prospicit Oeta,”

where "summa prospicit Oeta" is equivalent to "e summa prospicit Oeta." Catull. *Epith. Thet. et Pel.* 52:

"namque fluentisono prospectans littore Diae
Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe tuetur
indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores,"

where "fluentisono prospectans littore" is equivalent to "e fluentisono prospectans littore." And Val. Flacc. 3. 558:

. . . . "ubi Cynthia caelo
prospicit,"

where "caelo" is equivalent to "e caelo." And Virgil himself, 12. 595:

"regina ut tectis venientem prospicit hostem,"

where "tectis" is equivalent to "e tectis"), **but** placed beyond all doubt by the actual junction by Silius of the same *prospicere* (in the same situation in the verse too) with "alto" (also in the same situation in the verse) in the ablative of the place from which the view is taken by the same Neptune, 17. 236:

"talibus ardentem [Hannibalem] furiis Neptunus ut alto
prospexit, vertique rates ad litora vidit,
quassans caeruleum genitor caput aequora fundo
eruit, et tumidum movet ultra litora pontum,"

where the reader will further observe *en passant*, that, "prospexit" having its proper object "ardentem" [Hannibalem], the "alto prospexit" of Silius is scarcely less fatal to Ladewig's and Conington's "Looking out over the sea" than I have just shown it to be to Servius's "aut mari providens."

How little suitable a place from whence to take a view was Heyne's and Wagner's "bottom of the sea" ("Ex imo mari, ubi est regia Neptuni, prospicit," Heyne, Wagner) it is hardly necessary for me to say.

A confirmation of the above interpretation will be found, *Georg.* 4. 351:

. . . "sed ante alias Arethusa sorores
prospiciens summa flavum caput extulit unda,"

where, in a picture so similar to that before us that an entire

verse is, with the exception of one single word, identically the same in both descriptions, "prospiciens" is left to stand without "alto," not because Arethusa, when she hears Aristaeus's voice, is not at the bottom (for she is not only at the bottom, but expressly stated to be there, which Neptune is not), but because, the surface from which she takes her view being not of the sea, but of a river, is not elevated, not "altum," with respect to the object viewed. Compare Lucian, *Hermot.* 5: *Οσοι δ' αν εις τελος διακατερησασιν, οιτοι προς το ακρον αφικνοννται και το απ' εκεινου ενδαιμονοισι, θαυμασιον τινα βιον τον λοιπον βιουντες, οιον μυρηκας απο του υψους επισκοπουντες τινας τους αλλους*, where *απο του υψους επισκοπουντες* is the ALTO PROSPICIENS of our text.

131.

SUMMA PLACIDUM CAPUT EXTULIT UNDA

Pace summi poetae—*more ranae*, frogwise.

PLACIDUM CAPUT. "Quaerunt multi quemadmodum PLACIDUM, si GRAVITER COMMOTUS; quasi non possit fieri ut irascatur ventis, propitius sit Troianis," Serv. (Cod. Dresd.). The same question has been answered in the same way by succeeding commentators. "Neptunus commovetur in ventos, placidus est Troianis," La Cerda, Forbiger—a similar explanation, although in less express terms, being given by others: "PLACIDUM adiectum est certo cum iudicio, quod tempestatem *non ab ipso deo, ex ira* in Troianos, commotam esse significare voluit poeta. Extulit caput placide, pro quo dictum, poetico more, PLACIDUM CAPUT; et ipse mox placaturus est tempestatem," Heyne. "Kann Neptun sich auch nicht gleich die aufgeregtheit des meeres erklären, so behält er doch im bewusstsein seiner kraft, das meer sogleich wieder beruhigen zu können, sein PLACIDUM

CAPUT," Ladewig. "Nicht weil der gott, wenn er das meer beruhigen will, zuerst selbst seine eigene aufregung beruhigen muss, erscheint er mit einem PLACIDUM CAPUT, sondern weil er nach wie vor denen, die sich in seinem reiche bewegen, ein gefälliger gott, placidus, ist," Kappes, *Progr. des Lyceums zu Freiburg*, band i., 1858-9. Every one of these attempts to reconcile PLACIDUM CAPUT with GRAVITER COMMOTUS seems to me to be a failure. How could the god be placidus towards the Trojans, ignorant as he yet was that the Trojans were there at all? How could he be placidus because about to still the storm, "placaturus tempestatem"—he who had yet to learn what the tempest meant, who had raised it, or with what object it was raised? No, no. Neptune is not placid; on the contrary, is the very opposite of placid, GRAVITER COMMOTUS. But to show this inward commotion, this real mental disturbance, had been little consistent with his royal dignity, had manifested not strength but weakness, and he accordingly raises his head *placid* above the waters. Compare the "placidus vultus" with which Jupiter enters the council of the gods, which he had convened for the express purpose of announcing to it his wrath against the house of Oedipus, and the dire punishment he was about to inflict upon it, *Stat. Theb. 1. 201*:

. . . . "mediis sese arduus infert
ipse deis, placido quatiens tamen omnia vultu,
stellantique locat solio;"

and the tranquil hand with which he motions the assembly to sit down, *ibid. 205*:

. . . . "nec protinus ausi
caelicolae, veniam donec pater ipse sedendi
tranquilla iubet esse manu."

With such "placido vultu" and "tranquilla manu" Jupiter proceeds to declare (verse 214) how little placid, how very angry he is:

"terrarum delicta nec exsuperabile Diris
ingenium mortale queror; quonam usque nocentum
exigar in poenas?
.
nunc geminas punire domos, quis sanguinis auctor
ipse ego, descendo."

Compare also the placid countenance with which the highly displeased and ill-intending Pelias sends Jason in search of the golden fleece, Val. Flacc. 1. 38:

“cum iuvenem, tranquilla tuens, nec fronte timendus,
occupat; et fictis dat vultum et pondera verbis.”

THE PLACIDUM CAPUT of Virgil's Neptune, the “placido vultu” of Statius's Jove, and the “tranquilla tuens” of Valerius Flaccus's Pelias, are the cool, calm countenance with which a Napoleon or a Wilhelm enters a chamber of ministers or a house of assembly which has displeased him, and which he is about to send a-packing; that cool calm countenance which has been thus compassionately desiderated in a certain English minister (*Athenaeum*, Febr. 27, 1869, quoting “The Gladstone Government: being Cabinet Pictures, by a Templar”): “It is a face betraying every emotion, concealing nothing—incapable of concealment. We speak of this as of something not by any means to a debater's, and still less to a party leader's, advantage. It is a very considerable and a perpetual disadvantage to Mr. Gladstone. He ‘wears his heart upon his sleeve, for daws to peck at.’ He will visibly writhe under an ungenerous taunt while it is being uttered. His visage darkens with indignation while his adversary is yet speaking. When he is bent upon replying, he will evidence in an unmistakable manner his impatience for the opportunity. When it comes—he will spring to his feet with the animation of an athlete. And, supposing his wrath to have been really roused, he will seek no means to limit or moderate the intensity of its expression. We have seen him in a moment of more than usual excitement, in order to emphasize a sentence, snatch a book up—any book, the first that came to hand—and hurl it flat upon the table of the House with his impassioned utterance of the last words.”

Virgil was too experienced a courtier not to understand PLACIDUM CAPUT well, and put it in its proper place. In the word PLACIDUM lies, not only the chief beauty of the picture, but the principal point of resemblance between the god stilling the storm and the influential man quelling the riot; the effect

being, in both cases, produced by the mere look, before a single word is uttered:

“conspexere—silent, ...
 . . cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, aequora postquam
 prospiciens genitor.”

That the strong pictorial contrast between the god's placidity of aspect and the turbulence of the storm was not overlooked by our poet's readers of old, is shown by the terms in which it is referred to by Silius (7. 257):

“ut cum *turbatis placidum* caput extulit undis
 Neptunus.”

Let us place this picture of Neptune, inwardly disturbed and outwardly tranquil, beside Statius's picture of Domitian, veiling his innate majesty under an assumed humility, *Silv.* 4. 2. 40:

“ipsum, ipsum, cupido tantum spectare vacavit
 tranquillum vultus, et maiestate serena
 mulcentem radios, submittentemque modeste
 fortunae vexilla suae; tamen ore nitebat
 dissimulatus honos,”

and ask ourselves why is Neptune's dissimulation successful, Domitian's a failure? Is it because Statius's emperor is less an adept in the dissembling art than Virgil's god? Far from it. Dissimulation in high places was in the time of Statius, no less than in Virgil's time and our own, a virtue, not a vice (see above)—a virtue, too, held in as great esteem by Statius himself as by Virgil: and the difference between the two cases was not in the dissimulation, but in the thing to be dissembled, that thing being in the one case a superior excellence, a prerogative; in the other case a weakness, a frailty. On account of this difference it was, that whereas Virgil was not merely free to represent, but even bound to represent, the dissimulation of Neptune as complete and effectual, Statius, so far from being bound to represent the dissimulation of Domitian as similarly complete and effectual, was not even free so to represent it; and, stranger consequence still, that two passages so totally unlike, so almost diametrically opposed to each other, as Statius's “tamen

ore nitebat dissimulatus honos" and Virgil's *FLACIDUM CAPUT EXTULIT UNDA* breathe the same quintessence of compliment—the one to an emperor, the other to a god.

133.

FLUCTIBUS OPPRESSOS TROAS CAELIQUE RUINA

VAR. LECT.

RUINA I *Med.* II $\frac{1}{2}$ III *Serv.*; Venice, 1470; Pierius (who, having quoted *RUINAM* from the *Rom.*, observes: "veterum tamen codicum bona pars legit *RUINA*"); Aldus (1514); D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyne, ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

RUINAM I *Rom.* (the *M* erased, and subsequently painted over with different ink, so that the reading stands *RVINAM*).

O *Fr. Pal., Ver., St. Gall.*

The reading is *RUINA*, not *RUINAM*; **first**, because the object principally in the author's mind, and which he wishes principally to place before the reader, is not the falling of the sky, but the effect of the falling of the sky on the Trojans. Therefore the Trojans oppressed, not merely by the waves, but by the falling of the sky, *CAELI RUINA*. Compare *Sil.* 17. 252:

"hinc rupti reboare poli, atque hinc crebra micare
fulmina, et in classem ruere inplacabile caelum,"

where there is a similar falling of the sky on a similar fleet; also, *Sen. Agam.* 485 (of a storm at sea):

"mundum revelli sedibus totum suis,
ipsosque rupto crederes caelo deos
decidere, et atrum rebus induci chaos,"

where, in a similar storm, the sky giving way beneath their feet, the gods themselves are in danger of falling down. **Secondly**, on account of the similarly cadenced and constructed verse, 12. 610:

"coniugis attonitus fatis urbisque ruina,"

where "urbisque ruina" is added to "coniugis fatis," exactly as in our text CAELIQUE RUINA is added to FLUCTIBUS. **Thirdly**, on account of the weight of MS. authority. For all these reasons the RUINAM of the *Roman* is to be regarded merely as one of the usual errors of that very incorrect MS.

CAELIQUE RUINA. "Tonitribus, quorum sonus similis est ruinis," Servius. "Imbribus et coniuncta cum his reliqua tempestatis foeditate," Wagner (1861). "Imbrè, fulguribus, fulminibus, quae e caelo ruunt," Ruaeus.

. . . "ch' a la tempesta, a la ruina
e del mare, e del cielo erano esposti."

Caro.

Either a total misconception of the meaning, or a total failure to represent it; either an ignoring of the metaphor, or a false understanding of it. CAELI RUINA is neither the rain, nor the lightning, nor the thunder, nor the "reliqua tempestatis foeditas," nor all of these together, but a falling of the sky ("dem sturze des himmels," Voss); **not** real falling of the sky (or such falling of the sky as is spoken of **by** Lucretius, 1. 1098:

"neve ruant caeli tonitralia templa superne,
terraque se pedibus raptim subducat, et omnes
inter permistas terrae caelique ruinas
corpora solventes, abeant per inane profundum;"

by Valerius Flaccus, 1. 827:

"cardine sub nostro, rebusque abscisa supernis
Tartarei sedet aula patris; non illa ruenti
accessura polo, victam si solvere molem
Iupiter, et primae velit omnia reddere massae;"

and Strabo, 7. 3. 8: *φησι δε Πτολεμαιος ο Λαγον κατα ταυτην την στρατειαν συμιξαι τω Αλεξανδρω Κελτους τους περι τον Αδριαν φιλιας και ξενιας χαριν, δεξαμενον δε αυτοις φιλοσφρονως τον βασιλεα ερεσθαι παρα ποτον, τι μαλιστα ειη, ο φοβοιντο, νομιζοντα αυτον ερειν αυτους δ' αποχρινασθαι, ουι ουδενα, πλην ει αρα μη ο ουρανος αυτοις επιπεσοι; and Senec. *Hercul. Oetaeus*, 1242 (Hercules speaking):*

"his mundus humeris sedit? haec moles mei est?
haecne illa cervix? has ego opposui manus
caelo ruenti?"

but figurative falling of the sky. Neptune sees the Trojans, not oppressed by the waves, the rain and wind, and thunder and lightning, but by the waves and falling sky—below them the waves rising up and overwhelming them; above them the sky falling down on the top of them, Ovid, *Met.* 11. 516:

“ecce cadunt largi resolutis nubibus imbres:
inque fretum credas totum descendere caelum,
inque plagas caeli tumefactum ascendere pontum.”

The metaphor is of the very commonest, *as*: *Georg.* 1. 324:

. . . “ruit arduus aether.”

Hor. Carm. 1. 16:

. . . “tremendo
Iupiter ipse ruens tumultu.”

Val. Flacc. 8. 334:

“crebra ruina poli caelestia limina laxat.”

Sil. 1. 250 (of Hannibal):

. . . “tum vertice nudo
excipere insanos imbres caelique ruinam,
spectarunt Poeni, tremuitque exercitus Astur,
torquentem quum tela Iovem, permixtaque nimbis
fulmina, et excussos ventorum flatibus ignes
turbato transiret equo.”

Also, and especially, *Liv.* 40. 58: “Neque enim imbre tantum effuso, dein creberrima grandine obruti sunt, cum ingenti fragore caeli tonitribusque et fulguribus praestringentibus aciem oculorum; sed fulmina etiam sic undique micabant, ut peti viderentur corpora; nec solum milites, sed etiam principes, icti caderent. Itaque, quum praecipiti fuga per rupes praealtas improvidi sternerentur ruerentque, instabant quidem percussis Thraeces: sed ipsi deos auctores fugae esse, *caelumque in se ruere* aiebant” (where the broadest possible distinction is drawn (as by Ovid, *Met.* 11. 516, quoted above) between the rain, thunder, lightning, and “reliqua tempestatis foeditas,” and the “caelum ruere”—the former being put forward as absolute matter of fact, the latter as mere deduction (“credas,” Ovid;

"aiebant," Livy) from the matter of fact); **also** Milton, *Par. Lost*, 6. 867:

. . . "hell saw
heaven ruining from heaven, and would have fled
affrighted."

How natural and familiar the idea of the falling of the sky, is shown by the proverb, "If the sky fall, we shall catch larks." But why does the sky seem to be falling on the Trojans? Is it because it is raining so hard; and rain, as every one knows, falls, *ruit*, from the sky (and, we may add, the very term *ruina* itself is applied by Lactantius (in his riddle "Pluvia," *Sympos.* 8) to the falling of rain:

"ex alto venio longa delapsa ruina;"

and Ovid, *Met.* 11. 517, quoted above—nay, our author himself (*Georg.* 1. 324, "*ruit arduus aether*"), and Martial (3. 100:

"imbribus immodicis caelum nam forte ruebat")

[quoted by La Cerda, ad *Georg.* 1. 324], have applied the figure of falling sky to heavy rain)? Yes, to be sure, this is partly the reason; but, if it is, it is only partly the reason, not, with Wagner, principally and mainly ("*Imbribus et coniuncta cum his reliqua tempestatis foeditate*," Wagner)—first, because in the whole account of the storm there has not been one single word about rain; and, secondly, because we so often find the figure not merely of falling sky but of falling everything—of sky and earth falling, of the whole world falling—used to illustrate and set clearly before the mind at once the loudness of the sound and the kind of sound meant, viz., that it was like the noise made by an immense body falling, tumbling down, with a crash. Compare Afran. 8 (Ribb. *Comic. Lat. Reliq.*):

"modo postquam adripuit rabies hunc nostrum augurem,
mare caelum terram ruere ac tremere diceret,"

where there is no mention of rain in the context; Hesiod, *Theog.* 699:

. . . εἰσαίτο δ' ἄντα
οὐρανὸν ἰδεῖν, καὶ οὐρανὸν οὐρανὸν ἀκούσαι,

αὐτῶς, ὡς ὅτε Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρύς υπερθεν
 πιλνατο' τοιοῦς γὰρ καὶ μεγίστος θούπος ὀρώρει
 [τῆς μὲν ἐρείπομένης, τοῦ δ' ὑψοθὲν ἐξερίποντος.
 τοσσοῦς θούπος ἐγέντο θεῶν ἐρίδι ξυνιόντων];

and our author himself, 8. 524:

"namque improviso vibratus ab aethere fulgor
 cum sonitu venit, et ruere omnia visa repente,
 Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor.
 suspiciunt; iterum atque iterum fragor intonat ingens.
 arma inter nubem caeli in regione serena
 per sudum rutilare vident, et pulsa tonare;"

and especially Val. Flacc. 1. 614:

"induxere hiemem [venti], raucoque ad litora tractu
 unanimi freta curva ferunt; nec sola tridentis
 regna movent; vasto pariter ruit igneus aether
 cum tonitru, piceoque premit nox omnia caelo,"

where the meaning is: the sky falls (seems to be falling) with immensely loud thunder; or, the thunder is so immensely loud, the sky seems to be falling.

Neptune, therefore, sees the Trojans OPPRESSOS CAELI RUINA, partly, no doubt, on account of the rain, darkness, and lightnings in which they are enveloped, but principally on account of the noise with which the rain, darkness, and lightnings are accompanied, viz., thunder as loud as if the sky itself was falling; and the too curt and rather obscure comment of Servius explains, not indeed what it purports to explain, viz., the meaning of the expression CAELI RUINA, but the phenomenon which made it seem as if the sky was falling—the phenomenon which gave rise to such apprehension.

Nor is the falling of the sky (CAELI RUINA) the only figure by which the ancient poets endeavour to give a notion of the loudness of thunder: we find them also using the not much less strong figure of the breaking, bursting, cracking—either of the sky itself or of the clouds—*αἰθρῆ ἀμφισπράγεις*, "ruptum caelum," "ruptus polus," "ruptae nubes," Sil. 3. 196:

"congeminat sonitus rupti violentia caeli,
 imbriferamque hiemem permixta grandine torquet."

Sil. 17. 251:

"hinc rupti reboare poli, atque hinc crebra micare
fulmina, et in classem ruere implacabile caelum.
consensere ignes, nimbique, et fluctus, et ira
ventorum, noctemque freto imposuere tenebrae,"

where both the figures are used together. Sil. 1. 134:

"heu! quae nam subitis horrescit turbida nimbis
tempestas, ruptoque polo micat igneus aether?
magna parant superi: tonat alti regia caeli;
bellantemque Iovem cerno."

Val. Flacc. 4. 661:

"sic ubi multifidus ruptis e nubibus horror
effugit, et tenebras nimbosque intermicat ignis,
terrificique ruunt tonitrus."

And our author himself, 8. 391:

. . . "tonitru cum rupta corusco
igne rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos;"

2. 692:

. . . "subitoque fragore
intonuit,"

—not merely with a sudden loud noise, but with a sudden crash,
as if the sky were falling.

134.

NEC LATUERE DOLI FRATREM IUNONIS ET IRAE

"Cognoscit auctorem mali, videlicet Iunonem sororem, cuius doli et ira iam diu nota fratri Neptuno," La Cerda, Ruæus, Dryden. No, no; seeing that it is the fleet of Aeneas which is labouring in the storm, Neptune understands at once the whole affair, that it is altogether the work of Juno, who has caught her old enemy in an ambush, in a net as it were (DOLI), and is wreaking her long-nurtured wrath (IRAE) on him. Neptune—knowing, as every one knew, the hostility of Juno to Aeneas—

does not for a moment doubt, when he sees it is Aeneas's fleet which is labouring in the storm, that it is all Juno's doing to be revenged on her old enemy. In order to bear out La Cerda in his explanation, there should be two NEC LATUERE in the passage—one to answer to his "cognoscit," the other to answer to his "nota." There being only one NEC LATUERE, "nota," its second representative, must go out, thus: "cognoscit auctorem mali, videlicet Iunonem sororem, quae proculdubio struit hos dolos, exercet has iras, contra Troianos, inimicos suos invisos—NEC LATUERE DOLI FRATREM IUNONIS ET IRAE:" and *clearly the brother saw it was an ambush of his angry sister; or, and all angry Juno's ambush was clear to her brother.* It is as if our author had said, "videt disiectam classem, videt oppressos Troas, et statim, utpote frater, intelligit hoc omne esse dolum quendam et iram sororis suae Iunonis," behind all which is the allegory: Neptune, the god of the sea, understands that the commotion of the water, by which he has been so much disturbed, is all the work of his sister, the goddess of the air. Compare Val. Flacc. 6. 602 (Crethides, arguing to himself that the increased vigour he felt could only be owing to the infusion of it into him by his protecting goddess, Juno);

"at simul hanc dictis, illum dea [Iuno] marte secundo
impulit, atque novas egit sub pectora vires.

.
nec sua Crethiden latuit dea, vimque recentem
sentit agi membris, ac se super agmina tollit
quantus," etc.

Hesiod, *Theog.* 549:

. . . Ζεὺς, ἀφ' οὗτις μῆδεα εἰδώς,
γυνὴν ὃ' οὐδ' ἡγνοῖσσι δόλον.

Epigr. Meleagri, *Anthol. Palat.* 5. 177 (Meleager detecting Amor hid in the eyes of Zenophila):

καίτοι κείνος, ἰδὼν, περὶ γῶλτον [cubile]. οὐ μὲ λελήθας,
τοῖσ' οὖτα, Ζηνοφίλῃς ὀμμάσι χρυπτομένης.

Epigr. Meleagri, *Anthol. Palat.* 5. 184:

ἐγνων, οὐ μ' ἐλάθεις· τί θιούς; οὐ γὰρ με λελήθας·
ἐγνων· μήκετι νῦν ὀμνυέ· παντ' ἐμάθων.

Eurip. *Medea*, 333:

MED. Ζευ, μη λαθοι σε τωνδ' ος αιτιος κακων.

And so in our text—the cause of all the trouble, viz., his sister's anger, and the means she was taking of indulging it, did not escape his observation.

DOLI IUNONIS ET IRAE. "Exercuit Iuno non solum iras sed dolos, seduxit enim Aeolum, cum dixit ipsum posse maria vento attollere," La Cerda. No, no; DOLI is the snare which Juno has laid for and in which she has caught Aeneas, and which is no longer a secret to Neptune (NEC LATUERE), now that he sees the condition in which Aeneas's fleet is; exactly as IRAE is the ire to which Neptune, on seeing the condition in which Aeneas's fleet is, immediately attributes those DOLI, that snare. Nor is it accidentally or without intention we have IRAE added to the DOLI of this place, and not added to the "doli" of 4. 128:

. . . "non adversata petenti
adnuat atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis."

These latter doli are not revengeful, are not for the purpose of punishing Aeneas, are not the result of offence or anger—they are a making-up of the quarrel, a compromise:

"sed quis erit modus? aut quo nunc certamina tanta?
quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos
exercemus;"

those of our text, on the contrary, are the outburst, the very explosion of Juno's passion:

"talìa flammato secum dea corde volutans
nimborum in patriam, loca foeta furentibus Austris,
Aeoliam venit."

Nor are the DOLI of our text less different from the doli of 4. 128 in their treatment by our author than in their own nature. Not being angry doli, or intended to injure and punish Aeneas, but only intriguing—in modern parlance, political or diplomatic—doli, which have for their object to make both him and Venus unconscious instruments of Juno's designs for the aggrandisement of Carthage, those doli of 4. 128 are not (with the commentators) discovered by but communicated

to Venus, who—perceiving with the intuitive perception of love's queen how surely they would turn out to her own advantage and that of her son, and to the disappointment of Juno—joins in them heart and hand (“non adversata petenti, annuit atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis”); while the *doli* of our text—being angry *doli*; the first burst of Juno's passion, and intended for the total destruction not only of Aeneas but of all Aeneas's friends and Aeneas's whole fleet, and all the remaining hopes of Troy—are kept secret as long as so public a thing as a storm could be kept secret; that is to say, until Neptune, alarmed by the unavoidable noise and tumult of the waters, puts out his head, and, seeing the position of Aeneas's fleet, understands at once the whole matter—

NEC LATUERE DOLI FRATREM IUNONIS ET IRAE—

and sets about instantly to undo and make of none effect all that Juno has been at so much pains with all her *doli* and all her *IRAE* to effect.

136.

TANTANE VOS GENERIS TENUIT FIDUCIA VESTRI

“Ut ipsorum esset crimen quod admiserant, esset etiam originale sanguinis et generis,” Donatus. “Nam genus infame fiducia, audacia, pugnant in caelum, in terram, in numen Neptuni,” La Cerda. No, no; not *that so great confidence which belongs to the race of the winds, to the winds' kind*, but—*GENERIS VESTRI* being the same kind of genitive as “ereptae virginis,” 2. 413—*that so great confidence on account of your race, on account of your kind, that so great confidence in your high birth or lineage*. Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 378:

Ἀστραὶω δ' Ἡὼς ἀνέμους τεκε καρτεροθύμους,
 Ἀργεστήν, Ζεφύρον, Βορέην τ' αἰνιχροκτελεύθον
 καὶ Νότον, ἐν γίλοισι θεῶν θεω εὐνηθεῖσα.

Virgil himself, *Ciris*, 407:

"vos ego, vos adeo venti, testabor et auras,
ves, matutina si qui de gente venitis."

Soph. *Philoct.* 104:

NEOPT. Οὕτως ἐχει [Φιλοκτιτης] τι δεινον ισχυρος θρασος;
[Estne illi tam insolens virium fiducia?]

Ovid, *Met.* 9. 120 (Hercules to Nessus):

. . . "quo te fiducia, clamat,
'vana pedum, violente, rapit?'" . . .

Ovid, *Met.* 14. 32 (Circe to Glaucus):

"neu dubites, absitque tuae fiducia formae."

Claud. *Bell. Getic.* 380:

"'tantane vos,' inquit, 'Getici fiducia belli
erigit.'"

Ammian. 29. 1: "Sapor, pugnarum fiducia pristinarum immaniter arrogans," . . . Lucan, 8. 524:

. . . "quae te nostri fiducia regni
huc agit, infelix?"

[*what confidence in our kingdom?*]. Tacit. *Agric.* 1: "Plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare, fiduciam potius morum, quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt." Flor. 4. 2: "Rex Pharnaces, magis discordiae nostrae fiducia quam virtutis suae, infesto in Cappadociam agmine ruebat." Lucan, 10. 427:

. . . "tanta est fiducia ferri,"

[so great confidence have they in their swords]. Sil. 12. 359 (of Sardinia):

"mox, Libyci, Sardus generoso sanguine fidens
Herculis, ex sese mutavit nomina terrae."

And, especially, Lucan, 9. 898 (of the Psylli):

. . . "fiducia tanta est
sanguinis; in terram parvus cum decedit infans,
ne qua sit externae veneris mistura timentes,
letifera dubios explorant aspide partus"

[so great confidence have they in their blood, *i. e.* in their race, their extraction—Lucan's "sanguinis" (as well as Silius's "sanguine," just quoted) being Virgil's *GENERIS*]. Compare also Ovid, *Met.* 1. 754 (Epaphus to Phaeton):

. . . "es tumidus genitoris imagine falsi."

Sil. 14. 93 (ed. Ruperti):

. . . "tam praecipiti materna furori
Pyrrhus origo dabat stimulos, proavique superbum
Aeacidae genus, atque aeternus carmine Achilles."

' 137 (a).

CAELUM TERRAMQUE MISCERE

Understood *literally* (viz., of the sky and land which the winds were confounding) **by** Servius: "Multi enim [autem] quaerunt cur modo Neptunus de alienis conqueratur elementis. Aut certe TERRAM pro mari posuit ab eo quod continet, id quod continetur" . . . : **by** Wunderlich: **by** Wagner (*Quaest. Virg.* 9. 6): "Scite tamen *Aen.* 1. 133, CAELUM TERRAMQUE MISCERE" (the praise of *scite* being bestowed on our author for his use of the singular TERRAM rather than the plural terras in a passage in which he speaks not of many lands or the whole earth, but only of that particular part in which the storm took place): **and by** Forbiger "TANTAS MOLES, sciz. aquarum: tantos, tam altos fluctus." *Figuratively*, by Conington: "a proverbial expression for universal confusion."

I agree entirely with Conington and to the example adduced by him from Livy, 4. 3 ("Quid tandem est cur caelum ac terras misceant?") add Lucret. 3. 842:

"non si terra mari miscebitur et mare caelo."

Juvenal, 2. 25:

"quis caelum terris non misceat et mare caelo,
si fur displiceat Verri, homicida Miloni?"

Juvenal, 6, 282:

. . . "clames licet et mare caelo
confundas, homo sum."

Lucian, *Prom.* 9: δια τουτο εχρην, το του λογου, τη γη τον ουρανον αναμεμιχθαι και δεσμα και στανρους και Κανκασον ολον επινοειν και αετους καταπεμπειν και το ηπαρ εκκολαπτειν. Sidon. *Paneg. Aviti* (*Carm.* 7. 129):

. . . "si denique dirum
Hannibalem, iuncto terrae caelique tumultu,
reppulimus, cum castra tuis iam proxima muris
starent Collina fulmen pro turre cucurrit,
atque illic iterum timuit natura paventem
post Phlegram pugnare Iovem," . . .

138.

TANTAS TOLLERE MOLES

Understood *literally*, viz., of the masses of water, **by** La Cerda: "Probe absolvit: TANTAS AUDETIS TOLLERE MOLES, nam praecessit: VASTOS VOLVUNT AD LITTORA FLUCTUS, et FLUCTUSQUE AD SIDERA TOLLIT;" **by** Thiel: "solche lasten von wasser in wellen zu erheben;" **by** Forbiger, following, as he informs us, Wunderlich and Schirach: "TANTAS MOLES aquarum." *Figuratively* by Heyne, "rerum perturbationes, tempestatem; nam moles, omnis magna molitio, magna res quam quis molitur." And left where he found it by Conington: "We may either take MOLES metaphorically as *confusion* (TOLLERE being excitare), or as MOLES *undarum*, which is more poetical." For my part, I have not the slightest doubt that MOLES is here metaphorical; **first**, because the sense is better: *How dare ye to make so great a rout, so great a coil?* than *how dare ye to raise all these masses of water?*—there being a reproof in the word MOLES understood as meaning *coil, trouble, rout*, which is wholly absent from

the word understood as meaning *masses of water*. **Secondly**, because, 5. 789, we have the very word used with respect to this very storm, where it cannot possibly mean *masses of water*, but must mean *rout, coil, trouble*:

"ipse mihi nuper Libycis tu testis in undis
quam molem subito excierit."

Thirdly, because in a similar context, Silius, 13. 864, the similar expression "*quantas moles movebunt*" is figurative, not literal:

. . . "*quantas moles, cum sede reclusa
hac tandem erumpent, terraque marique movebunt!*"

(where "*quantas moles movebunt*" expresses generally what Virgil (6. 829), speaking of the same persons, viz., Caesar and Pompey, has expressed particularly in the words "*quantum bellum, quantas acies stragemque ciebunt*"). **Fourthly**, because of the so similar figurative, not literal, "*Quanta rerum moles!*" of Livy, 7. 29. **Fifthly**, because "*tantas emergere moles*"—so exactly the parallel of TANTAS TOLLERE MOLES—is figurative not literal, Manilius, 1. 113 (exordium):

. . . "*faveat magno Fortuna labori,
annosa et molli contingat vita senecta,
ut possim rerum tantas emergere moles*"

[with which compare Manil. 1. 499:

"*quis credat tantas operum sine numine moles
ex minimis, caecoque creatum foedere mundum?*"

where we have moles not only in the sense of *work*, but even in connexion with numine]. **And**, more than all, because the latter clause of the verse comes thus to be, according, to Virgil's usual manner (see Rem. on 1. 23–26), the variation of the former—TANTAS TOLLERE MOLES only another form of CAELUM TERRAMQUE MISCEERE, already shown (see above) to be figurative. These arguments are, I think, sufficient to place the sense in which the expression MOLES is used in our text beyond doubt, notwithstanding the literal "*moles maris*" of Silius, 14. 121:

"non aliter Boreas
. . . sequitur cum murmure molem
eiecti maris, et stridentibus affremit alis;"

and of Lucan, 5. 625:

“nunc quoque tanta maris moles crevisset in astra,
ni superum rector pressisset nubibus undas.”

Compare D. Hieron. *in Esaiam*, lib. 13, prooemium: “Hoc mihi in Esaiæ pelago naviganti accidere video. Dum enim inoffenso cursu vela tenduntur, et securis nautarum manibus. sulcans æquoris campos carina delabitur, subito clangoris [qu. *clangore*?] turbo consurgens, tantis undarum molibus, et collisorum inter se fluctuum fragore resonante, pavida amicorum corda perterrituit, ut dicere cogentur: ‘Magister,’” &c.

TOLLERE MOLES, raise a fuss, hubbub, work, coil, trouble, exactly as 10. 356:

. . . “magno discordes æthere venti
prælia ceu tollunt animis et viribus æquis,”

—raise a fight.

137 (b).

TANTAS AUDETIS TOLLERE MOLES

Let the reader compare this TANTAS AUDETIS TOLLERE MOLES of Neptune with the “mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento” of Juno, verse 70, and say how the two contradictories are to be reconciled.

If Neptune is in the right and the winds are not to disturb the sea without his will (MEO SINE NUMINE), what becomes of the “foedus certum” delivered to Aeolus for their regulation. If Juno is right, and Aeolus has let out the winds in discharge of his duty as executor of the “foedus certum,” how is the independent dominion of Neptune to be respected? Out of this dilemma there seems to me to be no escape except by supposing that Aeolus has in compliment to Juno overstepped his duty, and

gone beyond the provisions of the "foedus certum" which was to be his guide—a hardly legitimate supposition, seeing that it is on this very "foedus certum" Juno herself grounds her application. Compare Rem. on "iussus habenas," verse 67.

136.

MEO SINE NUMINE VENTI

"Distingue NUMINE, ut VENTI convicium sit," Servius, meaning if I understand him right, NUMINE is emphatic, and the numen of Neptune contrasted with the non-numen of the winds—a mere vagary of Servius, the winds having numen as well as Neptune, and NUMINE being used in the sense of will, sanction, exactly as 2. 777: "non haec sine numiné divum eveniunt," these things do not happen without the sanction of the gods; 6. 266: "numine vestro," your leave or sanction. See Rem. on "quo numine laeso," verse 12, and on "haud numine nostro," 2. 396; also on "non tolerabile numen," 5. 768.

QUOS EGO, Macrob. 6. 6: "Tracta est a Demosthene, Ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν—οὐ βούλομαι δε δυσχερεῖς εἰπεῖν οὐδεν, ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου."

IMPERIUM PELAGI SAEVUMQUE TRIDENTEM . . . MIHI SORTE DATUM.
Compare Hom. *Il.* 15. 190:

ἦτοι ἐγὼν ἐλαχον πόλιν· ἀλλὰ ναίεμεν αἰεὶ
παλλομένην.

143—145.

TENET ILLE IMMANIA SAXA

VESTRAS EURE DOMOS ILLA SE IACTET IN AULA

AEOLUS ET CLAUSO VENTORUM CARCERE REGNET

IMMANIA SAXA.—“Vastum antrum, ver. 56,” Heyne. No; the reference is not special, but general—not to a particular part of Aeolus’s empire, but to the whole. **First**, because the description is in general terms—IMMANIA SAXA, VESTRAS DOMOS, corresponding exactly to the description of Aeolia at verse 55:

“nimborum in patriam, loca foeta furentibus Austris.”

Secondly, because it is the *whole* of the empire of Aeolus, and not the cave of the winds alone, which should be contrasted with the *whole* of the empire of Neptune, described at verse 142 in the words:

NON ILLI IMPERIUM PELAGI SAEVUMQUE TRIDENTEM,
SED MIHI SORTE DATUM,

close upon which follows the contrast: TENET ILLE IMMANIA SAXA VESTRAS EURE DOMOS; that wild, rocky Aeolia, where the winds had their home, where the cave of the winds was. **And thirdly**, because the cave of the winds is specified in its proper place in the next verse. Compare Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 421:

“grata domus Cereri. multas ibi possidet urbes;
in quibus est culto fertilis Henna solo.”

where the “domus” spoken of is the whole island of Sicily. *Aen.* 8. 422:

“Vulcani domus et Vulcania nomine tellus,”

where the “domus” spoken of is the whole island of Vulcania. Ovid, *Met.* 15. 706:

“evincitque fretum, Siculique angusta Pelori,
Hippotadaeque domos regis, Themesesque metalla,”

where the “domi” spoken of are the Aeolian islands.

ILLA SE IACTET IN AULA.—ILLA plainly referring AULA to IMMANIA SAXA and VESTRAS DOMOS, and those words being, as just shown, a periphrasis for the country of Aeolia—the AULA (*hof*, or court) in which Aeolus is here told to take state on him is **neither**, with Heyne, Thiel, and Voss, the *celsa arx* mentioned at verse 60 ["*Regia alto in montis cacumine*," Heyne. "*Jene ꝑ celsa arx*," Thiel. "*Dort üb' im palaste den hochmut*," Voss], **nor**, with Servius, Isidorus, and Gossrau, the cavern of the winds [AULA: *irrisio est; sequitur enim CARCEREM*. Et nihil tam contrarium si simpliciter intelligamus," Servius. "*Ironia . . . Quomodo AULA, si carcer est?*" Isidorus. "*Aulam* dici antrum non mirabere, quando 8. 242, *Caci speluncam regiam* dici legeris," Gossrau], **but** simply the country of Aeolia—a general or less accurate application of the word *aula* which has its exact parallel in the application by the Germans of the term *residenz* to the whole of the city in which the king has his court or palace. So general, indeed, is the figurative application of this term, that we find even the sheep pen, the tiger's cage, and the serpent's den designated as *aulae*; Propert. 3. 13. 39:

. . . "vacuam pastoris in aulam
dux aries saturas ipse reduxit oves,"

Petron. *Sat.* 119:

"Tigris aurata gradiens vectatur in aula"

[where Forcellini: "*h. e. in cavea*"]. Sil. 6. 216 (of the serpent of the Bagrada):

"iamque ubi feralem strepitu circumtonat aulam
cornea gramineum persultans ungula campum;
percitus hinnitu serpens evolvitur antro,
et Stygios aestus fumanti exsibilat ore,"

where "*aula*" is the antrum of the serpent.

AEOLUS, in the emphatic position (see Comm. on 2. 246), and accordingly signifying not merely *Aeolus*, but *this Aeolus*, *this presumptuous Aeolus*.

CLAUSO VENTORUM CARCERE REGNET. The received interpretation, REGNET *in* CLAUSO VENTORUM CARCERE, is erroneous: **First**,

because *regnare*, in order to express reigning *in*, inside, or within a place, must be followed by the preposition *in* expressed, *Georg.* 4. 90:

. . . "melior vacua sine regnet in aula."

Ovid, *Ep.* 1. 89:

"inque tua regnant, nullis prohibentibus, aula."

Lucan, 9. 726:

. . . "in vacua regnat basiliscus arena."

Senec. *Hippol.* 977:

"vincit sanctos dira libido;
fraus sublimi regnat in aula"

[for "caelo," in Horace's "Caelo tonantem credidimus Iovem regnare" (*Carm.* 3. 5. 1), and "mundo," in Seneca's "vacuo regnare mundo" (*Herc. Fur.* 67), are as certainly not the places where, but the objects of the verb, as "oppidis" in Cicero's "In Sicilia . . . Timarchidem . . . omnibus oppidis . . . regnasse" (*In Verr.* 3. 54), is the object of the verb]. **And secondly**, because the command to Aeolus to shut himself up in the prison, and reign there among his prisoners, had been a mere *brutum fulmen*—say rather a piece of coarse Billingsgate—unworthy of our author's dignified god of the sea.

The meaning is just the contrary: let him reign as absolute as he likes, but *not* with respect to the prison of the winds. Literally: ~~the~~ prison of the winds being closed, *then* let him reign absolute; or, let him close the prison of the winds, and *then* reign absolute. Compare Stat. *Silv.* 1. 4. 44:

"sic Ianus, clausoque libens se poste recepit,"

the door being closed (*i. e.*, having closed the door), retired. **Also** *Aen.* 11. 287: "versis lugeret Graecia fatis," the fates being turned, Greece would mourn; or, the fates would turn and Greece mourn. **And** Juvenal, 3. 302:

"nec tamen haec tantum metuas; nam, qui spoliēt te,
non deerit, clausis domibus postquam omnis ubique
fixa catenatae siluit compago tabernae,"

the house being shut, when the house is shut.

REGNET, *ανασσετω*. Compare Hom. *Il* 1. 179:

*οικειδ' ἰων σὺν νηυσὶ τε σῆς καὶ σοὶς ἐταροῖσιν
Μυρμιδονέσσιν ἀνασσει.*

The whole force and gist of the passage lies in this word, which, **first**, means not merely *rule*, but *rule as an autocrat* [compare the examples above quoted from Horace, Seneca, and Cicero; also Liv. 3. 11, and Gronov. ad Liv. 24. 29; and particularly Ovid, *Heroid.* 4. 11:

“quicquid Amor iussit, non est contemnere tutum;
regnat, et in dominos ius habet ille deos.”

Seneca, *Hippol.* 983:

. . . “vitioque potens
regnat adulter.”

Silius, 13. 726:

. . . “tulit ille ruentem
Thybridis in ripam regem, solusque revulso
pone ferox ponte exclusit redeuntia regna.”

Our author himself, *Georg.* 2. 307:

“per ramos victor perque alta cacumina regnat.”

also—with the very meaning and in the very spirit of our text—Homer, *Il*. 1. 179, quoted above, and Lucan, 7. 596 (of Caesar):

“vivat, et, ut Bruti procumbat victima, regnet,”

where we have the word not only in the identical inflexion and identical sense, but in the identical position both in verse and sentence]; **and secondly**—being separated from its conjunction by the sudden pauses preceding and following the ablative absolute, and being, at the same time, the last word in the line and the last word uttered by Neptune—receives the whole *ictus* of Neptune's voice as he turns and goes away: *ET, CLAUSO VENTORUM CARCERE REGNET*. Compare the similar emphasis thrown by Neptune in this very same speech on *VENTI*, similarly placed at the end of a line, and similarly separated from the

preceding context; and the not very dissimilar structure and emphasis at “*aras*,” verse 113; and the much less strong (because the sense runs on to the next line), but still somewhat similar, emphasis at “*amicum*,” verse 614; also—closely corresponding to Virgil’s *REGNET* both in isolated position and independent structure—the “*regnat*” of Ovid in the passage just quoted.

How good soever, therefore, may be their poetry, the meaning which the translators have given us for this passage is exactly the opposite of Virgil’s:

. . . “quella è sua reggia,
qui vi solo si vanti, e, per regnare,
de la prigion de’ suoi venti non esca.” Caro.

. . . “dort üb’ im palaste den hochmut
Aeolus, und in der winde verschlossenem kerker gebiet’ er.”
Voss.

“his power to hollow caverns is confined:
there let him reign, the gaoler of the wind;
with hoarse commands his breathing subjects call,
and boast and bluster in his empty hall.” Dryden.

. . . τα δ’ ανικτορα ευχεταασθω
Αιολος, ιερικησιν δ’ ανεμων κλειστης αγρος εστω. De Bulgaris.

—**all** caricatures of Aeolus, and perverse travesties of our author’s meaning: viz., that Aeolus, after he had shut up the winds in their prison, might king it (for so much taunt there is in *IACTET*, and *REGNET*, and *AULA*) in his own dominions, but was not at liberty to interfere with the dominions of Neptune. How far **either** Neptune on his side is justified in this interference of his with an act of Aeolus’s, performed at the express instance of the queen of heaven herself, who had not failed to inform him how entirely it was within his province—

. . . “namque tibi divum pater atque hominum rex
et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento;”

or how it were possible for Aeolus either on this or any other occasion to use the authority delegated to him with so much pomp and circumstance, and let slip his winds without interfering with the dominions of Neptune, will perhaps remain,

along with so many other little matters of the same kind, for ever buried in the poet's breast.

Precisely similar to the absolute CLAUSO CARCERE in our text is the absolute "clauso Olympo," verse 378, and the absolute "clauso gurgite," 11. 298. The same words, and, as it would seem, in the same construction, occur in Lucan, 1. 293:

. . . "quantum clamore iuvatur
Eleus sonipes, quamvis iam carcere clauso
immineat foribus, pronusque repagula laxet."

Wagner, in his ed. of 1861—profiting by his study of the above lesson in my "Twelve Years' Voyage," and at the same time fain to disown the obligation—says: "Non i. q. postquam clauserit, sed: clausum tenens carcerem, sc. ea lege, ut clausum teneat; nos: *bei verschlossenem kerker*." I will not insist on the necessity there was that the prison should *be* closed before it could possibly be *kept* closed, but at once make Wagner a present of his distinction. In this country new patents have been granted, and the old patentees ruined, on the ground of similar novelty of invention.

150 (a).

ET VASTAS APERIT SYRTES

"Via ex arenosis vadis facta, ut naves expedire se possent; ut saepe poetae de aditu facto; . . . refer autem ad tres naves, vv. 114, 115," Heyne; and so Voss ("öffnet durch sand' und watten die bahn"); Wagner, 1845, 1849 ("Viam per arenosa vada facit, ut naves expedire se possint"); Forbiger, Kappes (*Erklärung zur Aeneide*, Freiburg, 1859); and Conington—all assigning to the expression APERIT SYRTES a sense of which, as it seems to me, not only are the words themselves not capable, but which, even if the words were capable, is absolutely incompatible with the whole drift and tenor of the context. Let us

take the word SYRTES first, interpreted by certain of these commentators to mean nothing more than sand, the very sand in which we saw the three ships imbedded, verse 115 ("VASTAS and APERIT are explained by verse 116: 'aggere cingit arenae.' The ships are surrounded by the sandbank on all sides," Conington. "Die schiffe werden wieder aus den syrten, aus dem sanddamme, mit welchem sie der sturm eingeschlossen hat, oder aus dem sande, in welchem sie der sturm eingerammelt hat, losgemacht," Kappes); by others of them interpreted to mean *sandy shallows* ("arenosa vada," Heyne, Wagner, Forbiger, as above. "Sand und watten," Voss, as above), as if here, in the very middle of the locality properly called Syrtes, the word SYRTES could have been used *improprie* by Virgil, or as meaning anything else than the Syrtes inhabited by the Nasamones (Herodot. 2. 32: το δε εθνος τουτο [Nasamones] εστι μιν Λιβυκον, νεμεται δε την Συρτιν τε και την προς ηω χωρην της Συρτιος ουκ επι πολλον), and thus defined and described **by** Strabo, 17. 3. 20 (ed. Mueller): η χαλειποιτης δε και ταιτης της Συρτεως [Magnae] και της μικρας (sic) . . . , ουι πολλαχον τεναγωδης εστιν ο βυθος, και κατα τας αμπωτεις και τας πλημμυριδας συμβαινει τισιν επιπτειν εις τα βραχη και καθιζειν, σπανιον δ' ειναι το σωζομενον σκαφος· διοπερ πορρωθεν τον παραπλον ποιουνται, φυλαττομενοι, μη εμπεσοιεν εις τους κολπους· επ' ανεμων αφυλακτοι ληφθεντες· **and by** Sallust (*Jugurth.* 80): "Duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura; quorum proxuma terrae praealta sunt, caetera, uti fors tulit, alta; alia in tempestate, vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse, et saevire coepit ventis, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt; ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. Syrtes ab tractu nominatae." That the locality thus graphically described by Strabo and Sallust—not any heap of sand; not any sandy shallows within it, or outside of it—is meant by the word SYRTES in our text, is placed beyond doubt (there ought never to have been any doubt on the subject) by the adjunct VASTAS, so proper for the Syrtes or great *sinuses* full of quicksands on the north coast of Africa, not very far from Carthage.

VASTAS. Compare the application of the same term to the "aequora" of the same "Syrtes" by Avienus, *Perieg.* 293:

"maior vasta sibi late trahit aequora Syrtis
infidumque rati pelagus furit"

(the very "vasta aequora" and "infidum rati pelagus" which our good Neptune *APERIT*, clears of the heaped-up sand, and makes "fida rati") and the application by our author himself (verse 122) of the same term, if not to the actual gorges of the Syrtes themselves, at least to the gorges of the sea of which the Syrtes are bays:

APPARENT RARI NANTES IN GURGITE VASTO.

It is these Syrtes which Neptune *APERIT*—not, with the commentators, makes a way out of by which the three ships of verse 114 may escape, but *clears, makes free and open* (compare Tacit. *Hist.* 2. 25: "compleri fossas, aperiri campum, pandi aciem iubebat"); in other words, *makes available*, restores to a state in which they may be sailed not merely by the three ships, but by all the ships or any ships; opens, in the sense in which the sea is so frequently said to be open or opened. Compare Val. Flacc. 1. 168:

"o quantum terrae, quantum cognoscere caeli
permissum est! pelagus quantos aperimus in usus!"

Val. Flacc. 1. 7:

. . . "tuque o! pelagi cui maior aperti
fama, Caledonius postquam tua carbasa vexit
oceanus, Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos."

Plin. *H. N.* 2. 46: "Immensa multitudo aperto quodcunque est mari hospitalique litorum omnium adpulsu navigat," opens so that ships—not the three ships, but all or any ships—may sail in; to use the language of Claudian (*4 Cons. Honor.* 437) concerning these self-same Syrtes, may enter:

. . . "madidae cadente
Piade, Gaetulas intrabit navita Syrtis."

Let us now see whether this meaning—the plain meaning of the words apart from the context—is not as congenial to, and harmonious with the context, as the meaning assigned by the

commentators is uncongenial and inharmonious. Neptune has come on the scene, not at all in the interest of the Trojans, or caring aught about the Trojans, or even so much as knowing that the Trojans are there; on the contrary, incidentally become aware that they are there, he neither notices them nor pays them attention or compliment of any kind, but proceeds as he was proceeding before he saw them, viz., to quell the storm which the winds had, without his sanction (MEO SINE NUMINE), raised in his dominions. There is not in the whole of his rebuke one single mention of the Trojans—not even the slightest allusion to injury done by the personages whom he is rebuking, either to Aeneas or the Trojans, or the goods on board the Trojan ships. Although—and let the reader mark it well—it was not only wholly and solely, but expressly and avowedly, to do injury to Aeneas and the Trojans and their gods, to sink and drown them all in the sea, that the storm was commanded by Juno and let loose by Aeolus, there is not in Neptune's rebuke of the offending winds one single word of or allusion to either Trojans, or Aeneas, or Trojan gods, or injury done to any of them; the offenders are merely rebuked for their intrusion, and bid begone. And why so? What is the *rationale* of this so marked contrast between Neptune's rebuke of the winds and Juno's commands to Aeolus? Is it not that, whereas Juno is wholly and solely intent on sinking and drowning the Trojans, Neptune's, if not sole at least chief, concern is the peace of his realms? That it is so appears unmistakably from his proceeding, immediately on the withdrawal of the winds, not to the relief of the Trojans, but to appease the swollen waters, to put the clouds to flight, and to bring back the sun:

SIC AIT, ET DICTO CITIUS TUMIDA AEQUORA PLACAT,
COLLECTASQUE FUGAT NUBES SOLEMQUE REDUCIT

—all, however substantial, yet wholly indirect, help of the Trojans; and done not at all for their sake, but entirely for Neptune's own, whose direct help is limited to a prize of his trident (LEVAT IPSE TRIDENTI) in aid of Triton and Cymothoe's efforts to get the ships off the rocks. With the exception of this little par-

enthetic *entr'acte*, Neptune is solely occupied with the stilling of the storm and the tranquillizing of the waters. Having sent the winds about their business, put the clouds to flight, and brought back the sun—pausing only a moment in his work, to give a helping hand to Triton and Cymothoe—he moderates (TEMPERAT) and renders navigable (APERIT) the waters of the vast Syrtes, and drives, himself, over them in all directions (PERLABITUR) in his light chariot: all the noise and tumult ceasing wherever he comes along flying, under the clear sky (CAELO APERTO, the sky cleared and made open like the Syrtes), giving the reins loose to his seconding steeds, and surveying the expanse—just as in a popular riot, when the passions of the people are at their height, and stones and firebrands are flying, if a man respected for his public services and kindly disposition makes his appearance, all the noise and tumult are hushed, and the words of peace with which he soothes and sways their agitated spirits attentively listened to. How much more suitable to this general context is VASTAS APERIT SYRTES, understood to mean “renders the vast Syrtes navigable,” than the same words understood to mean “opens a way for the three embedded ships to get out of the vast sandbank”? How much more dignified employment for Neptune the rendering the vast Syrtes navigable for the ships of the whole world (“Pelagus quantos aperimus in usus!”, “Pelagi cui maior aperti fama”) than the digging a passage out of a sandbank for three imbedded ships? The supreme sea-ruler, the compeer of Jove and Pluto, might lend a helping hand to his attendants (hardly equal for the work they were engaged in), but he could not, especially alone and unassisted, set about digging three ships out of the sand. The Neptune of Homer, or Apollonius, or Attius, or Ennius, perhaps, might—Virgil’s Neptune could not. Augustus and all his court would have been in fits of laughter. Nor is it with the general context only the meaning assigned to VASTAS APERIT SYRTES is incompatible; it is no less incompatible with the immediate, with the very next word; for what has tempering the sea to do with digging three ships out of the sand? Is it according to Virgil’s manner to join two so unlike thoughts

together? Is not the latter clause of his verse rather an explanation, or variation, or climax of the former clause; and is not the meaning, "makes the vast Syrtes navigable by tempering their waters," *i. e.*, moderates the waters of the vast Syrtes, and so makes them navigable, more Virgilian than "opens a way (for the three ships) out of the vast sandbank, and tempers the water"? The three liberated ships, moreover, make no use of their liberty. The way is ready for them ("viam qua se expedire possent"), the sea tempered; why don't they come out? Why is it Neptune himself rides on the tempered sea, not they? Is it not plainly because, so far from there having been a way made for the three ships to come out by, there has been no mention either of way or ships at all—only of the vast Syrtes having been made navigable, and the waters of the vast Syrtes having been moderated. What more proper than that Neptune himself should ride over the moderated waters of the vast Syrtes in every direction (PERLABITUR), seeing that all was quiet; and quieting, by his mere presence, all that remained to be quieted? Or what more proper than that it should be left to the reader to conclude that, the ÆQUOR of the vast Syrtes having been restored to its normal temper, not only the three ships which had been imbedded in the sand, but all the ships of Aeneas's fleet except the one which had gone down head-foremost, were, however damaged some of them might have been ("convulsae undis Euroque"), got at last to the Carthaginian shore, by the good care and providence of that god, whoever he was, to whom Aeneas himself, in the very last words of his narrative to Dido, ascribes the credit?—

"hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit oris."

Let not the reader, arguing from the perhaps undue zeal with which I have propugned this interpretation and impugned the generally received, conclude that this interpretation is a new one—perhaps a bantling of my own. On the contrary, it is as old as Servius, who writes thus (ed. Lion): "APERIT: ideo quia arenarum congerie impediēte, praeclusae ad navigandum erant. Ceterum bis idem. Ergo immisso in eas mari aptas ad

navigandum fecit. Sic Sallustius: 'Sed ubi tempore anni mare classibus patefactum est.' My indiscretion, if any, has only been my usual indiscretion in the cause of what I hold to be Virgilian truth.

150 (b).

TEMPERAT AEQUOR

Moderates the sea, reduces it from a higher degree (viz., of motion) to a lower, abates it; Hor. Od. 3. 4. 45:

"quī terram inertem, qui mare temperat
ventosum, et urbes, regnaque tristia,
divosque, mortalesque turmas
imperio regit unus æquo."

Compare Stat. *Silv.* 1. 2. 11 (of Venus acting bridesmaid at the marriage of Violentilla):

"ipsa manu nuptam genetrix Aeneia ducit
lumina demissam
. cinctuque Latino
dissimulata deam, crinem vultumque genasque
temperat, atque nova gestit minor ire marita,"

moderates, abates, the divine splendour of her hair and countenance, reduces her hair and countenance to a lower standard.
Plaut. *Poenul.* 5. 2. 76:

"maledicere huic tu temperabis, si sapis."

And Virgil himself, *Aen.* 1. 61: "Temperat iras," *moderates their ire.* See Rem. on 1. 61.

So specially was it the province of Neptune to temper or moderate the sea, that he is styled "Moderator undæ," Stat. *Silv.* 2. 2. 21:

"ante domum tumidæ moderator caeruleus undæ
excubat, innocui custos laris: huius amico
spumant templa salo
. hic saevis fluctibus obstat,"

viz. Neptune.

151.

ATQUE ROTIS SUMMAS LEVIBUS PERLABITUR UNDAS

The following nine lines are intercalatory, the narrative being precisely at the same point at CURRUQUE VOLANS DAT LORA SECUNDO as it is here. Before taking up with the words DEFESSI AENEADAE the train of the narrative, dropped at the word UNDAS in our text, our author brings us back precisely to this point by the words, CURRUQUE VOLANS DAT LORA SECUNDO, a repetition, in a slightly altered form, of our text. See Comm. on 3. 128. **Compare** *Aen.* 5. 575, where in the words

“excipiunt plausu pavidos gaudentque tuentes,” &c.,

he returns to and takes up again the general description which, for the sake of introducing the particulars contained in the intervening verses, viz., vv. 556–574, he had broken off at

. . . “quos omnis euntes
Trinacriae mirata fremit Troiaequae iuventus.”

Compare also *Aen.* 10. 271: “Et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignes”—a repetition in a slightly altered form of the preceding “clipeum extulit ardentem,” verse 261, and which has the effect of bringing back the mind of the reader to the point (verse 261) where our author had left the direct narrative in order to follow out the separate train of thought contained in the long intercalation descriptive of the effects produced, primarily on the besieged Trojans, and secondarily on the besiegers, by the sight of Aeneas clad in his Vulcanian armour, and raising aloft his resplendent shield. Thiel and Jahn—not observing the repetition, and that the identical description commenced at “clypeum,” and suddenly dropped at “clamorem,” is taken up again at “ardet,”—have marked “At Rutulo” as the beginning of a new paragraph; and so, by an error exactly similar to that committed by Heyne and Wagner (1832, 1845, 1849), “at domus

interior" (2. 486, where see Comm.), not only shewn their own ignorance of their author's meaning, but as far as in them lay rendered it impossible for any ordinary reader to arrive at it. Compare **also** 8. 729–731, the similar repetition (and for the same purpose) of verses so far back as 617–619 and 625: **also** 12. 860, in "terrasque petivit," the repetition of "ad terram turbine fertur," verse 855; **also** the repetition in 4. 528 (where see Comm.) of 4. 522; **also** the breaking off of the direct narrative (*Aen.* 7. 168) after the words

. . . "ille intra tecta vocari
imperat, et solio medius consedit avito,"

and resumption of it twenty-three lines later, in the slightly changed words

"tali intus templo divum patriaue Latinus
sede sedens Teucros ad sese in templa vocavit;"

also the repetition in "regem—habenas" (1. 66) of the substance of the thought expressed in "rex frenat," ten lines previously; **and** the repetition in "Troiae—sedebat" (2. 573) of the substance of the thought expressed six lines previously in "quum—aspicio." See Comm. on 4. 528. Compare **also** *Aen.* 7. 493:

"hunc procul errantem rabidae venantis Iuli
commovere canes,"

where the poet [who, having previously presented us with Iulus and his dogs hunting, and having set them on a particular deer, had stopped short, at verse 481—first, to inform us that the hunting of this particular deer excited the anger of the peasants, and so made them ready to second Turnus in his war against the Trojans: and secondly, to describe the special circumstances connected with the deer which called forth the anger of the peasants at its being hunted] returns at verse 493 to the point which he had left at verse 481, and proceeds with the description of the chase. Compare **also** 8. 566, the return, in the words

. . . "cui tum tamen omnes
abstulit hæc animas dextra, et totidem exuit armis,"

to the direct narrative broken off four lines previously at the words

“et regem hac Herilum dextra sub Tartara misi;”

also l. 33, where

. . . “iactatos aequore toto
Troas, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli.
arcebat longe Latio, multosque per annos
errabant, acti fati, maria omnia circum.
tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem”

is the recapitulation, at the end of the exordium, of

. . . “multum ille et torris iactatus et alto,
vi superum, saevae memorem lunonis ob iram;
multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem,
inferretque deos Latio: genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque altae moenia Romae,”

the main subject-matter of the commencement. See Rem. on l. 5 (*c*).

Amongst the proofs which I meet daily of the prosperous and rapid growth—even in the rigid climate and stubborn soil of Germany—of the Virgilian wild oats, which it has been my amusement for some years past to scatter abroad with so spendthrift hand, is the correction by Wagner, in his edition of 1861, of the error above noticed as committed with respect to 2. 486, not by himself alone in his previous editions, but so far as I know by all preceding editors.

ATQUE ROTIS SUMMAS LEVIBUS PERLABITUR UNDAE.—A Greek or Roman sea-god would no more have thought of driving on the sea during a storm than a British or French Prince of the blood of sporting his greys in Hyde Park or the Bois de Boulogne, under the downpour of the thunder-shower; or the God of the Jews, of promenading in the Garden of Eden under the vertical rays of the midday sun. It is, therefore, with the greatest propriety that our author represents Neptune as only looking out to see what is the matter (verse 130, ALTO PROSPICIENS), and then going forth only as far as was absolutely necessary to restore order (verses 146 *et seqq.*), DICTO CITIUS

TUMIDA AEQUORA PLACAT), and not taking his drive until he had first weather and sea to his mind (verse 151: ROTIS SUMMAS LEVIBUS PERLABITUR UNDAS—repeated at verse 159, in the slightly varied form

CAELOQUE INVECTUS APERTO

FLECTIT EQUOS CURRUQUE VOLANS DAT LORA SECUNDO).

Nor is Virgil singular in his account. Ovid tells us the same thing, *Heroid.* 7. 49:

“iam venti ponent; strataque aequaliter unda,
caeruleis Triton per mare curret equis.”

Well may man regard himself with complacency, when the gods are so studious to adopt his manners; or is not this a mere confusion of cause and effect, and should I not rather say, Well may the gods plume themselves on their having adopted the manners of their ingenious creator.

PERLABITUR.—PER, *over the whole of it*; from one end to the other, and in every direction over the *vast Syrtes*. “Non temere PELLABITUR in codicibus aliquot antiquis legitur,” Pierius. “Codicibus” *à l’Anglaise*, and penned, if not by actual English, at least by persons having as little proper respect for “litera latrans,” especially before *b*: and who sweetly melted down perlabi into pellabi, in the same manner as English of the present day melt sweetly down snarl, marl, twirl, curl, whirl, purl, girl, into snall, mal, twul, cul, wul, pul, gal.

152-160.

AC VELUTI MAGNO IN POPULO CUM SAEPE COORTA EST
 SEDITIO SAEVITQUE ANIMIS IGNOBILE VULGUS
 IAMQUE FACES ET SAXA VOLANT FUROR ARMA MINISTRAT
 TUM PIETATE GRAVEM AC MERITIS SI FORTE VIRUM QUEM
 CONSPEXERE SILENT ARRECTISQUE AURIBUS ADSTANT
 ILLE REGIT DICTIS ANIMOS ET PECTORA MULCET
 SIC CUNCTUS PELAGI CECIDIT FRAGOR AEQUORA POSTQUAM
 PROSPICIENS GENITOR CAELOQUE INVECTUS APERTO
 FLECTIT EQUOS CURRUQUE VOLANS DAT LORA SECUNDO

— — — —

Who can doubt that the original of this fine passage is that scarcely less fine passage of Hesiod, *Theog.* 81:

οὐτὶνὰ τιμῆσσι .ἄϊος κοῦραι μεγάλοι,
 γεινομένον τε ἴδωσι διοτρεγέων βασιλῆων,
 τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ γλυκερὴν χιούσιν ἐρσην,
 τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ἐκ στόματος ρεῖ μελιχρῶ οἱ δὲ νῦν λαοὶ
 πάντες εἰς αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι διακρινόντα θεμίστας
 ἰδεῖνσι δίκησιν· ὁ δ' ἀσφαλῶς ἀγροέων
 αἰψὰ τε καὶ μέγα νεῖκος ἐπιστάμενός κατεπαύσε.
 οὐνεκα γὰρ βασιλῆες ἐχέμενοι, οὐνεκα λαοὶς
 βλαπτομένοις ἀγροῆγι μετατροπῇ ἐργὰ τέλειαι
 ῥηϊδίως, μαλακοῖσι παρρηγμένοι ἐπιείσιν.
 ἐρχομένον δ' ἀνὰ αἶαντι θεὸν ὡς ἑλάσσοντιαι
 ἄϊδοι μελιχρῇ, μετὰ δὲ πρέπτι ἀγρομένοισι
 οἱα τε Μουσῶν κερὶ δοαῖς ἀνθρώποισιν.

AC VELUTI MAGNO IN POPULO QUUM SAEPE COORTA EST SEDITIO. Neither, with Thiel and Voss, in a *concio*, or great popular assembly, or, as we say, public meeting [“*Populus*, jede menschenmenge, hier *concio*,” Thiel. “Wie wenn in grosser versammlung des volks,” Voss], nor, with Conington, in a chance-collected crowd or concourse of people (“MAGNO IN POPULO, in a concourse of people, not in a mighty people”), but in a people inhabiting a great city, such as Rome or Athens—a people great in the sense in which the Romans and Athenians were great. Compare Hor. *Sat.* 1. 6. 78:

. . . "vestem servosque sequentes,
in magno ut populo, -si qui vidisset, avita
ex re praeberi sumptus mihi crederet illus;"

and Plaut. *Truc. 1. 1. 55*:

"postremo in magno populo, in multis hominibus,
re placida atque otiosa, victis hostibus.
amare oportet omnes, qui quod dent habent;"

in neither of which examples can "in magno populo" be anything else than in or amongst a great people, a people inhabiting a great city, such as Rome or Athens, the special reference in the former example being, as in our text, to the Romans and city of Rome—in the latter, to the Athenians and city of Athens. Compare also Flor. 1. 28. 6: "Cum, ut in magno, et in dies maiore populo, interim perniciosi cives existerent."

Seditious tumults being of so frequent occurrence in Rome as they are known to have been, and of such violence as to be compared not merely by Cicero, but commonly ("id quod saepe dictum est"), to storms at sea, who can doubt that the sedition MAGNO IN POPULO to which our author likens his sea-storm was not a mere row in a concio, versammlung, or meeting, but a sedition of the "magnus populus" *par excellence*, the great unwashed of Rome [Cic. *Pro A. Cluentio*, c. 49: "Ex quo intelligi potuit id quod saepe dictum est, ut mare, quod sua natura tranquillum sit, ventorum vi agitari atque turbari: sic et populum Romanum sua sponte esse placatum, hominum seditiosorum vocibus, ut violentissimis tempestatibus, concitari"]? If our author has few opportunities of complimenting the Roman populace, he at least knows how to use his opportunity when it does occur: AC VELUTI MAGNO IN POPULO.

Conington queries whether the structure is AC VELUTI CUM SAEPE SEDITIO COORTA EST MAGNO IN POPULO, and not rather—as indicated by the corresponding forms of expression, 6. 707: "Ac velut in pratis, ubi" . . .: 12. 908: "Ac velut in somnis, oculos ubi" . . .:—

AC VELUTI MAGNO IN POPULO, CUM SAEPE COORTA EST
SEDITIO.

I do not doubt at all that the latter is the correct structure, and that there should therefore be a comma placed after *POPULO*. Compare *Hor. Sat. 1. 6. 78* (just quoted):

. . . “vestem servosque sequentes,
in magno ut populo, si qui vidisset.”

Ovid, *Trist. 1. 1. 17*:

“si quis, ut in populo, nostri non immemor illic
si quis, qui, quid agam, forte requirat, erit.”

Ovid, *ex Ponto, 4. 5. 11*:

“si quis, ut in populo, qui sitis, et unde, requireret.”

The sense, however, is the same in both cases. It is as if Virgil had said: “ac veluti magno in populo cum seditio coorta est uti saepe magno in populo cooritur seditio,” or “uti saepe magno in populo accidit.” Manilius, to whom, as to Virgil, it is the storm at sea which suggests the sedition, not the sedition which suggests (as it suggested to Homer, *Il. 2. 144*:

κίνηθη δ' ἀγὼν, ὡς κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης
πόντου Ἰκαρίοιο, τὰ μὲν τ' Ἐνρος τε Νότος τε
ὠροῦ')

the storm at sea, draws the comparison, with his usual brevity, in two words (2. 90):

“atque haec seditio pelagi nunc sidere Lunae
mota tumet.”

To Sidonius Apollinaris, on the contrary, it is the sedition of the people which suggests, as it suggested to Homer, the sea-storm (*Epist. 1. 11*): “Erat enim ipse Paeonius populi totus, qui tribunitiis flatibus crebro seditionum pelagus impelleret.”

SAEVITQUE ANIMIS IGNOBILE VULGUS . . . GENITOR.—IGNOBILE VULGUS corresponds with AEQUORA; PIETATE GRAVEM AC MERITIS VIRUM with GENITOR; and the two former contrast with the two latter.

SAEVIT ANIMIS.—Not *SAEVIT in ANIMIS*, but *SAEVIT cum ANIMIS*. Compare *Comm. on Aen. 1. 294; 2. 416; and 6. 825*.

FACES ET SAXA VOLANT. "Multi non VOLANT sed VOLUNT invenisse se dicunt, sed Cornutus verendum ait ne praeposterum sit *faces* velle et sic *saxa*, cum alibi maturius et ex ordine dictum sit:

'arma velit poscatque simul rapiatque iuventus.'

Cornutus might have assigned the much better reason, that the rioters had no occasion "*velle faces et saxa*," inasmuch as "*furor*" had already supplied them with arms—FUROR ARMA MINISTRAT; and that FUROR ARMA MINISTRAT is a very good reason why FACES ET SAXA VOLANT: NO reason at all, but the very contrary of a reason, why FACES ET SAXA VOLUNT.

FUROR ARMA MINISTRAT. Compare *Aen.* 7. 507:

. . . "quod cuique repertum
rimanti telum ira facit."

PIETATE GRAVEM. "Religione erga deos et sanctitate," Heyne, Thiel. No; for first, this is never the sense of *pietas* in Virgil (see above, Comm. on verse 14); and secondly, piety, in this sense, afforded no ground of comparison with Neptune, of whose character it neither was nor could be a part. But Neptune is a *kind* peacemaker among his turbulent subjects, the waves; and the queller of the tumult is "*gravis pietate*," respected for the *kindness* of his heart—PIETATE AC MERITIS, *q. d.* "*piis meritis*:" of whose kindness of heart the people had many times had experience.

CONSPEXERE. Have had a full view; see Comm. on "*conspicitur*," 8. 83; and on "*conspetus*," 8. 588. The sudden pause by which this strong and emphatic word is cut off from the remainder of the line indicates the sudden pause in the action; the instant stillness of the crowd on a full view (CONSPEXERE) of the man PIETATE GRAVEM AC MERITIS. A similar effect is produced by the suddenness of the pause after the three rapid words, PELAGI CECIDIT FRAGOR, in the next verse but one.

ADSTANT, "*i. e. certo quodam loco tanquam inhaerentes stant, vel in vestigiis suis stant*," Wagner (1861). No; but "*stant ad, i. e. ante eum et ad latera eius*:" from his audience, English, *stand by*; and this is the meaning of the verb *adstare*

in those very places which Wagner cites as proofs that it means "in vestigio suo stare," viz.:—(a), 3. 122:

. . . "desertaque litora Cretae
hoste vacare domos sedesque adstare relictas."

Not, surely, Crete was standing in a certain fixed place, "in vestigio suo," i. e. was standing where it was standing, *but* Crete was standing before them, ready for them, convenient to them, or, as we might say in English, waiting for them at their hand. (b), 7. 180:

"Saturnusque senex Ianique bifrontis imago
vestibulo astabant."

Not, surely, were standing fixed or inherent, "in vestigiis suis," in the vestibule, *but* were standing in the vestibule *ad*, i. e. *bende*, or at the hand of those who passed through it—were standing by, were waiting like a guard of honour in the vestibule. **And** (c), 9. 675 (where see Rem.):

"portam, quae ducis imperio commissa, recludunt,
freti armis, ultroque invitant moenibus hostem.
ipsi intus dextra ac laeva pro turribus adstant,
armati ferro et cristis capita alta corusci."

Not, surely, "in suis vestigiis stant," *but* "stant ad," stand in the presence of, and waiting for, those to come on whom they have just invited to come on—"invitant moenibus hostem." Such are the examples selected by Wagner to show the meaning of the verb *astare*, viz., that it means *stare in*, not *stare ad*. Could three better examples be chosen to show that it means *stare ad*, not *stare in*? Yes, perhaps there could; 5. 477:

. . . "iuvenci
qui donum adstabat pugnae"

[which was standing by, standing at hand, the prize of the victor]; 7. 72:

"ut iuxta genitorem adstat Lavinia virgo"

[was standing by, *bende*, her father]; 10. 885:

"ter circum adstantem laevos equitavit in orbes"

[standing by, standing present, the "ad" having, as always, reference to some second object spoken of or implied—here to

the rider, in our text to the VIRUM GRAVEM PIETATE AC MERITIS]. The precise meaning follows the word into the Italian. Compare Lorenzo Lippi, *Malmantile*, 3. 19:

“Chiama gli astanti, gl’ infermieri appella”

[calls the bystanders]. Francesco da Barberino, *Documenti d’ amore* 19. 15:

. . . . “colli juristi astanti
tratta del governar, che fa giustizia.”

CAELO APERTO.—APERTO is not the participle, but the adjective, and the sense is not, under the opened or cleared sky, but the open or clear sky, where nothing was to be seen, where there were no clouds; the sky clear and unclouded, as it was before the storm began. Compare Lucret. 1. 296:

“qua re etiam atque etiam sunt venti corpora caeca;
quandoquidem, factis et moribus, aemula magnis
amnis inveniuntur, aperto corpore qui sunt.”

PECTORA MULCET. Compare Casti, *La Papessa*, 2. 4: . . .
“I cori molce.”

160.

FLECTIT EQUOS CURRUQUE VOLANS DAT LORA SECUNDO

FLECTIT EQUOS, wheels his horses; not, however, so as to turn them back, or in the direction opposite to that in which they had come, but so as to form a curve, so as to make a circuit; bends or inclines his course. See Ovid, *Met.* 2. 169 (of Phaeton):

. . . . “nec qua commissas flectat habenas,
nec scit, qua sit iter,”

and Rem. on “flecte viam velis,” 5. 28. More skill being required to bend or turn horses out of the right line, especially so as to make them round an object—as, for instance, a meta—without touching it, than to drive them straight forward, “flec-

tere equos" came to be used to signify the whole art of chariot-driving; *Anthol. Lat.* (Meyer), 1435:

"flectere doctus equos, nitida certare palaestra,
ferro iocos, astu fallere, nosse fidem."

CURRU SECUNDO. "*Currus secundus* qui sit, non satis perspicio; celerem enim poeta hoc vocabulo significare vix potest, et felicem vel propitium cur dixerit, non apparet. Servius currum 'Troianis obsequentem' explicuit, quod loco non convenit; Neptunus enim FLECTIT EQUOS et discedit. Facile esset CURSUQUE corrigere, sed coniectura non opus est, cum Cod. Rom. alique FLUCTUQUE exhibeant, quod reponendum esse videtur," Jahn. "CURRU SECUNDO, celeri," Heyne. Wagner adopts, and in the following words would fain justify, the interpretation of Heyne: "Vento utimur secundo, navigamus celeriter; unde celeritatis notio adhaerere potuit huic adiectivo." All these interpretations are nearly equally erroneous. The word *secundus* has but two meanings, either in Virgil or any other Latin writer: first, the primary one of second in rank or order, as in the expressions, "*secundae mensae*" (*Aen.* 8. 283); "*Haud ulli veterum virtute secundus*" (*Aen.* 11. 441); and secondly, the secondary meaning (immediately derived from and intimately connected with the primary) of seconding; going, or acting along with another, as a second, not principal, actor. This is its meaning in all such expressions as *secundus ventus*, *secundus amnis*, *secundus fluctus*, *secundus clamor*, *secunda fortuna*, *secundae res*, *secundae aures*; wind, river, wave, clamour, fortune, circumstances, ears of hearers, seconding you, going along with you: in all which expressions it means exactly the opposite of *adversus*—*adversus ventus*, *amnis*, *fluctus*, *clamor*, *adversa fortuna*, *adversae res*, *adversae aures*, being wind, river, wave, clamour, fortune, circumstances, ears of hearers, opposing you, going directly the opposite way to that which you are going. And so Caesar (*apud Cic. ad Attic.* 10. 8): "*Omnia secundissima nobis, adversissima illis accidisse videntur.*" Both meanings of *secundus* flow from its root, *sequor*; and, accordingly, it is by a com-

pound of its root that Servius correctly renders it in the passage before us, viz., by obsequens—going readily along with you in the direction you wish (English toward and towardly), seconding you. Both meanings descend with the word into the Italian: Alaman, *Coltiv.* 3. 67:

“per far più adorne le seconde mense.”

Boccac. *Nov.* 36. 4: “Quantunque i sogni a quelle paiono favorevoli, e con seconde dimostrazioni chi gli vede confortino.”

But with whom does the currus go readily along? whom does it second? *cui obsequitur*? The Trojans (“Troianis obsequenti”), answers Servius—totally mistaking, as usual, his author’s application of a word which, having a vernacular knowledge of the language, he nevertheless perfectly understands—and well replied to by Jahn: “Loco non convenit; Neptunus enim FLECTIT EQUOS et discedit.” The horses, answers Wagner; Neptune gives the reins to the chariot, and the chariot follows the horses, seconds the horses—“CURRU VOLANS SECUNDO, impetum equorum sequente.” And Forbiger is of the same opinion as Wagner: “Currus secundus est qui facile et celeriter sequitur equos.” What, then? To what or to whom else, if to neither of these, to neither the Trojans nor the horses, is the currus obsequens? Cui “secundat iter” (Propert. 3. 21. 14)? Why, of course and as plainly as possible, to the driver, to the reins (Pind. *Pyth.* 2. 11: ἀματα πεισιχαλινά), to Neptune himself—“Neptuno secundat iter”—exactly as the aura, the breezy air, “secundat iter nautis,” Propert. 3. 21. 14:

“iam liquidum nautis aura secundat iter,”

where the aura is the seconding or moving power—the power which moves the sailors on; exactly as in our text the currus is the seconding or moving power—the power which moves Neptune on, according to his will. The currus (not the car considered as apart from the horses, but the horses considered as drawing the car) obeys every wish of the driver, *seconds* his will, “obsequitur aurigae.” The driver DAT LORA, and the currus (the team, the *gespann*, the horses drawing the chariot)

takes them, and does all the driver wishes—exactly the opposite of the procedure of the *currus* at the close of the first Georgic, which, regardless of the wishes of the *auriga* (“*neque audit currus habenas*”), goes where it pleases itself, and carries the *auriga* with it: “*fertur equis auriga*.” Compare 10. 687:

“*labitur alta secans fluctuque aestuque secundo*”

[wave and tide seconding him, going readily along with him, helping him on, *obsequentibus ei, secundantibus ei iter*], Lucan, 5. 458:

“*inde rapi coepere rates, atque aequora classem
curva sequi, quae iam vento, fluctuque secundo
lapsa Palaestinas uncis confixit arenas*”

(where we have not only the “*fluctus*” seconding the ships, but this *seconding* of the ships used as a variation of the just preceding “*coepere aequora classem sequi*”—a phrase itself affording an example of the simple uncompounded *sequi* used in the sense of *seconding*, *acting obsequiously towards*, exactly as Ovid, *Met.* 1. 647 (of Io):

. . . “*et, si modo verba sequantur,
oret opem*”).

Secundus being neither more nor less than an adjectival form of *sequi*, *sequens*, the participle of *sequi*, should *à priori* be as nearly as possible the equivalent of *secundus*; and so in point of fact we find *sequens* to be, not only—which it were supererogatory to prove by example—in its primary, but in its secondary sense also. See Ovid, *Met.* 4. 54:

. . . “*lana sua fila sequente*.”

Stat. Silv. 4. 9. 14:

“*nec saltem tua dicta continentem
quae trino iuvenis foro tonabas,
aut centum prope iudices, priusquam
te Germanicus arbitrum sequenti
annonae dedit*,”

where Gronovius: “‘*sequens*’ est facilis, *obsequens*, *obediens* *procuranti Plotio*”; and where the sense remains the

same if we substitute *secundae* for *sequentī*, just as in our text the sense remains the same if we substitute *sequentī* for *secundo*. See Rem. on “*sequatur*,” 4. 109.

CURRU, *not* the chariot, considered as apart from the horses, *but* the horses considered as drawing the chariot—the yoke. the team, Gr. *το αμα*, Germ. *das gespann*. See *Georg.* 3. 89:

“*talis Amyclaei domitus Pollucis habenis
Cyllarus, et quorum Graii meminere poetae,
Martis equi biuges, et magni currus Achilli*”

(where by no possibility can “*currus*” mean aught but the horses of Achilles—the horses which drew his chariot). *Aen.* 7. 163:

“*exercentur equis, domitantque in pulvere currus*”

(*not*, surely, break chariots, *but* break horses in chariots, force and accustom horses to draw chariots); with which compare 12. 350:

“*ausus Pelidae pretium sibi poscere currus*”

(not the chariot, but, as shown by “*nec equis aspirat Achillis*,” verse 352, the team, the *gespann* of Achilles). *Lucan.* 7. 568:

“*sanguineum veluti quatiens Bellona flagellum,
Bistonas aut Mavors agitans, si verbere saevo
Palladia stimulet turbatos aegide currus*”

[lashes his horses, frightened by the *aegis* of Pallas]. *Claud. Rapt. Proserp.* 1. 1:

“*inferni raptoris equos, afflataque curru
sidera Taenario, caligantesque profundae
Iunonis thalamos audaci prodere cantu
mens congesta iubet*”

[blown upon by the Taenarian team]. *Sil. Ital.* 4. 482:

“*condebat noctem devexo Cynthia curru,
fraternis afflata rotis*”

(where the poet, so far from saying “*afflata equis*” does not even say “*afflata curru*,” but only “*afflata rotis*”); and Alcaeus (ap. Himer.) *αἰχμοὶ δὲ ἦσαν το αμα*; also *Georg.* 1. 514:

“*fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas*,”

where "currus" in the latter part of the line is the varied repetition of "equis" in the former, and the sense divested of its poetical ornament is simply "fertur equis auriga, neque audiunt [equi] habenas;" exactly as in our text, "currus" in the latter part of the line is the varied repetition of "equi" in the first part, and the sense is

FLEOTIT EQUOS, EQUISQUE VOLANS DAT LORA SECUNDIS.

In the same manner as currus, properly the inanimate seat or vehicle, is used to express both the seat (or vehicle) and the horses (or other animals) drawing it: the horses (or other animals) drawing the seat or vehicle are used to express both the horses (or other animals) drawing the seat (or vehicle) and the seat (or vehicle) itself. See Hom. *Il.* 3. 259:

. . . ριγησεν δ' ο γερον, εκελευσε δ' εταιρους
ιππους ζευγνυμεναι· τοι δ' οτραλειως επιθοντο.
αν δ' αρ' εβη Πριαμος, κατι δ' ηναι τεινεν οπισσω·
πιρ δε οι Αντηνωρ περικαλλει βησατο διφρον.
τω δε διε Σκυιων πεδιονδ' εχον ωκεις ιππους.
αλλ' οτε δη ρ' ικοντο μετα Τρωας και Αχαιους,
εξ ιππων αποβαντες επι χθονα πολυβοτειραν,
ες μεσσον Τρων και Αχαιων εστιχωντο.

Ovid, *Heroid.* 2. 79 (of Ariadne):

"illa (nec invideo) fruitur meliore marito;
inque capistratis tigribus alta sedet."

Compare also Sil. 2. 197 (ed. Ruperti):

"tum saltu Asbyten conantem linquere pugnas
occupat, incussa gemina inter tempora clava,
ferventesque rotas turbataque frena pavore
disiecto spargit collisa per ossa cerebro,"

where "frena" is the horses; and see Rem. on 1. 490.

161-162.

DEFESSI AENEADAE QUAE PROXIMA LITTORA CURSU
CONTENDUNT PETERE ET LIBYAE VERTUNTUR AD ORAS

The parallelism between the shipwreck of Aeneas's fleet and that of Cneius Octavius, A. U. C. 550-551, is too strong to be entirely accidental. Both took place on the self-same waters, on the self-same African shore, and in the immediate vicinity of the self-same city of Carthage. The same "Africus" was active on both occasions, and on both occasions the fleet, dispersed and driven on different parts of the shore, was seized by the natives, whose claim to it as lawful property was adjudicated on in the case of Cneius Octavius's fleet by the Senate and people of Carthage, exactly as in the case of the fleet of Aeneas, by Dido. "Non haec sine numine divum," or, if my reader prefers plain prose, Aeneas's shipwreck was as surely suggested by and modelled on that of Cneius Octavius as Don Juan's was made up out of the scattered fragments of Captain Bligh's, Commodore Byron's, and Erasmus's. See Livy, 30. 24 (ed. Walker): "Cneio Octavio, ducentis onerariis, triginta longis navibus ex Sicilia traicienti, non eadem fortuna fuit. In conspectum ferme Africae prospero cursu vectum primo destituit ventus; deinde versus in Africum turbavit, ac passim naves disiecit. Ipse cum rostratis, per adversos fluctus ingenti remigum labore enisus, Apollinis promontorium tenuit. Onerariae, pars maxima ad Aegimurum (insula ea sinum ab alto claudit, in quo sita Carthago est, triginta ferme millia ab urbe), aliae adversus urbem ipsam ad Calidas Aquas delatae sunt. Omnia in conspectu Carthaginis erant: itaque ex tota urbe in forum concursum est. Magistratus senatum vocare, populus in curiae vestibulo fremere, ne tanta ex oculis manibusque amitteretur praeda."

163.

EST IN SECESSU LONGO LOCUS

"Sinu secreto," Servius (ed. Lion). "Sinuoso Libyae littore," "locus in sinum curvatus," Heyne. "Tief zurückgezogene bucht," Thiel. "In a deep retiring bay," Conington. Very far, indeed, from the meaning; which is not that the place was situated in a deep retiring bay, or in a bay at all, but that the place was far out of the way, out of the gangway, far retired. Compare Plin. *Ep.* 2. 13: "Ille meus in urbe, ille in secessu contubernalis," in my retirement, *i. e.* in the country as opposed to the city. Plin. *Ep.* 2. 17 (of his villa at Laurentum): "Iustisne de causis eum tibi videor incolere, inhabitare, diligere secessum?" Plin. *Ep.* 3. 15: "Petis, et libellos tuos in secessu legam." Ovid, *Trist.* 1. 1. 41:

"carmina secessum scribentis et otia quaerunt."

And such precisely is the meaning of the words where our author uses them again, viz., 3. 229:

"rursum in secessu longo sub rupe cavata,
arboribus clausi circum atque horrentibus umbris,
instruimus mensas arisque reponimus ignem,"

not in a long reach, bight, or *sinus*, *but* in far retirement, far apart. And why was the place so retired, so very much out of the way (SECESSU LONGO)? Plainly because (a) Libya was itself thinly peopled (verse 388, "Libyae deserta peragro"); and (b) because the intercourse between Europe and Libya—little even in Virgil's time—was none at all in Aeneas's. Compare 1. 235:

"quid meus Aeneas in te committere tantum,
quid Troes potuere? quibus tot funera passis
cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis;"

1. 388:

"ipse ignotus egens Libyae deserta peragro,
Europa atque Asia pulsus."

Under such circumstances, a place on the sea-shore, not very far from the new city the Tyrians were building, might very well be said to be IN SECESSU LONGO—far retired; in other words, a very lonely place.

163.

PORTUM EFFICIT

Not makes a port ("che porto un' isoletta lo fa," Caro), *but* completes, perfects, makes-out (*e-facit*) a port, *i. e.* turns that into a port which, but for the island in front, were no more than an inlet or bay. Compare Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 1. 38: "Hunc [montem] murus circumdatus arcem efficit" [makes a complete arx of the mountain, turns the mountain into an arx]. Ovid, *Met.* 7. 179:

"tres aberant noctes ut cornua tota coirent
efficerentque orbem. postquam plenissima fulsit
ac solida terras spectavit imagine luna"

[completed the circle]. Juvenal, 14. 323:

. . . "effice summam
his septem ordinibus quam lex dignatur Othonis"

[make-up the sum, complete the sum]. In no less than three of the following examples of ports made out, made good, or effected by opposite islands which serve as breakwaters to certain *loci* on the mainland, the identical word is used which is used in our text, *viz.*, *efficere*:—Liv. 30. 24: "Insula ea [Aegimurus] sinum ab alto claudit, in quo sita Carthago est, triginta ferme millia ab urbe." Plin. *Ep.* 6. 31: "In ore portus [Traiani] insula adsurgit, quae illatum vento mare obiacens frangat, tutumque ab utroque latere decursum navibus praestet." Livy. 26. 42: "Ceterum sita Carthago [Nov. Carthago in Hisp.] sic

est. Sinus est maris media fere Hispaniae ora, maxime Africo vento oppositus, et quingentos passus introrsus retractus, paululo plus passuum in latitudinem patens. Huius in ostio sinus parva insula obiecta ab alto portum ab omnibus ventis, praeterquam Africo, tutum facit." Strabo, 17. 1. 6: *ημων γαρ εστι κολπωδης, ακρας εις το πελαγος προβεβλημενη δυο· τουτων δε μεταξυ η νησος ιδρυται κλειουσα τον κολπον, παραβεβληται γαρ αυτον [αυτω] κατα μηκος.* Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 3. 112: "Haec insula [viz., Pharos], obiecta Alexandriae, portum efficit." Solinus, c. 9: "Euboea insula laterum obiectu efficit Aulidis portum." Claud. *Idyll.* 36:

"est in conspectu longe locus
est procul ingenti regio summoti recessu
insula qua resides fluctus mitescere cogit,
in longum producta latus: fractasque per undas
ardua tranquillo curvantur brachia portu."

Claud. *Bell. Gildon.* 521:

"tenditur in longum Caralis, tenuemque per undas
obvia dimittit fracturum flamina collem.
efficitur portus medium mare; tutaque ventis
omnibus ingenti mansuescunt stagna recessu."

And above all, Lucan, 2. 610:

"urbs [Brundisium] est Dictaeis olim possessa colonis,
quos Creta profugos vexere per aequora puppes
Cecropiae, victum mentitis Thesea velis.
hanc latus angustum iam se cogentis in artum
Hesperiae, tenuem producit in aequora linguam,
Hadriacas flexis claudit quae cornibus undas.
nec tamen hoc artis immissum faucibus aequor
portus erat, si non violentos insula Coros
exciperet saxis, lassasque refunderet undas.
hinc illinc montes scopulosae rupis aperto
opposuit natura mari, flatusque removit,
ut tremulo starent contentae fune carinae,"

where we have a reproduction of the Virgilian picture, even to the minutest particulars: (*a*), the port completed by the island in front—

"nec tamen hoc artis immissum faucibus aequor
portus erat, si non insula"

(Virgil's *INSULA PORTUM EFFICIT*); (*b*), the rocky shore of the island receiving the brunt of the waves—

. . . “si non violentos insula Coros
exciperet saxis, lassas undas”

(Virgil's *OBJECTU LATERUM QUIBUS OMNIS AB ALTO UNDA FRANGITUR*); (*c*), and then throwing them back again—

. . . “refunderet undas”

(Virgil's *SINUS REDUCTOS*); (*d*), on each side of the entrance of the port, rocky precipices—

“hinc illinc scopulosae rupis”

(Virgil's *HINC ATQUE HINC VASTAE RUPES*); (*e*), rising to the height and shape of mountains—

. . . “montes scopulosae rupis”

(Virgil's *GEMINQUE MINANTUR IN CAELUM SCOPULI*); (*f*), and sheltering the waters of the port from the winds—

. . . “flatusque removit”

(Virgil's *QUORUM SUB VERTICE LATE AEQUORA TUTA SILENT*); (*g*), so that vessels were perfectly safe in it—

“ut tremulo starent contentae fune carinae”

(Virgil's *HIC FESSAS NON VINCULA NAVES ULLA TENENT, UNCO NON ALLIGAT ANCORA MORSU*).

INSULA. “Quum *efficere portum* insula parum accomodate dici mihi videretur, per insulam h. l. peninsulam significari putabam,” says Wagner (ad ed. Heyn. 1832), understanding, with the translators and commentators generally, “*efficere portum*” to be equivalent to “*facere portum*.” To be sure, the gloss was withdrawn by its author immediately on his becoming aware of the application of the expression by Caesar to the island of Pharos, and by Solinus to the island of Euboea (see above); but it could hardly have been made by any one who was not also unaware of the frequent use of *efficere* in the sense not of *facere*, but of *e-facere*, or *making-out*, *making-good*, *completing*.

LATERUM: not merely smooth low sides or strands, but—as

shown first by OBJECTU—always expressive of an *objection* or presentation of an obstacle; and, secondly—by the application of *latus* elsewhere to the steep side of a precipice or mountain—the more or less elevated, precipitous, abrupt sides or flanks of the island: *Georg.* 4. 418:

. . . “est specus ingens
exesi latere in montis, quo plurima vento
cogitur, inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos”

[where the very words of our text are, with a very slight alteration, repeated]. *Aen.* 6. 42:

“excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum.”

Stat. Silv. 4. 4. 2:

. . . “qua nobilis Appia crescit
in latus, et molles solidus premit agger arenas”

[grows into a side, *i. e.* into a steep flank, a perpendicular cre-pido. The road consists of so much building that its side presents the appearance of the perpendicular side of a wall, house, or other building—is not a mere paved track over the country‘ but an elevated structure, presenting a side]. The interpretation is confirmed by another quotation from *Stat., Silv.* 17. 248:

“insequitur sublime forens nigrantibus alis
abruptum Boreas ponti latus”

[a lofty wave presenting a perpendicular face or side: in our author’s own language, l. 109, “praeruptus aquae mons”].

The plural number is used in order to be general; in order not to enter particularly into the shape of the island; in order not to detain the reader with the minute information with which Corippus, in his imitation of the passage (*de Laudib. Justin. minoris*, l. 102), has detained his reader, viz., that one side of the island looked towards the sea, while the other looked towards the port:

. . . “pars prospicit una
immensum pelagus; pars respicit altera portum,
portum quem geminae complexant brachia ripae
moenibus appositis, rapidos contemnere ventos
et faciunt, praebentque salum statione quietum:
aequoreos frangunt obiecto marmore fluctus,
et prohibent refluxas angustis faucibus undas.”

164-165.

QUIBUS OMNIS AB ALTO

FRANGITUR INQUE SINUS SCINDIT SESE UNDA REDUCTOS

The picture presented is that of the waves breaking on the seaward sides of the island, and then retreating, or sucked back into the sea. Simple, conformable to nature, and harmonious with the context as this picture is, it is anything but the picture which the commentators have found in the words. Some see in them the sea breaking on the island, and then not retreating or sucked back, but passing round the island on each side, and forming on each side a "reductus sinus," from the union of which "reducti sinus" behind the island results the port. See La Cerda's sketch or plan (an adaptation of the description before us to the port of Carthagera, in Spain), with the words "reductus sinus" inscribed on each of the arms or inlets which—passing round the island, one on each side, and meeting behind it—form the port: and Lemaire, in his edition of Heyne: "SCINDIT SE IN SINUS REDUCTOS, et refluens circa duas extremitates insulae, aditum utrumque sequitur multo et sinuoso flexu, atque penetrat usque in intimum portum." Others, on the contrary, see in them the sea breaking on prominences of the island, and received up into hollows or inlets between those promontories: "Excipit haec insula vim undarum, quae in sinus eius intrusus retractos fractae scissaeque se insinuant," Wagner (1861), Forcellini, Tasso (*Gerus. Lib. 15. 42*), Ladewig ("Zurück- d. h. landeinwärts gezogene buchten an der insel"). Both views are incorrect. La Cerda's, **first**, because the indefinite plural, SINUS, cannot signify two definite sinuses—must, in order to signify *two*, have the numeral added to it, as in Ovid's picture of the "insula Tiberina," *Met. 15. 739*:

"scinditur in geminas partes circumfluit amnis;
Insula nomen habet; laterumque a parte duorum
porrigit aequales media tellure lacertos;"

secondly, because it is not easy to conceive the *whole* water coming from the deep (OMNIS UNDA AB ALTO] to pass round the island and be received into the port—a part at least of it should be kept out, OBJECTU LATERUM, and if it was all received, such reception of the *whole* of the water from the outside would hardly be consistent with the perfect safety and undisturbed tranquillity of the interior; **and thirdly**, where the same words occur again, viz., *Georg.* 4. 418:

. . . "est specus ingens
exesi latere in montis, quo plurima vento
cogitur, inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos,"

there is neither, on the one hand, island or other object to divide the sea into two definite sinuses; nor, on the other hand, a port formed by the reunion of two sinuses—nothing but the beating of the sea upon a mountain side. And Wagner's view is also incorrect, first, because it is impossible for the sea to divide itself (SE) into sinuses which are parts of the island, or otherwise than into parts of itself; secondly, because the reception of the *whole* of the water from the deep sea into inlets on the side of the island had been as inconceivable, or, if less inconceivable, as wholly useless and to no purpose, as its reception into the port itself; and, thirdly, because sinuses in the side of the island had been unnecessarily introduced into the picture—had served no other purpose than to confuse the view, to distract the attention from the bay behind the island (the main object, and for the sake of which alone the island was drawn), and fix it on bays of the island itself. What, then, are the "reducti sinus" into which the sea, after its breaking on the sides of the island, or in consequence of its breaking on the sides of the island (FRANGITUR), divides itself (SCINDIT SESE)? And, first of all, inasmuch as "reducti sinus" represent a complex idea, or sinuses of a particular kind, what are the sinuses themselves abstracted from their descriptive character ("reducti")? Into what sinuses does the sea, by its breaking on the island, divide itself? Is it into bays, or arms, or inlets, such as have been imagined both by La Cerda and

Wagner? Impossible: first, because such bays, or *armes*, or inlets, are never found to exist where the sea breaks (*FRANGITUR*), but always where the sea is not broken, precisely in the intervals between the prominent points or heads on which the sea breaks; and, secondly, because *INQUE SINUS SCINDIT SESE UNDA REDUCTOS*, being too intimately connected with *FRANGITUR*—too plainly a variation of *FRANGITUR*—to have a meaning so directly opposite to *FRANGITUR*, can by no possibility signify runs up (unbroken), so as to form bays, inlets, sounds, or creeks, whether at each side of the island or in the island's side. What other sinuses, then, are meant, if not bays, inlets, or creeks? or what other sinuses are there at all? Is not *sinus*, in its application to the sea, always a bay, inlet, sound, or creek? I answer, No. *Sinus*, in its application to the sea, is—and not at all rarely, but, on the contrary, very frequently—something wholly different from bay, inlet, gulf, or creek; and it is precisely their ignorance of this second sense in which *sinus* is applied to the sea which has led commentators into their great mistake concerning the meaning of our text. Very familiar with the sea's horizontal sinuses—the sinuses of the sea's edge; the sea's bays, and gulfs, and inlets, and creeks—they have wholly ignored its vertical sinuses, the sinuses of its surface, its billows rising and falling, sinuating along with a serpent's (not horizontal, but vertical) sinuosity. And yet the following no less graphic than unmistakable picture of such a *sinus*—such a sinuating wave—such a rising and falling alternately up and down billow—is our author's own (*Georg.* 3. 237):

“fluctus uti, medio coepit quum albescere ponto,
longius, ex altoque sinum trahit; utque volutus
ad terras immane sonat per saxa, neque ipso
monte minor procumbit,”

where it is not possible that any *sinus* of the sea's edge, any creek, bay, gulf, or inlet can be meant; and the *sinus* spoken of must of necessity be a billowy wave—a billow fluctuating up and down. Compare *Aen.* 11. 624:

“qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus
nunc ruit ad terras, scopulosque superiacit unda
spumeus, extremamque sinu perfundit arenam,”

(where "sinu" can only be an up-and-down sinus; a wave regarded as sinuous, not in breadth, but in vertical height). Senec. *Nat. Quaest.* 3. 28 (of a universal deluge): "Nam ut aeris, ut aetheris, sic huius elementi [aquae] larga materia est, multoque in abdito plenior. Haec fatis mota, non aestu, nam aestus fati ministerium est, attollit vasto sinu fretum, agitque ante se. Deinde in miram altitudinem erigitur: et illis tutis hominum receptaculis superest" (raises the sea with a vast sinuating swell, a swell rising and falling as it advances). Grat. Falisc. *Cyneg.* 38:

"qua cultor Latii per opaca silentia Tibris
labitur, inque sinus magno venit ore marinos"

(*not*, surely, into the marine bays, *but* into the marine billows, into the sea sinuating up and down). Also, Petr. Apollon., *De Excid. Hierosol.* 2 (De la Bigne, 7. 552):

. . . "veluti quum littora saevus
adveniens operit sinuoso vertice pontus,
sicca retrocedens in se lapsusque relinquit"

(a great wave or swell, the top of which topples over so as to convert it into a sinus, which, having flooded the beach, retreats exactly as the sinuses of 11. 624, and *Georg.* 3. 237, just quoted). Ovid, *Met.* 11. 552:

. . . "spoliisque [sc. navis] animosa superstans
unda, velut victrix, sinuatas despicit undas"

(the sinuating water; the water thrown into, *not*, of course, horizontal, but vertical sinuses). Prudent. *Psychom.* 650:

"non aliter cecinit respectans victor hiantem
Israel rabiem ponti post terga minacis,
cum iam progrediens calcaret littora sicco
ulteriora pede, stridensque per extima calcis
mons rueret pendentis aquae, nigrosque relapso
gurgite Nilicolas fundo deprnderet imo,
ac refluyente sinu iam redderet unda natatum
piscibus, et nudas praeceps operiret arenas"

(where "refluyente sinu" is the sinuating billowy water, flowing back to the bed from which it had been removed by supernatural power, exactly as "sinu perfundit arenam . . . saxa

fugit, littusque vado labente reliquit” is the sinuating billowy water which first deluges the strand, and then returns to its bed, sucking the stones along with it). Lucan, 5. 615 (of the storm in which Caesar crossed the Adriatic):

“ah! quoties frustra pulsatos aequore montes
obruit illa dies! quam celsa cacumina pessum
tellus victa dedit! non ullo [*illo*, ed. Tauchn.] littore surgunt
tam validi fluctus, alioque ex orbe voluti
a magno venere mari, mundumque coercens
monstriferos agit unda sinus”

[where the commentator: “Sumitur hoc verbum pro undarum contortis flexibus”]. Compare Val. Flacc. 2. 498: “Monstriferi mugire sinus” (where he is speaking of the sea monster to which Hesione is exposed):

“dat procul interea signum Neptunus, et una
monstriferi mugire sinus, Sigeaque pestis
agglomerare fretum, cuius stellantia glauca
lumina nube tremunt, atque ordine curva trisulco
fulmineus quatit ora fragor, pelagoque remenso
cauda redivit, passosque sinus rapit ardua cervix”

(in both which last places “monstriferi sinus” is not the monster-bearing creeks or inlets, but the monster-bearing, sinuating waters, monster-bearing billows of the great deep). Also, Ennodius, *Dictio 24, verba Diomedis, cum uxoris adulteria cognovisset*: “Stationi propior fuit liquentis error elementi: portum in genitali solo perdidit, quem saepe in vasti gurgitis sinibus adquisivi.” [Diomedes, complaining of his wife’s infidelity during his absence at Troy, says: “I was better off (nearer a safe ‘statio’) when wandering on the sea than I am here at home. On the sea I often found a safe port; I find none here, at home, on my native soil. I am not in port here, I must go on further; let us go, &c.” In this passage sinus is used of the deep sea, means some kind of wave or swell of the deep sea—not the bays and inlets, but the sinuating waters, the billows of the vast deep]. Ovid, *Ars Amat. 3. 147*:

“hanc placet ornari testudine Cyllenea;
sustineat similes fluctibus illa sinus”

(this one wears her hair fastened up with a comb; let that

other use no comb, nor fasten up her hair at all, but wear her hair formed into sinuses (alternate hills and hollows), resembling the waves (alternate hills and hollows) of the sea).

The subject, therefore, of our text is neither two inlets, one on each side of the island, nor several inlets in the island itself. The subject of our text is the sinuating water, the water alternately rising and falling, the water forming ripples, as we say in English, when the rising and falling is on a small scale—billows, as we say, when it is on a large one. The formation of these ripples or billows is accurately described in our text—QUIBUS [lateribus] OMNIS UNDA AB ALTO FRANGITUR, by which (sides of the island) all the water coming from the deep is broken (FRANGITUR)—**not**, be it observed, is literally broken, into smaller parts or pieces, spray or foam, or so that there is any breach of continuity at all (the breach of continuity, such as it is, is expressed by SCINDIT SESE), **but** is *broken* as the sea is said to be broken by a mole, or dam, or breakwater, or the wind by a hill, or wall, or hedge; Claud. *Bell. Gildon.* 521:

. . . "tenuemque per undas
obvia dimittit fracturum flamina collem."

Plin. *Ep.* 2. 17. 17: "Similiter Africum [Xystus] sistit, atque ita diversissimos ventos alium alio latere frangit et finit," *i. e.* is figuratively broken, has its force *broken*; exactly as Cic. *pro Marcello* (ed. Lamb.), p. 567: "Nulla est enim tanta vis, tanta copia, quae ferro ac viribus debilitari frangique non possit." Claud. *Laus Serenae*, 137:

. . . "tu sola frementem
frangere, tu blando poteras sermone mederi."

Claud. *Rapt. Proserp.* 1. 73:

. . . "si forte adversus aenos
Aeolus obiecit postes, vanescit inanis
impetus, et fractae redeunt in claustra procellae."

Claud. *in Rufin.* 1. 70:

. . . "ceū murmurat alti
impacata quies pelagi, cum flamine fracto
durat adhuc saevitque tumor, dubiumque per aestum
lassa recedentis fluitant vestigia venti."

The water coming from the deep then has its force broken, its impetus broken, on the sides of the island—Gulielm. Tyr. *Bell. Sacr.* 13. 5: "A parte vero septentrionali portus civitatis [Tyri] interior, inter turres geminas habet ostium, infra moenia tamen receptus; nam exterius insula fluctibus obiecta, aestuantes pelagi primos frangens impetus, inter se et solum tutam navibus praebet stationem, ventis inaccessam, soli tamen obnoxiam Aquiloni"—and what more? splits itself, tears itself (SCINDIT SESE) into ripples or sinuations or undulations which are drawn back or return back (REDUCTOS) from the opposing (OBIECTU) sides of the island—those ripples or sinuations which so force themselves, and especially in rough weather, on the attention of every one who stands on the edge of an iron-bound shore and looks down on the water. **Compare** Petron. *Troj. Halos*:

. . . "celsa qua Tenedos mare
dorso repellit, tumida consurgunt freta,
undaque resultat scissa,"

where we have the almost exact copy of the picture in our text—in "Tenedos," the INSULA; in "dorso," the OBIECTU LATERUM; in "mare" and "tumida freta," the OMNIS UNDA AB ALTO; in "repellit," the FRANGITUR; and in "resultat scissa" the SCINDIT SESE IN SINUS REDUCTOS; **also**, Lucan, 2. 616, quoted above:

"nec tamen hoc arctis immissum faucibus aequor
portus erat, si non violentos insula Coros
exciperet saxis, lassasque refunderet undas,"

where we have the repetition of the picture—in "aequor," the OMNIS UNDA AB ALTO; in "portus," the PORTUM; in "insula," the INSULA; in "exciperet saxis," the OBIECTU LATERUM; in "lassas," the FRANGITUR; and in "refunderet undas," the REDUCTOS SINUS; **also**, Lucretius, 6. 694:

"praeterea, magna ex parti mare montis ad eius
radices frangit fluctus, aestumque resorbet,"

where "mare" is the UNDA, "montis ad eius radices" the OBIECTU LATERUM, "frangit fluctus" the FRANGITUR, and "aestum resorbet" the SINUS REDUCTOS of our text; **also** Senec. *Herc. Oet.* 731:

“utque involutos frangit Ionio salo
 opposita fluctus Leucas, et lassus tumor
 in litore ipso spumat,”

where “fluctus” is the UNDA of our text; “Ionio salo,” the ALTO; “opposita,” the OBJECTU LATERUM; “frangit,” the FRANGITUR; and “Leucas,” the INSULA; **and** Pseudo-Egesippus, *Excid. Hierosol. 3. 20* (of the port of Joppa): “Caedentibus itaque littus adversis Boreae flatibus, immane, quantum undae attolluntur; quae scopulis illisae fragorem ingentem excitant, atque in fluctus relapsae, inquietum illum maris sinum reddunt,” etc., where, however different the “sinum,” “undae” is the OMNIS UNDA of our text; “scopulis illisae fragorem ingentem excitant,” the LATERUM OBJECTU FRANGITUR; and “in fluctus relapsae,” the IN SINUS SCINDIT SESE REDUCTOS. The REDUCTOS SINUS, then, into which all the water coming from the deep splits itself up, are not the bays or inlets of the shore, but the vertical sinuations, the up-and-down heavings or ripples of the water reflected or driven back from the “obiecta latera” which have broken the force of the said water. That this, and no other, is the picture presented by our text, is shown, first, by its conformity with nature, such being precisely the phenomenon which presents itself wherever a bold shore (whether of an island, or of the mainland, it is no matter) is exposed to the open sea; the waves break on it, and divide themselves into sinuses which return back, or are drawn back, into the main body of water; the main body of water alternately throws itself on the obstructing land, breaks on it, and returns in vertical ripples, sinuations, or billows of greater or less magnitude in proportion to the size of the breaking wave, and may be traced out to sea, until they are lost in and obliterated by the incoming waves. That this is the picture presented by our text is further shown by a comparison with *Georg. 4. 418*, quoted above, where the view is of the sea thrown back by the mountain side on which it beats, and divided into “reducti sinus;” and where, there being no port, no bay, behind, covered from the sea by the mountain side, there can be no division of the sea into two arms, or “sinus reducti,” in the sense assigned to the

word by La Cerda, and after La Cerda by Lemaire; and where Wagner's re-entrant sinuses, or hollows of the mountain into which the sea enters, are inconsistent, not only with the expression "latere montis," signifying a mountain side, or wall, but with the so perfect safety of the roadstead for ships—"statio tutissima nautis"—the perfect safety of the roadstead for ships arising entirely from the water being deep up to the very side of the mountain, and so there being no danger for ships running aground, and from the mountain's side being one unbroken wall, unintersected by creeks or ravines, and so affording perfect shelter on that side from the wind, viz., under the side of the mountain as under a lofty mole. The "reducti sinus" of both pictures are precisely the same, viz., the sinuses into which the wave—thrown back, in the one case from the opposing "latus," in the other case from the opposing "latera"—splits or divides itself (SCINDIT SESE) as it returns into and blends with the main body of water. Nor are these "reducti sinus" of the two pictures the same as each other only; they are the same as all "reducti sinus"—the same as all sinuses formed by water reflected or thrown back by an obstacle, no matter of what kind—even by a mere sand-heap: Ambros. *Hexaem.* 3. 2 (ed. Monach. Benedict. 1686): "Ait enim Dominus per nubem ad Iob inter alia etiam de maris clauastro: 'Posui ei fines, apponens claustra et portas. Dixi autem ei: Usque huc venies, nec transgredieris, sed in teipso conterentur fluctus tui.' Nonne ipsi videmus mare frequenter undosum, ita ut in altum fluctus eius tanquam mons aquae praeruptus insurgat, ubi impetum suum ad littus illiserit, in spumas resolvi, repagulis quibusdam arenae humilis repperit, secundum quod scriptum est: 'Aut non timebitis me,' dicit Dominus, 'qui posui arenam fines mari.' Infirmissimo itaque omnium vilis Sabulonis pulvere vis maris intempesta cohibetur, et velut habenis quibusdam caelestis imperii praescripto sibi fine revocatur, violentique aequoris motus in sese frangitur, atque in reductos sinus suos scinditur"—where this ancient student of Virgil—more ancient than even Servius himself—using Virgil's very words, describes the sea as broken ("frangitur"), and thrown

back ("repercussum"), and divided ("scinditur") into "reductos sinus;" and, to place the sense in which he understands the Virgilian expression beyond the possibility of doubt, not merely into "reductos sinus," but "reductos sinus *suos*," *its own* "reductos sinus, reductos sinus *of itself*;" therefore, neither into two "reducti sinus," passing round the island and meeting behind so as to form a port, nor into "reducti sinus" or hollows of the seaward side of the island. These "reducti sinus," whether observed or not, whether expressly indicated by poet or painter, constitute, in point of fact, a part of every sea-shore view; are, in the nature of things, inseparable from every sea-shore. Expressly pointed out by our author in our text, as well as in the Fourth Georgic and the Eleventh Book of the Aeneis, they are alluded to in the word "remurmurat," 10. 291:

"qua vada non spirant, nec fracta remurmurat unda;
sed mare inoffensum crescenti allabitur aestu"

—in other words, where the rippling back and forward of the water on the beach is so gentle that it cannot be heard, and is scarcely to be observed, *i. e.* where the sinuses, whether advancing or ("reducti") returning, make no noise, and are hardly observable. They are contained—although not *totidem verbis*, yet substantially—in Petronius's "unda resultat scissa," and in Lucan's (6. 24)

. . . "illium scopulis revomentibus aequor,"

no less than in Lucretius's "aestum resorbet," 6. 694:

"praeterea, magna ex parti, mare montis ad eius
radices frangit fluctus, aestumque resorbet,"

where the "radices montis" are Virgil's "latera insulae;" "mare," Virgil's ALTO; "fluctus," Virgil's UNDA; "frangit," Virgil's FRANGITUR; "aestum," Virgil's SINUS; and "resorbet," Virgil's REDUCTOS. They are similarly contained in the *παλιρροθιον κυμα* of Homer, *Od.* 5. 430:

. . . παλιρροθιον δε μιν αυτις
πληξεν επεσσυμενον, τηλον δε μιν εμβαλει ποντω:

in the *παλιρροθιοισι* of Apollonius, 1. 1166:

. . . αλλο δε ποντος
κλυζε παλιρροθιοισι φεραν:

in the *διανλοῖς κυματῶν* of Euripides, *Hecuba*, 28 (ed. Porson), where the ghost of Polydorus says:

κίμαι δ' ἐπ' ἀκταῖς, ἄλλοι' ἐν πόντου σάλω,
πολλοὶς διανλοῖς κυματῶν φοροῦμενος:

in the *σχιζομενον αποκρινεται* of Procopius (*de Aedificiis*, 1. 6):
Του δε κολποι ἐπὶ θάτερα μαρτυριον οικοδομησαμενος βασιλεις
οἱ προτερον οὐ ανεθηκεν Ἀνθιμῳ μαρτυρι παρ' αὐτην μαλιστα
την τοι κολποι ηἰονα· και τα μεν κρασπεδα του ιερου πραϋο-
μενη επικλωζομενα τη της θαλασσης επιρρη το ευχαρι επιεικως
χει. ου γαρ ξιν θοριβῳ το κλυδωνιον επανεστηκος ειτα εις
τους εκεινη λιθοις αρασσειται, ουδε μεγαλα το κυμα ηχησαν,
οια γε τα θαλασσια, και σχιζομενον αποκρινεται [*reiciitur, revol-
vitur*] εις ειδος αφρωδες· αλλα προεισι μεν προσηγες, σιωπηλον
δε οὐ επιψανει της γης, αναστρεφει δε μονον **and in** the
δεχομενας το κυμα σκληρως και ανταποδιδουσας of Strabo, 3. 3:
Ἡ δε και τον Ἀριστοτελη γησιν ο Ποσειδωνιος οὐκ ορθως
αιτιασθαι την παραλιαν και την Μαυρουσιαν [*littori et Mauri-
taniae (littoribus Hispaniae et Mauritaniae)*]* των πλημμυριδων
και των αμπωτειων παλιρροειν γαρ φαναι την θαλατταν δια
το τας ακρας υψηλας τε και τραχειας ειναι, δεχομενας τε το
κυμα σκληρως και ανταποδιδουσας (τη Ιβηρια). τάναντια γαρ
θινωδεις ειναι και ταπεινας τας πλειστας, ορθως λεγων. If
they are sometimes stated [as in the epigram of Agathias
Scholasticus, *Anthol. Pal.* (ed. Dübner), 10. 14:

εὐδία μὲν πόντος πορφυρεῖται οὐ γὰρ αἰτῆς
κύματα λευκαίνει φοικὶ χρασσομένα·
οὐκεὶ δὲ σπιλαθεῖσαι περικλυσθεῖσαι θαλάσσα
ἐμπάλιν ἰστωπὸς ἄρως βαθεὺς εἰσαγέται.

[*Tranquille quidem pontus purpurissat; non enim ventus fluctus albicat
tremore sulcatos; neque iam scopulis circumfractum mare rursus ex-adverso
in profundum deducitur*]]

to be altogether absent, allowance is to be made for the *granum salis* with which all poetical statements are seasoned. In the picture before us, as well as in its counterpart, *Georg.* 4. 418, quoted above, and in the picture presented 11. 624, quoted

* This Latin explanation (including paranthesis) is from the Latin translation of Strabo, reformed by Müller and Dübner, editors of the Strabo from which the quotation is made, viz., Paris, 1853, 2 vols. oct.

above, the vertical sinuosity of the sea, *i. e.* the sinuosity of the sea's surface as contradistinguished from the sinuosity of the sea's edge is at its mean. In the picture presented 1. 109:

. . . "insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons.
hi summo in fluctu pendent, his unda dehiscens
terram inter fluctus aperit;"

and 3. 564:

"tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite et idem
subducta ad manes imos desedimus unda;"

and *Georg.* 3. 237, quoted above, the same sinuosity is at its maximum; and in the picture 10. 291:

"qua vada non spirant, nec fracta remurmurat unda
sed mare inoffensum crescenti allabitur aestu,"

at its ~~maximum~~ *minimum*

SCINDIT SESE, not equivalent to scinditur, but signifying that the action suffered by the water is the action of the water on itself, that the water splits or cleaves itself on the sides of the island by its own force, by dashing against them. In similar circumstances a Greek had used the middle voice, an Englishman his reflective ("splits itself," the exact Virgilian form), or his neuter (splits).

QUIBUS SCINDIT SESE IN. On which it lashes itself into, etc.

The words INQUE SINUS SCINDIT SESE . . . REDUCTOS, describing not anything peculiar to the island, but only a phenomenon which takes place equally wherever waves break on latera, are placed last, occupy the least important position in the verse, exactly as they are placed last in the fourth Georgic, where they are complementary of "cogitur," as here of FRANGITUR, not expressive of anything peculiar to the statio navium there described.

166—167.

HINC ATQUE HINC VASTAE RUPES GEMINIQUE MINANTUR
IN CAELUM SCOPULI

Not MINANTUR VASTAE RUPES GEMINIQUE SCOPULI, for then there had been four scopuli, two on each side, *but* (sunt) VASTAE RUPES, GEMINIQUE MINANTUR SCOPULI, there being only two scopuli,

one on each side. On each side of the water are rupes, and out of these rupes rises, on each side of the water, one scopulus. That the SCOPULI are not to be considered as distinct from the RUPES, but as rising out of and forming part of them, and at the same time overhanging the water, appears from the immediately following words: QUORUM SUB VERTICE LATE AEQUORA TUTA SILENT. Compare Lucan, 2. 619:

“hinc illinc montes scopulosae rupis aperto
opposuit natura mari,”

where “montes scopulosae rupis” presents the very picture presented by Virgil’s VASTAE RUPES GEMINIQUE MINANTUR SCOPULLI, viz., that of a high rocky cliff, broad below and pointed above, bounding on either side an inlet of the sea. Also, Homer, *Od.* 10. 87:

. . . ον περι πειρη
ηλιστατος τετεχηκε διαμπερες αμφοτερωθεν.

HINC ATQUE HINC: *εφ’ εκατερα, αμφοτερωθεν* (Hom. *Od.* 10. 88, just quoted), on each side—not of the island, but—of the port or harbour. See Lucan, *ubi supra*, “Hinc illinc,” where there is no room for ambiguity, and where only the entrance of the harbour on the mainland, not on the island, can by possibility be meant.

RUPES, not merely rocks, but high rocks; rocky heights or banks, more or less steep. Senec. *Cons. ad Marc.* 26: “Tot supprimet montes, et alibi rupes in altum novas exprimet.” *Aen.* 3. 647:

. . . “vastosque ab rupe Cyclopas
prospicio”

(where “rupe” is the rocky slope or side of Aetna). Livy, 37. 27: “A mari exesae fluctibus rupes claudunt: ita, ut quibusdam locis superpendentia saxa plus in altum quam quae in statione sunt naves promineant” (where the “saxa” spoken of are the saxa constituting the “rupes,” or rocky heights or banks).

GEMINI. I entirely agree with Pierius against Servius that GEMINI is not pares, but simply duo; Hom. *Od.* 12. 73: *Οι δε διω σχοπελοι*: *Od.* 10. 87:

. . . ον περι πειρη
ηλιστατος τετεχηκε διαμπερες αμφοτερωθεν.

The SCOPULI, however, were in fact pares; their parity being, not expressed by GEMINI, but deducible from MINANTUR IN CAELUM.

MINANTUR. Point upward, hold their heads high; Germ. *emporragen*. The word is used in its primitive, not in its secondary or moral sense. In its primitive sense minari is equivalent to eminere, with this difference, that minari makes no comparison with surrounding lower objects, while eminere always does—minari being *to stand high, hold the head high*; eminere *to stand higher, hold the head higher than others*. There being in the present picture but two SCOPULI, these SCOPULI are described not as eminentes, but simply as minantes. Compare 2. 240:

"illa subit mediaeque minans illabitur urbi,"

holding its head high—tall and towering, as we say in English. See Comm. on "Minaci," 8. 668.

If in this place, as well as in some other places in which it is used in its primary sense of towering, *emporragen*, minari has more or less of its secondary or moral sense of looking bold, awful, or, as lexicographers commonly explain the term, threatening, it has only so much of that sense as is inseparable from the notion of great and towering height. In Pope's clever lines (*Moral Essays, Epist. 3. 339*):

"where London's column, pointing to the skies,
like a tall bully lifts the head and lies,"

the two meanings of minari are separated from each other, and its own place given to each—"pointing to the skies" (he had better said 'towering to the skies') and "lifts the head" being the MINANTUR IN CAELUM of our text, taken entirely in the primary and physical sense of the words; and "like a tall bully" expressing the moral sense, hardly separable from them.

MINANTUR IN CAELUM, tower to the sky; Germ. *emporragen zum himmel*. IN CAELUM defines not merely the direction towards which but the height to which the SCOPULI tower, viz., to the very sky; *Georg. 1. 171*:

. . . "pedes temo protentus in octo."

Mart. 1. 28:

. . . "in lucem semper Acerra bibit."

Mart. 7. 10. 5:

"in lucem coenat Sertorius;"

And especially Livy, 37. 27, quoted above: "A mari exesae fluctibus rupes claudunt, ita ut quibusdam locis superpendentia saxa plus in altum quam quae in statione sunt naves promineant (where "in altum" stands in the precise relation to "promineant" in which IN CAELUM in our text stands to MINANTUR). IN CAELUM, thus added to MINANTUR, supplies the place of an adjective; and, if Virgil had been writing Greek prose, might have been represented by *οιρανομηκεις*—the word used not only by Homer (*Od.* 5. 239, *ελατη τ' ην ουρανομηκης*), but by Philostratus (*Imag.* 1. 9, *ορη ουρανομηκη*), and by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10. 4), to express the same idea. Compare, also, Homer, *Od.* 12. 73:

οι δε δυω σκοπελοι, ο μεν ουρανον εγρυν ικανει
οξειη χορομη.

168 (a).

AEQUORA TUTA SILENT

"Tempestate defensa ideo silent," Servius.

. . . "woran weit unter der scheitel
ruht die gesicherte see."

Voss.

"Tuta als particip passiv, *gesichert*," Thiel. As if it concerned Virgil, or Virgil's readers, or Virgil's weary shipwrecked voyagers, whether the waters were in safety or not! No, no; Virgil, and Virgil's readers, and Virgil's weary shipwrecked voyagers are thinking, not whether the waters themselves are in safety, but whether the waters are safe for ships, safe to be entered, afford a safe refuge: are safe (*a*), in the sense in which they are safe. 5. 171:

. . . "metis tenet aequora tuta relictis,"

and Lucan, 9. 1006:

"sed prius orta dies nocturnam lampada textit,
quam tutas intraret aquas;"

(b), in the sense in which the sea is safe, Ovid, *Trist.* 5. 5. 17:

"quaeque gravi nuper plus quam quassata procella est,
quod superest, tutum per mare navis eat;"

Nep. Themist. 2: "Maritimos praedones consecrando, mare tutum reddidit;" (c), in the sense in which the seas are safer, Livy, 37. 25: "Apparebat, si ea cura Rhodiis dempta esset, vacuos eos tuta eius regionis maria praestatueros;" (d), in the sense in which the way of the sea is safe, Ovid, *Met.* 11. 747:

"tum via tuta maris" ;

and (e), in the sense in which the port of Delos is safe, 3. 78:

"huc feror, haec fessos tuto placidissima portu
accipit."

Let these examples (in the absence of contrary) suffice to show that TUTA in our text is to be understood, not with the just-cited commentators in the passive sense, or as equivalent to *in safety*, still less with Forbiger ("A ventorum vi defensa, ut naves in iis tutae sint"), and Conington ("TUTA seems to include the two notions—protected from the wind and safe for ships") in the passive and the active sense at once, or as equivalent to *safe themselves and safe for ships* (!), but in the active sense of *safe for ships*.

SILENT. Not with the commentators the *consequence* of TUTA (see above), but the *cause*. The waters are not silent (*i. e.* quiet) because safe (themselves), but safe (to ships) because silent (*i. e.* quiet), or SILENT is a climax of TUTA: the waters are not merely safe (to ships), but so safe (to ships) as to be even silent, *i. e.* so quiet as to make no noise. It is of small consequence in which of these two possible ways the connexion between TUTA and SILENT is viewed. Perhaps the latter is the more obvious. The expression then becomes equivalent to *safe* (to ships) *and silent waters*.

168 (*b*).

S C E N A

A scene, a landscape. "Tum scena, deinde scena, aperit se silvarum corusantium desuper, et nemorum imminentium aquae." The picture is of high and wooded banks surrounding the port, farther in from the sea than the *RUPES* and the *SCOPULI*. The *RUPES* and *SCOPULI* are on your right and left as you go in (the island being left at your back); the "*silvae coruscae*" and "*nemora imminetia*" are on each side of you and before you after you have passed in between the *RUPES*. The effect on the eye, of these steep and wooded banks all round the port, except on the side towards the sea, suggests to the poet the idea of that part of a theatre commonly called *scena*, and he gives the view he is describing this name. It is a *SCENA* (*a*), because it shuts in and circumscribes your prospect: (*b*), because it surrounds and is raised high above the flat water, corresponding to the stage on which the actors tread; and (*c*), because the entrance to it is between *rupes* corresponding to the walls of that part of the theatre which contains the spectators; but, above all, it is a *SCENA* because (*d*) it consists entirely of rocky banks *thickly wooded*; *Placidi Glossae* (ap. *Maium*): "*Scena est camera hinc inde composita, quae inumbrat locum in theatro, in quo ludi actitantur. Item scena dicitur arborum in se incumbentium quasi concamerata densatio, ut subterpositos tegere possit. Item scena vocatur compositio alicuius carminis, quod dignum sit agi in theatro exclamationibus tragicis.*" *Cassiod. Var. 4. 51*: "*Frons autem theatri scena dicitur, ab umbra luci densissima, ubi a pastorebus inchoante verno diversis sonis carmina cantabantur.*" Compare *Claudian, Idyll, 6. 45* (of the hot springs of *Aponus*):

"viva coronatos astringit scena vapores"

(where, however, the allusion to the theatrical *scena* is very much stronger indeed than in our text, the word *viva* emphati-

cally contrasting the living, *i. e.* natural *scena*, which surrounded and confined the steaming vapours of the spring, with the painted or architectural *scena* of the theatre). Compare, also, Ausonius, *Mosell.* 169:

“nec solos hominum delectat scena locorum,”

where the reference in the word “*scena*” to the *scena* of the theatre is little if at all stronger than it is in the Italian *scena* (Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 15. 43:

“sovra ha di negre selve opaca scena”),

or in our own English *scene*; also, Symmachus, *Laud. Valent.* 11. 7: “succedit *scena* murorum.”

168-169.

TUM SILVIS SCENA CORUSCIS

DESUPER HORRENTIQUE ATRUM NEMUS IMMINET UMBRA

VAR. LECT.

DESUPER; HORRENTIQUE III D. Heins.

DESUPER, HORRENTIQUE III N. Heins. (1670); Brunck; Wakef.

DESUPER HORRENTIQUE III Heyne; Jahn; Wagn. (Heyn., ed. 1861); Thiel; Forb.; Ladew.; Ribb.

The more modern editors, not interpunctuating at all between TUM and UMBRA, connect DESUPER with IMMINET, as if Virgil had said: SCENA SILVIS CORUSCIS ATRUMQUE NEMUS HORRENTI UMBRA IMMINE[N]T DESUPER. This is incorrect; first, because DESUPER, added to IMMINET, is wholly useless—conveys no idea which is not contained in the simple IMMINET. Secondly, because a word which is thus altogether redundant would never have been placed in the prominent, emphatic position—the most prominent and emphatic position of the whole verse. See Comm.

on 2. 246. The words form not one, but two distinct sentences, the first terminating with *DESUPER*, immediately before which "se ostendit," or some such phrase or word suggested by *IMMINET*, is to be understood. The passage is thus constructed in Virgil's usual manner, the second clause being a varied repetition (in music we would say a *variation*) of the first—*NEMUS* repeating *SILVIS*, *ATRUM HORRENTI UMBRA* repeating *CORUSCIS*, and *IMMINET* repeating ("ostendit se") *DESUPER*. The old punctuation should therefore be returned to, and either (with Daniel Heinsius) a semicolon, or—better still, in order not too widely to separate two so intimately united sentences—(with Nicholas Heinsius) a comma, placed at *DESUPER*. Compare verse 419:

. . . "qui plurimus urbi
imminet, adversasque aspectat desuper arces"

(where the two words "imminet" and "desuper" occur again in one line, yet without any direct connexion with each other); and, for an example of *desuper* placed in the same emphatic position, and connected in sense with what goes before, not with what follows, see 8. 704:

"Actius hæc cernens arcum intendeabat Apollo
desuper; omnis eo terrore," etc.

The thought expressed in our text and in verse 419 by *imminet* is expressed in a picture, too, very similar to that of our text, by *premit*, Sen. *Here. Fur.* 3. 661:

"Spartana tellus nobile attollit iugum
densis ubi æquor Taenarus silvis premit."

CORUSCIS. "Tremula luce per intervalla micantibus, dum vento moventur," Heyne, Wagner (1861). "Blinzelnde, bei ihrer bewegung lichtstrahlen durchlassende," Thiel. An error into which these commentators, in common with the lexicographers, have been led by Servius's gloss (ad *Aen.* 2. 173), "*Coruscum* alias fulgens, alias tremulum est." *Coruscus* is never fulgens; always has the one invariable meaning, whether applied to light or to whatever other object, viz., that of rapid

alternate appearance and disappearance. Compare *Aen.* 2. 470:

. . . "in telis et luce coruscus aëna;"

Aen. 12. 88, "telum coruscat"; Ovid, *Met.* 4. 493, "linguas coruscant"; Cic. *de Orat.* 3. 157. [39], "flamma inter nubes coruscat." In all which instances, as well as in every other instance with which I am acquainted, of the use of this word, the reference is neither to brightness, nor the emission of light, but invariably to movement, to the rapid alternate appearance and disappearance of an object; and that, indifferently, whether the object be light or any other object. And such is the idea intended to be presented to us by CORUSCIS in our text—that of the alternate appearance and disappearance of the leaves and boughs of the trees from the view of the spectator, according as the sunlight does or does not fall upon them, as they move in the wind. The English word is *twinkling*, *flashing* (Ovid's "mobilibus," *Amor.* 3. 5. 35:

"quem tu mobilibus foliis vitare volebas,
sed male vitabas, aestus amoris erat")

and Homer's αἰολος (κορυθαἰολος *Εκτωρ*).

HORRENTIQUE ATRUM NEMUS UMBRA. Stat. *Silv.* 1. 3. 17 (of the Tiburtine villa of Vopiscus):

. . . "nemora alta citatis
incubuerè vadis; fallax responsat imago
frondibus, et longas eadem fugit unda per umbras."

FRONTE SUB ADVERSA. "Frons; praerupta et ardua pars petrae [*felswand*], quam etiam nostri poetae appellant 'des berges felsenstirn,'" Forbiger. Correct as a description of the locality, but incorrect as a definition of *frons*, which is, generally, the front or forehead of anything—that part which presents itself first; and, specially and technically, the front or forehead of land looking towards water, fronting water, or other land lower than itself, without any reference whatever to the material, whether rock, or earth, or sand, of which that front consists—the μετωπον and the οφρυς of the Greeks (*Apollon. Rhod.* 1. 177:

. . . ἣν ποτὶ Πέλλης
πατροπαισὶν ἐπολίσσεν ἐπ' ὀφρυσὶν Αἰγυλίου),

and the *bluff* of the Americans. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 4. 525:

"imminet aequoribus scopulus: pars ima cavatur
fluctibus, et tectas defendit ab imbribus undas:
summa riget, frontemque in apertum porrigit aequor;"

also Mela, 1. 2: "Ipsa [Asia], ingenti ac perpetua *fronte* versa ad orientem . . . Post se ingenti *fronte* ad Hellesponticum fretum extendit;" and again (3. 1, speaking of the coast of Portugal): "Frons illa aliquamdiu rectam ripam habet; dein modico flexu accepto, mox paullulum eminet; tum reducta iterum, iterumque recto margine iacens, ad promontorium quod Celticum vocamus extenditur." And so in our text, *FRONTE*, *the front or forehead of the land*; *ADVERSA*, *opposite to those entering the harbour*—the rockiness of the front or forehead being, not expressed by the term *frons*, but deducible from the context.

Curious, and little to be expected, that Prudentius, to describe the position of the *πημα* in the ancient Christian temple (viz., at the foot of the wall opposite you as you enter), should use the identical expression by which Virgil has so vividly placed before his readers the position of the grotto of the nymphs, in the Libyan port, viz., under the bluff on the opposite side of the port, facing the entrance. *Peristeph.* 11. 225:

"fronte sub adversa gradibus sublime tribunal
tollitur, antistes praedicat unde deum."

179 (*b*).

FRONTE SUB ADVERSA SCOPULIS PENDENTIBUS ANTRUM

The rocks here spoken of are the rocks above the cave, the rocks constituting the roof of the cave. Compare Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* 299 [ed. Schütz] (Prometheus to Oceanus):

. . . πως ετολμησας, λιπων
επωνυμιον τε ρευμα και πετρηρεψη
αυτοχαιτ' αντρα, την σιδηρομητορα
ελθειν ες αυαν;

Eurip. *Ion.* 1400:

Κεχροπος ες αντρα και Μακρας πετρηρεφεις

[petra concameratas Macras]. Avien. *Orb. Ter.* 715:

. . . "ubi concava vasto
cedit in antra sinu rupes, ubi saxa dehiscunt
molibus exesis, et curvo fornice pendent."

These rocks are said to hang in the same sense (*a*), in which the sky is said to hang, by Ovid, *Met.* 7. 580:

"membraque pendentis tendunt ad sidera caeli;"

(*b*), in which a roof is said to hang, by Martial (2. 14. 9):

"inde petit centum pendentia tecta columnis,"

and a bridge, by Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* 5. 70 [ed. Sirmond, 1652] of the defence of Rome by Cocles):

. . . "presserunt millia solum
multa virum *pendente via*"

[on the bridge]; (*c*), in which the waters of an aqueduct are said to hang, by Statius, *Silv.* 1. 5. 28 (of the Marcian water):

. . . "innumero pendens transmittitur arcu,"

and by Rutil. 1. 97 (of the waters of the Roman aqueducts generally):

“quid loquar aërio pendentes fornice rivos,
qua vix imbriferas tolleret Iris aquas?”

(*d*), in which the ground itself is said, both by Pliny and Manilius, *pendere*, when there are caverns or cavities underneath; *Nat. Hist.* 2. 82: “Multoque sunt tutiora in iisdem illis quae pendent: sicut Neapoli in Italia intelligitur, parte eius, quae solida est, ad tales casus obnoxia.” *Astron.* 4. 880:

“extremumque sequi pontum, terraeque subire
pendentis tractus;”

(*e*), in the same sense in which the gardens of Nebuchadnezzar, in Babylon, being built upon arches, were called *κρεμαστοὶ κήποι* (Diod. Sic. 2. 10); **and** (*f*), in which anything elevated above the ground, and between which and the ground there was an intervening unoccupied space, was called, equally by Greeks and Romans, *pendent*, *suspended*, or *pensile* (Procopius, *de Aedif.* 5. 6: *Ταυτὴ τε ὁ ναὸς πῇ μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρᾳ στήριχας ἰδρύεται, πῇ δὲ ῥωγῇται, i. e.* part of the temple rested on the firm rock, and part *pendebat*—the part which *pendebat* being, as appears from the context, a part which was built on arches raised to the same level as the top of the rock which served as foundation to the remainder of the temple). Compare Sil. Ital. 13. 326:

“Pan Iove missus erat, servari tecta volente
Troia, pendenti similis Pan semper, et imo
vix ulla inscribens terrae vestigia cornu.
.
nulla in praeruptum tam prona et inhospita cautes,
in qua non, librans corpus, similisque volanti,
cornipedem tulerit praecisa per avia plantam.”

Manil. 5. 296:

“pendentemque suo volucrem deprendere caelo.”

Alcim Avit. *Poem.* 1. 32:

“elatae in caelum volucres, motuque citato
pendentes secuere vias, et in aëre sudo
praepetibus librant membrorum pondera pennis.”

Ovid, *Met.* 12. 564 (of a bird shot by Hercules):

“tendit in hunc nimium certos Tirynthius arcus;
atque inter nubes sublimia membra ferentem,
pendentemque ferit, lateri qua iungitur ala.”

Stat. *Silv.* 2. 7. 1:

“Lucani proprium diem frequentet
quisquis collibus Isthmiae Diones
docto pectora concitatus oestro
pendentis bibit ungulae liquorem”

[the hanging hoof, viz., of Pegasus, the horse which hangs in the air, the flying horse].

Nor is it the ancient Greeks and Romans only whom we find thus regarding even the firm and solid ground or rock itself as pendent or pensile when it was hollowed out underneath. The Italians of the present day retain the same view and even express it by the same terms; Berini, *Indagine sullo Stato del Timavo*, §. 7 (Udine, 1826): “E che altro è tutto il Carso se non che una regione, che per i tanti anfratti, grotte, e caverne che vi sono al di sotto, puossi considerare come pensile?”

That the above interpretation is correct, and that PENDENTIBUS SCOPULIS is not spoken of the face of the cliff, *i. e.* of the hanging, overhanging, or threatening appearance presented by the face of the cliff or bluff in which the cave was (“Caverna est in scopulis suspensus,” Ruæus. “In scopulis pendentibus antrum,” Thiel), is further shown by the application of the identical term by (*a*), Ennius to caves not in a “frons adversa” (opposite face, bluff, or brow) at all, but entirely underground, and where by no possibility could the “saxis pendentibus” be anything else than the roof or ceiling of the caves:

“adsum atque advenio Acheronte vix, via alta atque ardua
per speluncas saxeis structas aspereis pendentibus
maxumeis, ubi rigida constat caligo inferum,”

and (*b*), Lucretius, 6. 189, to similar apparent caverns in the clouds, as seen from the earth:

“contemplator enim, quom montibus assimilata,
nubila portabunt ventei transversa per auras.
aut ubi per magnos monteis cumulata videbis
insuper esse aliis alia, atque urgueri superna

in statione locata. sepultis undique ventis:
tum poteris magnas moleis cognoscere eorum,
speluncasque velut, saxis pendentibu' structas,
cernere."

Compare (c), Stat. *Silv.* 2. 2. 13 (ed. Markland):

. . . "placido lunata recessu
hinc atque hinc curvas perrumpunt aequora rupes:
dat Natura locum; montique intervenit udum [inum]
littus, et in terras, scopulis pendentibus, exit.
gratia prima loci, gemina testudine fumant
balnea, et e terris occurrit dulcis amaro
nympha [lympa?] mari. levis hic Phorci chorus, udaeque crines
Cymodoce, viridisque cupit Galatea lavari"

(where "scopulis pendentibus" is not only used precisely in the sense in which it is used in our text, viz. in that of *rocks roofing over*, but is necessarily to be understood as in the case absolute of grammarians—an argument, if argument be wanted, to prove that the SCOPULIS PENDENTIBUS of our text is in the same case absolute, and not governed by the preposition *in* understood); **and** (d), *Epiced. Drusi Caesaris*, 251:

"paret [Tiberinus], et in longum spatiosas explicat undas,
structaque pendenti pumice tecta subit."

In the four last adduced parallels, the uniform rocky nature of the roof overhead is no less graphically indicated by the expressions "scopulis [*or* saxis] pendentibus" and "pendenti pumice," once rightly understood, than the composite nature of the roof of the Cadmean serpent's specus, by the expression "lapidum compagibus arcum," Ovid, *Met.* 3. 29:

"est specus in medio, virgis ac vimine densus,
efficiens humilem lapidum compagibus arcum,
uberibus foecundus aquis."

Nor let any one object to the above interpretation the strangeness—to us moderns, at least—of the expression SCOPULIS PENDENTIBUS, not at all in the sense of rocks hanging from the face of a cliff, or rocks presenting a threatening aspect as if they were ready to fall, but in the sense of rocks not reaching to the ground, rocks unsupported immediately underneath, and

having such space as is commonly called a cave between them and the ground, so long as we have in Seneca (*Epist.* 41) the so much stranger expression, *mountain suspended by cave below it* ("Si quis specus saxis penitus exesis montem suspenderit, non manu factus sed naturalibus causis in tantam laxitatem excavatus, animum tuum quadam religionis suspicione percutiet") and (*Nat. Quaest.* 6. 19) the still stranger one, *cave hanging below ground* ("speluncarum sub terra pendentium vastitas habet aera suum"). A perfect pendant for the NYMPHARUM DOMUS of Virgil is afforded by the grotto in which Actaeon was so unfortunate as to surprise Diana at the very moment that certainly rather passionate goddess ("aliis violentior aequo visa dea est") was taking her *douche*, Ovid, *Met.* 3. 155:

"vallis erat piceis et acuta densa cupresso;
nomine Gargaphie, succinctae sacra Dianae;
cuius in extremo est antrum nemorale recessu,
arte laboratum nulla; simulaverat artem
ingenio Natura suo, nam pumice vivo
et levibus tophis nativum duxerat arcum.
fons sonat a dextra, tenui perlucidus unda,
margine gramineo patulos incinctus hiatns.
hic dea sylvarum," &c.

Both alike are antra; both alike far retired—the one at the head of a wooded sea bight, the other at the head of a wooded valley; both alike are the work of nature; both alike are arched overhead, the one with scopuli, the other with pumice stone and tufa; both alike enclose a spring or source of fresh water; both alike are frequented by nymphs; both alike are alighted on by chance, the one by Aeneas and his companions, the other by Actaeon. It is only according to the respective genius of the two poets that Ovid's account is minute, diffuse, and perspicuous—as clear and transparent as the water of his spring; Virgil's vague, compressed, and obscure—that while Ovid informs us with what particular kinds of trees the valley was thick, Virgil is concerned solely about the depth of shadow which impending trees cast on the bight;—that while Ovid informs us that inside the cave on the right was a spring from which a slender stream of perfectly clear water gushed noisily

through a wide eye surrounded by a grassy margin, Virgil leaves it to us to guess as best we can in what part of the cave, and of what form and size—whether a well, or a trickling spring, or a noisy gushing stream—his AQUAE DULCES were;—and that while Ovid arches his grotto with pumice stone and tufa, Virgil sets his readers—the modern ones of them, at least—at loggerheads, *whether* his “scopuli pendentēs” overarch his grotto, keeping it cool, and protecting it alike from sun, rain, and wind, *or*, projecting from the face of the cliff, and hanging over the entrance, threaten every one with destruction who presumes to enter, or, once in, dares to venture out.

171.

INTUS AQUAE DULCES VIVOQUE SEDILIA SAXO

According to nature—the sea-shore being the lowest edge of the land—any water rising farther in landwards trickles through the soil towards the sea. Comp. Caes. *B. Alex.* 8: “Caesar suorum timorem consolatione et ratione minuebat. Nam, puteis fossis, aquam dulcem posse reperiri affirmabat: omnia enim littora naturaliter aquae dulcis venas habere.” A very famous example of this kind was the fountain of Arethusa, on the coast of Sicily (3. 696, where see Comm.). I drank, a few days ago, April 18, 1863, out of the precisely similar ancient Irish spring of Tobernea, on the sea-shore at Seapoint, near Blackrock, county of Dublin, Ireland.

VIVOQUE SEDILIA SAXO. Compare Calpurn. *Ecl.* 6. 70:

“venimus, et tacito sonitum tutabimur antro,
seu residere libet, dabit ecce sedilia tophus.”

VIVO. “Naturali,” Servius. “Die noch fest am boden hängt, ungetrennt ist,” Thiel. “Sedilia nata, non arte facta,” Wagner (1861). This is not to explain the word vivo as applied to SAXO, but to draw an inference from it. Why should VIVUS

applied to *saxum* have a different meaning from *vivus* applied to *ferrum*, or to *sulfur*, or to *cespes*, or to *aqua*, or to *ros*, or to *lacus*? In all these applications *vivum* means the same thing, viz., *having within it the principle of life*. No matter how it happens that the principle of life is in so many cases attributed to objects to which it is more or less in present opinion incorrect to attribute it, it is in this sense alone (viz., in the sense of containing a living principle) the word *vivus* is used in all the cases just mentioned, and in this sense alone it is used in our text: *seats of living stone, or of the living stone*—stone being denominated *living* either because verily believed to live and grow, or because, lasting unchanged, and (if I may so say) flourishing for a great length of time, it was figuratively said to *live*. Stone *in situ*, unquarried stone, being *par excellence* “*vivum saxum*” in this sense, is of course the sort of stone meant in our text; but the reader, if he would understand our author aright, must distinguish carefully between the actual statement that the stone was living and the inference from that statement that the stone was *in situ*. How necessary it is to make this distinction will appear from a comparison of the “*pietra viva*” of Petrarch, *Vita di Laura*, canzone 17 [30]:

“i’ l’ ho più volte (or chi fia che mel creda?)
 nell’ acqua chiara e sopra l’ erba verde
 veduta viva, e nel troncon d’ un faggio;
 e ’n bianca nube si fatta, che Leda
 avria ben detto che sua figlia perde,
 come stella che ’l sol copre col raggio:
 e quanto in più selvaggio
 loco mi trovo e ’n più deserto lido,
 tanto più bella il mio pensier l’ adombra;
 poi quando ’l vero sgombra
 quel dolce error, pur li medesimo assido
 me freddo, pietra morta in pietra viva,
 in guisa d’ uom che pensi e pianga e scriva.”

In this passage the stone on which Petrarch sits down is, no doubt, stone *in situ*; but it is not as stone *in situ*, but as *living* stone, it is presented to the reader. If it had been presented as stone *in situ*, we had had, instead of Petrarch sitting lifeless on living stone, Petrarch sitting lifeless on stone *in situ*; and the

contrast of the dead and the living—the whole *vis imaginis*—had been wanting. And so in our text, if we understand *VIVO SAXO* to be in any other way than the way of inference the natural rock, the rock *in situ*, we have, indeed, the picture of seats of unquarried, unmanufactured rock; but we have not (the main thing intended by the poet) the idea raised in our mind of the *living* stone, of the stone possessing the property of life, or whatever other property it was on account of which stone *in situ* was called living; and the *NYMPHARUM DOMUS* becomes dull, dead, commonplace, and matter-of-fact: to borrow our author's own phrase, we have no longer the living picture of the *NYMPHARUM DOMUS*; the *NYMPHARUM DOMUS* is no longer presented to us in living colours. Compare (a) *Evang. Div. Johan. 4. 10.* *Ἀπεκριθὴ Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· εἰ ἠδεις τὴν δωρεάν τοι θεοῦ, καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ λεγὼν σοὶ· δός μοι πικρὴν σὺ ἀν' ἡτήσας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἂν σοὶ ὕδωρ ζῶν. λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ· κυριε, οὐτε ἀντλήμα ἔχεις, καὶ τὸ φρεὰρ ἐστὶ βαθεῖον ποθεν οὖν ἔχεις τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ζῶν;* where the figurative *ὕδωρ τὸ ζῶν* is neither spring water nor running water, but water having the principle of life in it, *water par excellence*. (b), Colenso on *Deuteron.*: "This book also it is, in point of fact, which forms, so to speak, the most *living portion*, the very sum and substance of the whole Pentateuch;" and, *ibid.*, "Are they [certain passages in the Book of Deuteronomy] not rather true because they are true in themselves—by whomsoever written or spoken—eternally and unchangeably true: and as such come home at once, with *living power and authority*, to the hearts and consciences of living men?" (in both which passages "living" (as the *vivo* of our text, and the Evangelist's *ζῶν*) expresses the highest degree of praise of the object—that it is the object unimpaired, uncontaminate; the object with all its properties, the object in a state of perfection—from which statement the inference, in the case of our text (not in the parallel cases just quoted) is, that the object is *in situ*). So also (c), Milton, *Par. Lost*, 2. 1047:

. . . "th' empyreal heaven, extended wide
in circuit, undetermined, square or round,
with opal towers and battlements adorned
of *living* sapphire;"

(*d*), *Par. Lost*, 4. 604:

. . . "now glowed the firmament
with *living* sapphires; Hesperus that led
the starry host rode brightest;"

(*e*), *Par. Lost*, 5. 650:

. . . "th' angelic throng
dispersed in bands and files their camp extend
by *living* streams among the trees of life"

(where "living sapphire" and "living sapphires" are stars; and "living streams" and "trees of life" are streams and trees so bright, beautiful, and flourishing—so perfect, so free from all defect and decay—as to convey the notion of animation). How entirely *vivo* in our text is *living*, and therefore only by inference *in situ*, appears further (*f*) from Ovid, *Met.* 14. 712:

"durior et ferro quod Noricus excoquit ignis,
et saxo, quod adhuc viva radice tenetur"

(where "viva" is not *in situ*—must be something else, if it were only because the notion *in situ* is fully expressed by "radice tenetur;" and where it is not only something else than *in situ*, but that something else which it is is living in the manner of a root, *i. e.* possessing that principle of vitality which is possessed by a root). **And** add to all which (*g*), that in Italy at the present day any stone, no matter whether it is *in situ* or not, is denominated "vivo," provided only it possesses the qualities popularly attributed to pure and perfect stone—in other words, provided it is hard, durable, fine-grained, and free from admixture of earth, sand, or other extraneous substance [Bemb. Asol. 1. 10: "La quale [via] assai spaziosa e lunga e tutta di viva selce soprastrata si chiudeva dalla parte di verso il giardino." Benv. Cellini, 1. 296: "In questo fango era investito un sasso di pietra viva con molti cauti acuti"]; while, on the other hand, any stone not possessing these properties—any stone which is coarse-grained, or soft and friable, or contains an admixture of earthy or other extraneous particles—is denominated "morta" (Benv. Cellini, *Oref.* 133: "Preparisi di poi una pietra morta, di grossezza d'un mezzo braccio").

These VIVO SEDILIA SAXO are not the mere offspring of our author's imagination. We have the nymphs actually seated on such seats, Ovid, *Met.* 5. 316:

. . . "electae iurant per flumina nymphae,
factaque de vivo pressere sedilia saxo."

Nympharum domus. The meaning is **not** the actual home or house of nymphs; the house in which nymphs actually dwelt, or to which nymphs resorted—had such been the meaning, our author had surely not put his readers off with the indefinite general term "nymphs," but had here, as *Georg.* 4. 334, taken pleasure in gratifying his own imagination and that of his readers with some specification of the nature, quality, or habits of beings little less poetical and fantastic than our own fairies—**but** the meaning is: a dwelling fit for nymphs, a perfect *nymphæum*. Besides, an actual nymph-house had been the last place in the world to be intruded on by the polite, gentle, cavaleresque Aeneas. Compare Theocr. *Idyll.* 7. 137:

. . . το δ' ἐγγυθεν ιερον υδωρ
νυμφῶν ἐξ αντροιο κατειβομενον κελαρυσθεν.

Epigr. Crinagorae, *Anthol. Pal.* 6. 253:

σπηλυγγες νυμφων ευπιδακες, αι τοσον υδωρ
ειρουσαι σχολιον τουδε κατα πρενος.

So, 2. 241:

. . . "divum domus, Ilium,"

Ausonius, *Ordo Nob. Urb.* 1. 1:

"prima urbes inter, divum domus, aurea Roma"

[*not* the actual dwelling of the gods, which was Olympus, *but* a place where gods might dwell; palace worthy of the gods]. Compare Rem. on "Munera laetitiamque dei."

Springs have been sacred in all times and countries, and under all systems of religion. Even in Christian countries at the present day chapels are built *bende* or *over* springs. On a foot tour among the Julian Alps, in 1865, I observed spring water issuing out through pipes immediately under the sills of roadside chapels ("capitelli") and oratories, the water not being

turned to any use, but allowed to run down the road or path. In the Austrian Küstenland, about a mile above Caporetto (Karfreith), immediately on the left-hand side of the road leading northward to Flitsch, an archway has been hollowed out in the dolomitic rock. This archway leads into a circular chamber, also hollowed out in the rock, at the distance of four or five paces inwards from the road. In the centre of the floor of the chamber is a small basin or hollow full of the clearest spring water, bubbling up from beneath. The overflow of the basin forms a stream which is conducted to the road along a channel cut in the floor of the chamber and archway. The chamber is surrounded, except on the side towards the archway, by a seat formed out of the rock *in situ*. Over the archway, where it opens to the road, is a niche in the side of the rock, on the ground or back of which is a fresco painting of St. Francis—

“fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum,
intus aquae dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo,
Sancti Francisci domus.”

Compare Stat. *Achill.* 1. 389 (Thetis apostrophizing the island of Scyros):

“at ventis et sacra fretis, interque vadas
Cycladas, Aegeae frangunt ubi saxa procellae,
Nereidum tranquilla domus, iurandaque nautis
insula, ne solum Danaas admitte carenas,
te precor.”

176.

OPTATA

Very much stronger than our *wished-for*, and equivalent to our *prayed-for*. Compare *Aen.* 9. 6:

“Turne, quod optanti divum promittere nemo
auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro.”

Juv. 10. 346 :

“nil ergo optabunt homines? si consilium vis,
permittes ipsis expendere numinibus, quid
conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nostris.”

Juv. 10. 289 :

“formam optat modico pueris, maiore puellis
murmure, quum Veneris fanum videt anxia mater,
usque ad delicias votorum.”

Senec. *Ep.* 95: “Saepe aliud volumus, aliud optamus, et verum
ne diis quidem dicimus: sed dii aut non exaudiunt, aut mise-
rentur.” Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 1299 (Hercules speaking):

. . . “hic aliquid dies
optare iussit: primus audierit preces,
idemque summus: unicum fulmen peto;”

and so Nonius: “optare est precibus aliquid a diis postulare.”
Virg. *Aen.* 7. 273:

“et reor, et si quid veri mens augurat opto.”

Accordingly, Cic. *in Cat.* 2 (ed. Lamb., p. 323): “Nunquam ego
a diis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, . . . ut . . . audiat,” &c.

178—180.

AC PRIMUM—FLAMMAM

The sentence does not consist of four co-ordinate clauses, SCINTILLAM EXCUDIT, SUSCEPIT IGNEM, CIRCUM NUTRIMENTA DEDIT, RAPUIT FLAMMAM, equally connected together by the conjunctions QUE, ATQUE, QUE; but—as shown by the ATQUE placed between QUE and QUE—of two principal clauses connected together by ATQUE, each principal clause being composed of two sub-clauses intimately connected together by a QUE. The first two clauses

have for their subject the treatment of the spark, as spark: it is struck out of the flint, and caught in leaves. The second two sub-clauses have for their subject the further treatment of the already-obtained spark, so as by means of it to obtain flame: the spark (in the leaves) is spread round with other dry and easily inflammable fuel, and this other fuel rapidly takes fire. IGNUM is the repetition of SCINTILLAM, and FOMITE is the repetition of NUTRIMENTA. RAPUIT expresses only the *rapidity* with which the “fomes” (ARIDA NUTRIMENTA) took fire; it is as if Virgil had said, “fomes rapuit flammam.” Wagner’s gloss, “Celeri vibratione effecit ut fomes . . . ardere inciperet,” is gratuitous; our author being wholly silent as to any particular manoeuvre used by Anchises, and informing us only that he RAPUIT FLAMMAM, *got a rapid blaze, rapidly got a blaze*. Why not with his breath?—as Baucis, Ovid, *Met.* 8. 641:

“inde foco tepidum cinerem dimovit; et ignes
suscitat hesternos; foliisque et cortice sicco
nutrit; et ad flammam anima producit anili.”

NUTRIMENTA, pabulum, alimentum (Ammian. 23. 4, below), consisting most probably of grass, or (Ovid, *Met.* 8. 641, just quoted) bark of trees.

SUSCEPITQUE IGNUM FOLIIS ATQUE ARIDA CIRCUM NUTRIMENTA DEDIT. Compare Ammian. 23. 4 (of the malleolus): “In alveo ipso ignem cum aliquo suscipit alimento.”

181-183.

CEREALIAQUE ARMA
EXPEDIUNT FESSI RERUM FRUGESQUE RECEPTAS
ET TORRERE PARANT FLAMMIS ET FRANGERE SAXO

CEREALIA ARMA. Pestle and mortar for pounding the corn into meal. See Rem. on “frangere saxo,” below. In like

manner, Auson. *Mosel.* 359, "cerealìa saxa" are grinding-stones of flour mills:

"te [Mosellam] rapidus Gelbis, te marmore clarus Erubrus,
festinant famulis quam primum adlambere lymphis.
nobilibus Gelbis celebratus piscibus; ille
praecipiti torquens cerealìa saxa rotatu,
stridentesque trahens per levia marmora serras,
audit perpetuos ripa ex utraque tumultus."

FESSI RERUM. Tired of things, *i. e.* tired of their circumstances; or, as we say, tired of their lives. The opposite of "fessus rerum" is "laetus rerum"—glad of things, *i. e.* enjoying life: Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 1. 359:

"mens erit apta capi tunc, cum laetissima rerum;
ut seges in pingui luxuriabit humo."

Compare "laetissimus umbrae," 1. 445, where see Comm. Res, instead of being governed by fessus, is made to agree with it, with the same resulting sense, at 3. 145, and 11. 335. See Rem. on "rerum," 1. 466.

ET TORRERE PARANT FLAMMIS ET FRANGERE SAXO. "Multi *hysteron proteron* putant, non respicientes superiora; quia dixit undis cererem esse corruptam, quam necesse fuerat ante siccari," Servius. "CEREREM UNDIS CORRUPTAM intelligit frumenta aquis madefacta . . . ideo sequitur PARANT TORRERE FLAMMIS ET SAXO FRANGERE, quia videlicet oportuit prius frumenta exsiccata esse, ut sic frangerentur," La Cerda. Servius is perfectly right, that there is no *hysteron proteron*: the Aeneadae roast their corn first, and then reduce it into meal. Compare *Georg.* 1. 267:

"nunc torrete igni fruges: nunc frangite saxo,"

where the roasting is, as in our text, first; and where, there being no cooking, there is neither occasion for nor possibility of a *hysteron proteron*, but the reason assigned by Servius why the Aeneadae so roast their corn before they reduce it to meal—viz., because it has been wet by the sea, CORRUPTAM UNDIS—is altogether false. They roast their corn before they reduce it to

meal, because it was usual to do so (see *Georg. 1. 267*, just quoted; *Georg. 1. 298*:

“et medio tostas aestu terit area fruges;”

Plin. *Nat. Hist. 18. 14*: “Italia sine perfusione tostum [hordeum] in subtilem farinam molit”); and it was usual to do so, plainly because roast corn is less tough, more friable, more easily reduced into meal, than raw. So far were the Aeneadae from roasting their corn because it was wet (CORRUPTAM UNDIS), that it was not unusual to wet corn before roasting, in order to increase the effect of the roasting. Hence the “perfusio” and the “perfundere” of which we hear so often; Plin. *Hist. Nat. 18. 10*: “Triticum ante perfundi aqua multa iubet, postea evalli, deinde sole siccatum pilo repeti.” And, *18. 14*: “Italia sine perfusione tostum [hordeum] in subtilem farinam molit,” where the exception proves the rule.

FLAMMIS. There being two methods of making the grain crisp and friable, preparatory to its being bruised with pestle and mortar—viz., one by exposing it to the heat of the sun (Plin. *Hist. Nat. 18. 10*: “Triticum ante perfundi aqua multa iubet, postea evalli, deinde sole siccatum pilo repeti”), the other by fire heat (*Georg. 1. 267*:

“nunc torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite saxo”)—

and the former of these methods being slow, and practicable only in the fine weather of summer, our author chooses the other method as alone suitable to the exigencies of the Aeneadae. Therefore, not merely TORRERE, but TORRERE FLAMMIS, *roast over the fire*—the “torrere igni” of *Georg. 1. 267*.

FRANGERE SAXO. “*Frangunt saxo ut multi populi etiamnum grana saxis contundunt*,” Heyne, leaving the reader as ignorant as he was before what kind of breaking with a stone is meant. FRANGERE SAXO is pinsere, to break with pestle and mortar. Both pestle and mortar* being made of stone, SAXO ex-

* Models of the mortars themselves, as old as the first century of the Christian era, are still to be seen built in the wall of the baker's tomb, Monumentum Marci Vergilei Pistoris, just outside the Porta Maggiore, Rome.

presses both instruments—say, rather, the compound instrument. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 18. 10, is diffuse upon this *pistura*—this ancient rubbing of grain into a coarse meal, in a pestle and mortar: “*Pistura non omnium facilis: quippe Etruria spicam farris tosti pisente pilo praeferato, fistula serrata, et stella intus denticulata, ut nisi intenti pisant, conciduntur grana, ferroque frangantur. Maior pars Italiae ruidio utitur pilo . . . Triticum ante perfundi aqua multa iubet, postea evalli, deinde sole siccatum pilo repeti. Simili modo hordeum. . . Lentem torrere prius, deinde cum furfuribus leviter pisi.*”

In parts of the world to which civilization has not yet reached, corn for making bread is bruised by a similar process (Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, ch. 5: “By the castle-wall [European castle of the Hellespont] we saw a large Corinthian capital, and an altar with festoons, made hollow and used as a mortar for bruising corn”); and bakers are still called *pistori* in Italy, as they were called by the Romans *pistores*, from this the most remarkable part of their work, viz., the bruising of the grain with pestle and mortar into meal (*pinsere*), our author’s FRANGERE SAXO. A minute account of the process, even to the changing of the pestle out of the right hand into the left, when the left hand is tired, is given in the *Moretum*, 21:

. . . “*geminos tunc veste lacertos
liberat, et, cinctus villosae tergore caprae,
praevertit cauda silices gremiumque molarum.
advocat inde manus operi, partitus utrinque;
laeva ministerio, dextra est intenta labori;
haec rotat adsiduis gyris, et concitat orbem.
tunsa ceres rapido silicem decurrit ab ictu.
interdum fessae succedit laeva sorori,
alternatque vices.*”

Compare also Ovid, *Fast.* 6. 381:

“*quodcunque est cereris solidae, cava machina frangat;
mollitamque manu duret in igne focus,*”

where the words “*cava machina*” set clearly and unmistakably before our eyes the mortar, no more than dimly shadowed by our author’s, for us “*minores*” too vague and general term,

SAXO; where also we have the operation of pounding (*pinsere*) expressed by the same word by which our author has expressed it, viz., *frangere*; and where the kneading and baking of the meal into hard cakes is no less plainly expressed by "*mollitam manu duret in igne focus*" (compare *Fast.* 6. 315: "*Suppositum cineri panem focus ipse parabat*") than the roasting or toasting of the grain previous to pounding is plainly expressed by our author's *TORRERE PARANT FLAMMIS*.

CEREREM CORRUPTAM UNDIS CEREALIAQUE ARMA EXPEDIUNT is a theme, of which *FRUGES RECEPTAS ET TORRERE PARANT FLAMMIS ET FRANGERE SAXO* is the variation—*CEREREM CORRUPTAM UNDIS* answering exactly to *FRUGES RECEPTAS*; and *CEREALIA ARMA EXPEDIUNT*, to *TORRERE PARANT FLAMMIS ET FRANGERE SAXO*. By means of this sort of repetition, these two varied statements of the same thing, our author is enabled to inform us not merely that the *Aeneadae* got ready their corn and their instruments for roasting and pounding it, but that their corn was damaged by the sea water (*CORRUPTAM UNDIS*), and that they, the operators, were worn out and fatigued to the last degree (*FESSI RERUM*). See *Rem.* on 1. 23–26, and 550. The example before us is, however, not a very happy one of our author's use of this form of structure—the account thus given twice over, of the preparations for roasting and pounding the corn, being so long, occupying so much space—no less than three entire verses—that no room at all is left for the more important information that the corn was actually roasted and pounded; and the reader has no resource but to supply the deficit from his own stores. The poet who writes in this fashion—who dilates on the preparation and says no word of the fact—may be very polite, very elegant, and very fashionable; but he will never be clear, never be simple, never be unaffected. Query:—Has our author taken the hint of this elegant reticence of the principal fact (of which we have another example, 2. 105, where we are informed that *Aeneas* and his brother *Trojans* were fired with impatience to question *Sinon*, but not one word is said of their questioning him:

“tum vero ardemus scitari et quaerere caussas,
ignari scelerum tantorum artisque Pelasgae.
prosequitur pavitans, et ficto pectore fatur:”

and another, 4. 663, where the principal fact in the death of Dido, viz., her stabbing herself, is omitted:

“dixerat: atque illam media inter talia ferro
collapsam aspiciunt comites”)

from the practice of the Greek tragedians, studiously to keep out of view and hide behind the scenes that final catastrophe to which every word of the drama points, and to which the expectation has been directed, from the first opening of the mouth of the prologue?—an illaudable practice, which we in this so civilized nineteenth century are only in too great haste to imitate: permitting indeed a refined, sensitive, and exquisitely inquisitive public to enjoy in open court, both with eyes and ears, the long tortures of the culprit on his trial, but reserving the *bonne bouche*, the crowning agony, for the secret justice of the condemned cell and the prison corridor. Everything is to be public except the main thing, that for which all the rest exists.

184—190.

ÆNEAS SCOPULUM INTEREA CONSCENDIT ET OMNEM
PROSPECTUM LATE PELAGO PETIT ANTHEA SI QUEM
IACTATUM VENTO VIDEAT PHRYGIASQUE BIREMES
AUT CAPYN AUT CELSIS IN PUPPIBUS ARMA CAICI
NAVEM IN CONSPECTU NULLAM TRES LITTORE CERVOS
PROSPICIT ERRANTES HOS TOTA ARMENTA SEQUUNTUR
A TERGO ET LONGUM PER VALLES PASCITUR AGMEN

Compare Milton, *Par. Reg.* 2. 285:

“up to a hill anon his steps he reared,
from whose high top to ken the prospect round,
if cottage were in view, sheep-cote or herd:
but cottage, herd, or sheep-cote none he saw,
only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,
with chaunt of tuneful birds resounding loud.”

ET OMNEM PROSPECTUM LATE PELAGO PETIT. Compare Stat.
Theb. 5. 350 (ed. Müller):

. . . "portus amplexaque littus
moenia, qua longe pelago despectus aperto
scandimus et celsas turres"

[from whence there was a view down over the open sea].

ANTHEA SI QUEM. "Si forte quem eorum qui amissi videbantur, ut Anthea aut Capyn, videat," Wagner (1861). No, but simply "aliquem Anthea." The expression is perfectly English—*If he might see any Antheus*—and is equivalent to: if he might see any Antheus at all; if he might see Antheus in any condition, or under any circumstances, dead or alive, shipwrecked or safe; Antheus in any condition whatever: if he might see anything like Antheus, anything which might turn out to be Antheus.¹ The effect of quis used in this manner is exactly the opposite of that of ipse: "ipsum Anthea" being Antheus himself, Antheus in full, total, perfect Antheus; "Anthea quem" being anything like Antheus, ever so little of Antheus; anything which might pass for Antheus, even although it might turn out to be a very poor or a very bad Antheus. In other words, quis takes from in the same proportion as ipse adds to ("Anthea quem," any Antheus at all; the very opposite of "Anthea ipsum," Antheus himself). In like manner (*a*), 9. 493: "si qua est pietas," if there is any tenderness in your hearts at all, any the least degree of tenderness—the very opposite of "ipsa pietas," full and perfect tenderness; (*b*), 3. 433:

. . . "si qua est Heleno prudentia, vati
si qua fides;"

if there is any, even the least degree, of foresight in Helenus—any the least reliance to be placed in the prophet; (*c*), Sil. 8. 97:

. . . "rursus portus furibunda revisit
si qui te referant converso flamine venti;"

if by some chance there might be a wind, *i. e.* if there might be some wind, if there might be any wind; (*d*), *Georg.* 4. 6:

. . . "si quem
numina laeva sinunt, auditque vocatus Apollo;"

not me, myself, *but* me, or any like me—"one," as we say in English, in such phrases as: if one might be allowed to ask, if one might be allowed in, *i. e.* not if I in my particular case might be allowed to ask, or be allowed in, but if any person such as I might be allowed to ask or might be allowed in; and so in our text: if he might see any such person as Antheus, anything at all like Antheus—meaning, not Antheus himself, Antheus and "no mistake," but anything like Antheus—Aeneas would be well content to see anything which might turn out to be Antheus, QUEM ANTHEA; (*e*), Aesch. *Agam.* 55:

υπατος δ' αἰὼν ἡ τις Ἀπολλων,
 ἡ Παν, ἡ Ζεὺς, οὐκ ὀνόμαον
 γούον οὐδ' ὅσον τῶνδε πέτοικων
 ὑστεροποίων
 πέμπει παραβασιν ἔμμεν,

some Apollo, Pan, or Zeus, *i. e.* not the real or true Apollo, &c. ("ipse Apollo"), but some god corresponding to the god Apollo, Pan, or Zeus—some such god as Apollo, Pan, or Zeus; (*f*), Chariton, *Aphrodis.* 7. 2: *Εἰ τινα Ἐμοικρατην ἀκούεις στρατηγὸν Ἀθηναίων καταναυμαχῶσαντα; and* (*g*), Sil. 17. 581 (ed. Rup.):

"interea Cadmea manus, deserta pavensque,
 non ullum Hannibalem, nusquam certamina cernit
 saevi nota ducis."

AUT CELSIS IN PUPPIBUS ARMA CAICI. That it was not arms in the general sense of that word, *i. e.* not swords and spears, helmets and shields, but only the shield or shields of the principal person or persons on board, which were usually hung up on a conspicuous part of the poop, appears from Val. Flacc. 3. 27:

"quæ [Cybele] postquam Haemoniam, tantæ non immemor iræ,
 ærisono de monte ratem, præfixaque regum
 scuta videt, nova monstra viro, nova funera volvit,
 ut socias in nocte manus, utque impia bella
 conserat, et saevis erroribus implicet urbem."

I therefore understand ARMA to be here taken not in its general sense, but in that special sense in which we find it so often taken elsewhere, viz., as signifying shield (3. 286:

"aere cavo clipeum, magni gestantem Abantis,
postibus adversis figo, et rem carmine signo:
'Aeneas haec de Danaïs victoribus arma.'"

10. 841:

"at Lausum socii exanimem super arma ferebant."

10. 488:

"corruit in vulnus: sonitum super arma dedere."

Sil. 2. 76:

. . . "lunatis Bistones armis,"

i. e. *shields*); and the meaning to be that Aeneas looked out for the shield of Caicus hung up on the poop, i. e. for the ship marked by the shield of Caicus hung up on its poop to be the ship which carried Caicus. The shield hung up in a conspicuous situation on the poop thus declared what warrior the ship carried, just as the same shield on the warrior's arm in battle or in a tournament declared by means of its device who the warrior was; and the real shield served in those ancient times the purpose served at present by the heraldic shield or scutcheon (sometimes denominated in like manner *coat of arms*, or simply *arms*) hung up over the portal of a royal or baronial palace or castle, or in front of a consulate or embassy, or even on some occasions in front of a private gentleman's residence.

Bearing this custom in mind, viz., that of hanging up the shield of the warrior on the poop in order to indicate the vessel on board of which he was, we perceive the peculiar propriety with which Aeneas, returning from Pallanteum with his Vulcanian arms, stands on the poop and raises high his shield, in order to signify to his friends on shore that he is there on board, returning successful from his expedition. It had been little complimentary to the divine present to hang it up on the poop, like any ordinary shield, and he was himself too new-fangled with it—8. 617:

"ille deae donis et tanto lætus honore"—

to part from it for even so long; therefore he stands high on the poop himself and raises it up on his arm, full in view, to the friends who were looking out for him (as he himself in our text looks out for Caicus), and so in the most effectual

manner declares to their eyes: Behold me here; see, here I come! (10. 260):

“iamque in conspectu Teucros habet et sua castra,
stans celsa in puppi: clipeum cum deinde sinistra
extulit ardentem. clamorem ad sidera tollunt
Dardanidae e muris.”

192.

FIDUS QUAE TELA GEREBAT ACHATES

“Virgilii non esse videntur Peerlkampo; certe pro tibicine habenda erunt,” Ribbeck, who accordingly includes the “tibicen” between crotchets. With what right? Is a verse the less Virgil’s because a tibicen? Is Virgil always perfection? How much either of him or of any other author will we have left, if every editor is at liberty to omit everything which does not please his particular taste? But the words are no tibicen—on the contrary, serve the purpose of informing the reader of two not wholly unimportant matters, viz., that Aeneas was accompanied, and that his companion carried his bow and arrows. The first information is necessary, because the hero of the *Æneis* should, if it were only as a mark of respect, be accompanied—should not be represented as wandering about alone and without attendance, especially here in an unknown country, on the shore of which he was cast by shipwreck; and the second, **not only** because it was not heroic to carry bow and arrows (Hercules had his carried by Hylas, Apollon. Rhod. 1. 132:

... τὸν τε φορέει γυῖατος τε φέροι:

and even Goth Theodoric (the *second* king), his, by a page, Sidon. Apoll. *Ep.* 1. 2: “Si venatione nuntiata procedit, arcum lateri innectere citra gravitatem regiam iudicat: quem tamen, si cominus avem feramque aut venanti monstres, aut vianti sors

offerat, manui post tergum reflexae puer inserit, nervo lorove fluitantibus: quem sicut puerile computat gestare thecatum, ita muliebrem accipere iam tensum") **but** because the not unreasonable curiosity of the reader, who hears now for the first and last time of Aeneas's using bow and arrows (where did he get them—"unde CORRIPIUIT?") should be gratified. / The clause repudiated as a tibicen gratifies that curiosity. They were handed to him by his friend and armour-bearer Achates—the same "fidus" Achates from whom he gets his spears, "unde corripit hastas." 10. 332:

. . . "fidum Aeneas affatur Achaten:
'suggere tela mihi'
. . . tum magnam *corripit* hastam."

199.

C A D I S

Not casks, but earthenware jars. See Propert. 4. 7. 31:

"cur ventos non ipse rogis, ingrate, petisti?
cur nardo flammae non oluere meae?
hoc etiam grave erat, nulla mercede hyacinthos
iniicere, et *fracto* busta piare cado."

Ovid, *Met.* 12. 242 (of the battle of the centaurs and Lapithae):

. . . "et prima pocula pugna
missa volant, *fragilesque* cadi, curvique lebetes."

These cadi (called urnae by Juvenal. 7. 236:

"quot Siculus Phrygibus vini donaverat urnas")

were of a tapering top-shaped figure, with narrow mouths, to be stopped with cork bungs (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 16. 8, § 13; 27. 4, § 5), and in every way resembled our modern earthenware and stoneware jars, except that—being of an inferior

clay and less skilfully and carefully baked—they were more brittle (“*fragiles cadi*,” “*fracto cado*,” above). They were commonly of a red colour (*Mart.* 1. 55:

“*flavaque de rubro promere mella cado*.”

Ibid. 4. 66:

“*vina ruber fudit non peregrina cadus*”),

the colour of the baked clay, and used for holding wine, oil, and vinegar; and, with wider mouths, dried fruits and pickles. Pliny, (*N. H.* 36. 22) informs us that they were sometimes made of white ophites: “*Est enim hoc genus ophitis ex quo vasa et cados etiam faciunt*.” They probably bore pretty much the same relation to the larger vessels in which wine was preserved as our jars or bottles bear to our casks. Ovid tells of the bottling of wine into them by Hyrieus (*Fast.* 5. 517:

“*quaeque puer quondam primis defuderat annis,
prodit fumoso condita vina cado*);

and the words CADIS ONERARAT of our text inform us that the wine with which Acestes presented his Trojan guests (*DEDERAT ABEUNTIBUS*) had been—probably for the convenience of transport—bottled or jarred (*defusum*, *κατεσταμνισμενον*) for them. Compare Herod. 3. 20, where Cambyes sends the king of the Aethiopians, among other presents, *γοινηχηρον οινον καδον*. It is not improbably this word *cadus* which we have still in our *tea-caddy*.

200—201.

DEDERATQUE ABEUNTIBUS HEROS

DIVIDIT

VAR. LECT.

HEROS I *Vat.*, *Med.* II † III P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670);
Phil.; Pott.; Haupt.

HOSPES I "In *Mediceo*, HOSPES," Pierius.

punct. ABEUNTIB. HEROS DIV. I *Med.* (Fogg.).

punct. ABEUNTIBUS HEROS, DIV. III La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670);
Burm.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Thiel; Forb.;
Ladew.; Ribb.

O *Pal.*, *Ver.*, *St. Gall.*

HEROS is of necessity either Aeneas or Acestes. If it is Aeneas it serves the useful purpose of bringing back the mind to that personage—the real *heros* of the poem, and, without being expressly named, the subject of the long series of verbs: VIDEAT, PROSPICIT, CONSTITIT, CORRIPUIT, STERNIT, MISCEAT, ABSISTIT, FUNDAT, AEQUET, PETIT, PARTITUR, DIVIDIT, MULCET. If, on the contrary, HEROS is Acestes, the structure must be either BONUS ACESTES HEROS ONERARAT DEDERATQUE, or BONUS ACESTES ONERARAT, HEROSQUE DEDERAT. Now, BONUS ACESTES HEROS being altogether barbarous and intolerable, the structure, if we understand HEROS to be spoken of Acestes, can be only BONUS ACESTES ONERARAT, HEROSQUE DEDERAT. But in this case HEROS becomes a mere eke, a word added in for the sole purpose of rounding and completing the verse—the words DEDERATQUE ABEUNTIBUS HEROS conveying no more meaning than DEDERATQUE ABEUNTIBUS. Many years ago, therefore, when I had a much higher opinion of Virgil as a poet than I have at present, I refused to agree with the general opinion of commentators that HEROS was Acestes, and insisted that it was much more probably Aeneas himself, the real hero of the poem. Time, how-

ever, that great melloweer of crude opinions, has since taught me that Virgil—obsequious, no doubt, to the opinion of the majority of his readers—has not disdained occasionally in the course of his poem to take the helping hand of an eke, over a rough spot: that our text is one of those rough spots, and that *heros* is a mere unmeaning rounding of the line as it is of the line—

“altior insurgens et cursu concitus heros.”

I would gladly, if I could, find in this word the meaning which Conington—sharing, no doubt, my unwillingness to convict Virgil of the use of ekes—has found in it. “It denotes,” says that generally correct and judicious commentator, “the noble courtesy of the donor.” *Heros* expresses not courtesy, but heroism; neither was there either nobleness or heroism in the presentation of a few jars of wine: and whatever courtesy there was in such a present, is already sufficiently expressed in *bonus*, *good* or *kind*. Sorry I am, for Virgil’s sake, to be obliged to add that, pursuing the subject of this word further, I find it seldom used by our author, except in the way I have just described, viz., as a convenient stop-gap or filling-up stuff. Let one example suffice, 6. 192:

. . . “tū maximus heros
maternas agnoscit aves, laetusque precatur.”

What heroic, what most mighty and heroic deed was Aeneas performing in silently following two pigeons to the tree on which they were to perch? The words are of no manner of use except to fill up the gap left by the conclusion of the preceding sentence in the middle of the line. To that blank solely and wholly do we owe the magniloquence, “tū maximus heros.” We can allow Homer to fill up his half line or line with his ποδας ωκες Ἀχιλλεύς, or his ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων, or his ζοφρῆταιολος Εἰζωφ, and so forth. Such stereotyped phrases are conveniences of the same class as a change of dialect, whenever the simple word, the regular form, does not fit into the measure, and to be excused in an age as primitive as Homer’s, but are altogether inexcusable in a poet of the polished age and highly literary times of Virgil: when the poetry consisted less in the

pantomimic show—the red and yellow, green and gold, flashing, dashing, and stamping of the actors—than in the depth and pathos, sonorousness, melodiousness, and, I may add, correctness of their language.

The correctness of the above argumentation seems to be shown by the following passage of his master—not improbably in the author's memory when he wrote these lines: a passage where the self-same laudatory term applied to the bestower of a present on a guest serves to fill up precisely the same blank in precisely the same position in the verse, Hom. *Od.* 4. 617:

. . . πορην δὲ εἰ γαιδιμός ηἴως,
Σιδονίων βασιλεὺς, οὐδ' εὖτος δομος ἀμφεκαλυψεν
χεῖσε μὲ νοστήσαντι.

Pity that Horace's "Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile" is as applicable to readers as to writers! Pity that Homer's blemishes reproduced by Virgil, instead of being on that account the more plainly seen to be blemishes, are only on that account the more admired! Perhaps, however, after all, the fault is in myself, and owing to an unluckily too strong association in my mind between these heroic *heroses* (that of our text, that of 6. 192, that of 12. 902, and those of so many other places where the verse is rounded off with a *heros* (and the "providus heros" of the *Moretum*, whose prevision and whose heroism consist solely in his going out betimes into his cabbage garden to pull pot-herbs.

201.

DIVIDIT

Exactly as the English *deals*, *distributes* (compare Senec. *Med.* 5:

"clarumque Titan dividens orbi diem,"

dealing the light, giving each part or person a share) is in a special manner applied to the giving, distributing, or dealing out

of food. Compare Spart. in *Didio Iuliano*: "Iulianus tantae parsimoniae fuisse perhibetur, ut per triduum porcellum, per triduum leporem, divideret." *Inscript. vet.*: "Editis ad dedicationem scaenicis ludis per quartiduum, et circensibus, et epulo diviso." *Inscript. vet.*: "cuius dedic. crustum et mulsum populo divisum est" [both inscriptions quoted by Gronovius, *Diatribae* (Hand), *ad Stat. Silv.* 1. 6].

202.

NEQUE ENIM IGNARI SUMUS ANTE MALORUM
O PASSI GRAVIORA DABIT DEUS HIS QUOQUE FINEM

ANTE **with** Servius, Aldus (1514), Gesner, Forcellini, Heyne, Thiel, Wagner, and Forbiger, belonging to MALORUM in the same manner as the Greek adverb so often supplies the place of an adjective to a Greek noun: Xenoph. *Cyrop.* 1 (ed. Hutch. p. 31): *Ἀλλ' οἱ τε τῶν παρατιτικῶν ἡδονῶν ἀπεχομένοι, οἷχα, ἵνα μὴδεποτε ἐγγραφῶσι, τοῦτο πράττεισιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως διαταυτὴν τὴν ἐγγραφείαν πολλαπλασία εἰς τὸν ἐπεῖτα χρόνον ἐγγραυνῶνται, οἷτω παρασκευάζονται*, where there are no less than two instances of the structure: **with** Süpfle, however, (who very appropriately quotes Hom. *Od.* 5. 88, *παρὸς γε μὲν οὐ τι θαμνίζεις*), Voss and Conington, belonging to IGNARI SUMUS, to which latter opinion I give (at least until the production of some one example of the hyphen ante-malum to set against Ovid's "ignara malorum," *Met.* 11. 573:

"Aeolis interea tantorum ignara malorum,"

and our author's own "ignara mali," 1. 634:

"non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco"),

my unqualified adhesion, quoting at the same time Tacit. *Annal.* 16. 3: "Non falsa ante somnia sua," where "ante" plainly belongs not to "somnia," but to "falsa."

DABIT DEUS HIS QUOQUE FINEM. Compare Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 35 (Eteocles speaking): *εν τελει θεος*. Aesch. *Suppl.* 211 (of Jupiter):

κτεινου θελοντος εν τελευτησαι ταδε.

203—217.

Holdsworth in his "Remarks and Dissertations on the Four Georgics and First Six Aeneids" (republished in the *Miscell. Virgil.*, Cambridge, 1825), points out the remarkable parallelism between this passage and the address of Teucer to his companions, when flying from Salamis (Hor. *Od.* 1. 7. 32); and assuming the parallelism to be proof that the one was copied from the other, queries which is the original, and which the copy. I am inclined to think that the two passages are alike original, and that the great similarity arises not from imitation, but from the natural necessity that two great contemporaneous poets—fellow-countrymen, and, it may be presumed, similarly educated and imbued with similar doctrines—should similarly treat two similar subjects.

204-211.

VOS ET SCYLLAEAM RABIE M PENITUSQUE SONANTES
 ACCESTIS SCOPULOS VOS ET CYCLOPIA SAXA
 EXPERTI REVOCATE ANIMOS MOESTUMQUE TIMOREM
 MITTITE FORSAN ET HAEC OLIM MEMINISSE IUUABIT

 DURATE ET VOSMET REBUS SERVATE SECUNDIS

Donatus refers PENITUS to ACCESTIS: "Ut ostenderetur existente fortunae suffragio, ex intima saxorum ipsorum parte liberatos." Servius hesitates whether to refer it to ACCESTIS or to SONANTES: "PENITUSQUE, &c., *i. e.* valde, et aut valde sonantes, aut valde accessistis, *i. e.* iuxta." There ought to have been neither doubt nor difference of opinion. PENITUS is shown to belong to SONANTES, first by the so much better sense: thoroughly, far within, sounding, than: thoroughly, far within, approached; and secondly, by the exact parallels, 6. 59: "penitusque repostas," and Ovid, *Met.* 2. 179: "penitus penitusque iacentes," both occupying the same position in the verse as PENITUSQUE SONANTES.

PENITUS. "PENITUS bedeutet hier *weithin*, *weit*, wie *Aen.* 6. 59, 'penitusque repostas Massylum gentes.' Unter den weit schallenden felsen ist aber zunächst die Charybdis zu verstehen," Süpfle. A double misunderstanding, as it seems to me—first, of the meaning of PENITUS, which (see above) is not *far-away*, but *far within*, *thoroughly*, *in the inmost parts*; and secondly, of the object meant by SONANTES SCOPULOS, which is not Charybdis, but the Scyllaeen rocks; SONANTES SCOPULOS being the complement of SCYLLAEAM RABIE M, and the two expressions SCYLLAEAM RABIE M and SONANTES SCOPULOS making up the compound notion, the sounding rocks of the raging Scylla, *i. e.* the rocks which the raging Scylla makes to sound, *i. e.* the rocks

which sound with the barking of Scylla's dogs. Compare the similar connexion of rabies and sonans, 6. 49:

"et rabie fera corda tument, maiorque videri,
nec mortale sonans,"

where "rabie" and "sonans" belong not to two different objects, but the one object, the Sibyl whose rabies raises her voice to a pitch beyond human. SONANTES, therefore, not, with Heyne, "fluctibus allisis," but "latratibus canum Scyllaeorum." Contrast 7. 587:

"ut pelagi rupes, magno veniente fragore.
quae sese, multis circum latrantibus undis,
mole tenet; scopuli nequidquam et spumea circum
saxa fremunt,"

where (there being no Scylla, and therefore no dogs to originate the barking noise) the barking noise is ascribed in the first instance to the waves, and only secondarily to the rocks, which "fremunt"—are set in vibration by and "fremunt" with—the noise of the waves, in the same manner as the sounding board of a stringed instrument is set in vibration by, and fremit with, the noise of the strings. On the contrary, in all accounts of Scylla, the noise made by herself, *i. e.* by her dogs, is the principal feature. Thus, 3. 431:

"quam semel informem vasto vidisse sub antro
Scyllam et caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa"

(where "caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa" is the complement of "informem vasto sub antro Scyllam," and the rocks resounding with blue dogs no other than the rocks of Scylla herself). *Ciris*, 58, and *Ecl.* 6. 75:

"candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstria
Dulichias vexasse rates et gurgite in alto
deprensos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis."

Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 3. 1. 122:

"Scyllave, quae Siculas inguine terret aquas."

Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 4. 10. 25:

"Scylla feres trunco quod latrat ab inguine monstria."

SCYLLAEAM RABIE. The Scyllaeen rage, *i. e.* the rabid dogs of Scylla (which might have devoured you). Compare Ovid, *Met.* 14. 64, of the same Scylla:

“et corpus quaerens femorum, crurumque pedumque,
CerberEOS rictus pro partibus invenit illis,
statque canum rabies.”

Lucret. 5. 892 (ed. Munro):

“aut rabidis canibus succinctas semimarinis
cerporibus Scyllas.”

CYCLOPIA SAXA. “Aut quae Cyclops in Ulyssem iecit; aut certe Siciliam dixit. . . . Quidam tamen haec saxa inter Catanam et Tauromenium in modum metarum situ naturali dicunt esse, quae Cyclopea appellantur, quorum medium et eminentissimum Galate dicitur.” Servius. “Littus Cyclopum saxosum in Sicilia,” Wagner (1861). “Cogitari non possunt nisi saxa Cyclopum quae in Aeneae naves ab illis iactata videremus, nisi ‘nequicquam lumine torvo’ cessantes Virgilius eos reliquisset, postea narrationem eam diligentius persecuturus,” Conrads, *Quaest. Virgil.* Trier, 1863. No, no; CYCLOPIA SAXA is simply Aetna, as placed beyond all doubt by the use of the exactly similar periphrasis “Cyclopum scopuli” for Aetna by Statius, *Silv.* 5. 3. 47:

“atque utinam fortuna mihi dare Manibus [*patris*] aras
par templis opus, aeriamque educere molem
Cyclopum scopulos ultra, atque audacia saxa
Pyramidum, et magno tumulum praetexere luco,”

where the meaning can only be *higher than Aetna*. Both periphrases, both that in our text and that of Statius, express Aetna, Aetna being the habitation of the Cyclops (Eurip. *Cycl.* 20:

. . . Αἰτναίων πέτρων,
ὡς οἱ μὲν ὄντες λοντίου παιδὸς θεοῦ
Κυκλωπες οἰκοῦσ’ ἀντὶ τέρμ’ ἀνδροκτόνοιο.

Aen. 3. 643:

“centum alii curva haec habitant ad littora volgo
infandi Cyclopes, et altis montibus errant.”

Ovid, *Met.* 15. 1:

. . . "giganteis iniectam faucibus Aetnen,
arvaque Cyclopum"),

exactly as the periphrasis "Trinacria rupes" expresses Aetna, Aetna being in Trinacria (Catull. 68. 53:

"cum tantum arderem quantum Trinacria rupes").

The identical periphrasis is used also, and no less plainly, for Aetna by Silius, 14. 512:

"illum, ubi labentem pepulerunt tela sub undas,
ossa Syracosio fraudatum naufraga busto,
fleverunt freta, fleverunt Cyclopia saxa,
et Cyanes, et Anapus, et Ortygie Arethusa."

FORSAN ET HAEC OLIM MEMINISSE IUVABIT. Erasm. *Colloq. Opulent. Sord.*: "Actorum laborum solet esse iucunda commemoratio." Sir W. Scott, *Lady of the Lake*, 1. 16:

"a summer night, in greenwood spent,
were but to-morrow's merriment."

DURATE ET VOSMET REBUS SERVATE SECUNDIS. My first composition was an English thesis written on this line, given me as a subject by my schoolmaster, when I was about ten years of age. I still remember how dry I found the subject—in other words, how scanty the stock of ideas out of which I had to draw; how empty the viscera out of which the young spider was called upon to spin its first web.

DURATE, *have patience*. See Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 4. 9:

"ch' io non posso durar, tanto ho il cor vago
di far battaglia contro questo mago"

[*cannot wait, have not patience*].

208.

SPEM VULTU SIMULAT PREMIT ALTUM CORDE DOLOREM

VAR. LECT.

ALTUM I *Vat., Rom., Med. III* P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Thiel; Forb.; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

ALTO I "In oblongo codice prae veteri et aliquot aliis MSS. ALTO." Pierius.
O *Pal., Ver., St. Gall.*

SPEM VULTU SIMULAT, PREMIT ALTUM CORDE DOLOREM; *φαινοπροσώπει.*
Cic. *Epp. ad Att.* 7. 20, and 14. 24 (ed. Lamb.).

PREMIT ALTUM CORDE DOLOREM. Compare 10. 464:

. . . "magnumque sub imo
corde premit gemitum."

Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1723:

ισχύν εν στήθεσσι γέλω σθένον.

215-217.

TERGORA DIRIPIUNT COSTIS ET VISCERA NUDANT

PARS IN FRUSTA SECANT VERIBUSQUE TREMENTIA FIGUNT

LITTORE AENA LOCANT ALII FLAMMASQUE MINISTRANT

VAR. LECT.

DIRIPIUNT I *Vat., Rom., Med. III* P. Manut.; Forb.; Ribb.

DERIPIUNT III D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (1832; *Lect. Virg.*, 1861); Thiel; Lad.; Haupt.

O *Pal., Ver., St. Gall.*

VISCERA. Not *the viscera or internal organs*, as we use the word viscera at present, but *the flesh*; Apul. *De Dogm. Plat.*

1. 16: "Visceribus ossa sunt tecta; eadem revincta sunt nervis. Et tamen ea, quæ sunt internuntia sentiendi, sic sunt operata visceribus, ne crassitudine sensus hebetentur. Illa etiam, quæ iuncturis et copulis nexa sunt, ad celeritatem facilius se movendi haud multis impedita sunt visceribus." VISCERA NUDANT, therefore: *expose the flesh*, viz., by stripping off the skin—TERGORA DERIPIUNT COSTIS.

FRUSTA. Not what we call *joints*, but what we call *collops*, steaks, or chops. Frustum is always a small piece, and is specially contrasted with pars, or a larger portion, by Seneca, *Epist.* 89: "Faciam ergo quod exiges, et Philosophiam in *partes* non in *frusta* dividam. Dividi enim illam, non concidi, utile est; nam comprehendere, quemadmodum maxima, ita minima, difficile est." Compare Plaut. *Pers.* 849: "Loquere tu etiam, frustum pueri?"—you bit of a boy; or, as we say, you chap.

VERIBUSQUE TREMENTIA [FRUSTA] FIGUNT. Not fix or run the FRUSTA *on* the spits, but pierce the FRUSTA *with* spits, run spits into the FRUSTA—exactly as 11. 691: "Buten . . . cuspidē figit;" 5. 544: "fixit arundine malum." Compare Quint. Calab. 1. 611:

τη γὰρ [Πενθεσίλειη] ἐπεσσυμενος μεγ' ἐχωσατο Πηλεὺς υἱός,
καὶ οἱ αἶψα συν ἐπειρεν ἀέλλοπεδός δέμας ἱππὸν
εὐτε τις ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ὑπὲρ πυρός αἰδαλοέντος
σπλάγχχνα διαμπεύρῃσιν ἐπειγομένους ποτὶ δόρπον [for supper],
ἥ ὥς τις στονοέντα βάλων ἐν ὀρεσσὶν ἀκόντα
θρηνητὴρ ἐλαφιοῦ μέσσην διὰ νηδὺα κερση
ἐσσυμένως, πταμένη δὲ διαμπερεὶς ὀβριμὸς ἀχμη
πρέμνον ἐς υἱοχομοῖο παγὴν δρυός, ἥ ἐνὶ πρυμνῇ.

The spits were held at one end in the hand, and so the meat on the other end held over the fire until roasted; Hom. *Od.* 3. 463:

ἄπτων δ' ἀκροποροὺς ὀβελούς ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες.

Hom. *Il.* 1. 463:

. . . νεοὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχον πεμπυρόλα χερσὶν.

Coripp. Johann. 3. 166:

. . . "frustis conciditur altis
omne pecus, verubusque trementes conserit artus."

LITTORE AENA LOCANT ALII, FLAMMASQUE MINISTRANT. "Quorsum? Certe non ad elixandas carnes, quibus heroica tempora plane non utebantur, ut notum est. Et . . . *torreri carnes* in antec. versu significatur. Igitur his ahenis aquam calefaciunt (cf. *Aen.* 6. 218, 219), ut se lavent ante epulas, ex more." Heyne. All erroneous; for, **first**, not only Valerius Flaccus (8. 252) describes the Argonauts as roasting part, boiling part, of their game—

. . . "silvestria laetis
praemia, venatu facili quaesita, supersunt:
pars verubus, pars undanti despumat ahenis"

—but Ovid (*Met.* 1. 228) describes Lycaon as part roasting part boiling the Molossian with whose flesh he attempted to deceive Jupiter:

"atque ita semineces partim ferventibus artus
mollit aquis, partim subiecto torruit igni."

Compare (a), Ovid, *Met.* 6. 645 (of Itys, part boiled and part roasted by his mother):

. . . "pars inde cavis exsultat aenis:
pars verubus stridet;"

(b), Sen. *Thyest.* 765 (of the banquet of Thyestes):

"haec verubus haerent viscera, et lentis data
stillant caminis; illa flammatus latex,
querente aeno, iactat,"

in both which passages we have not only the boiling, but the very aena; and (c), Eurip. *Cyclops*, 392:

και χαλκτον λεβητι ζεσεν πυρι,
ορελους τ' ακροας μεν εγχεκαυμενους πυρι,
ζεστος δε δουρατω ταλλα, παλιουρον κλειδων,
Αινια τε κλειδα, πελεκτων γναθαις,
ως δ' ην ετοιμα παντα τω θεοστυγει
Αιδου μεγαρω, φωτε συμμαρψας δυο
εσημα, ετασων των εμων ρυθμω τινα,
τον μεν λεβητος ες κυτος χαλκηλατον,
τον δ' ην, τενοντος αρλιασας ακρου ποδος,
ταυτων προς οζεν γ' ονυχια πετραιον λεθου,
εγχεγαλον εξερρανε, και καθαρπιασας
λεβρω μαχαιρα σαρκας εξωπτα πυρι,
τα δ' ες λεβητι εγχεκεν εινεσθαι μελη.

Secondly, the heating of water, *Aen.* 6. 218, 219, was for the purpose of washing a dead body, not for the purpose of supplying warm water wherewith to wash before eating. **Thirdly**, it is not likely that the Aeneadae, in their present circumstances, would, if they required water to wash before eating, heat water for the purpose, and not content themselves with cold water. **Fourthly**, the division into roasting and boiling was necessary on account of the difficulty—almost impossibility—of roasting some parts, viz., the omenta and other internal parts; **and, fifthly**, the action ascribed to PARS in verse 116 having relation to the food, the action ascribed to ALII in verse 117 must relate to the food also—PARS and ALII corresponding to each other, and the food being the subject not only of the immediately preceding but of the immediately succeeding verse; in which latter the poet, had he just informed us they heated water for bathing, would surely have told us not that they began their repast, but that they first bathed and then began their repast.

For all these reasons I reject the explanation of Heyne, and adopt that of Donatus: “alii vero cum aqua imponebant igni vasa aenea ut elixam facerent carnem.”

 218.

 F U S I

Not scattered, but stretched, laid at ease, *εχχυτοι*. Compare Epigr. Pauli Silentiarrii, *Anthol. Pal.* 5. 275:

*Διτίλινω χαριτσσα Μενεκραις εχχυτος υπνω
κειτο περι κροταφους πηκυν ελιξαμενη*

Stat. Silv. 2. 1. 170:

“tu modo fusus humi lucem aversaris iniquam.”

Claud. *Epith. Pall. et Celerinae*, v. 1:

"Forte Venus
 sidereos per gramina fuderat artus,
 acclinis florum cumulo."

Val. Flacc. 1. 252 (of the Argonauts stretching themselves on the seaweed):

. . . "molli iuvenes funduntur in alga"

[where it may be worth while remarking that the *alga* of the Roman writers is, I doubt not, the *Poseidonia oceanica*, which, thrown up by the sea and dried by the sun, clothes with so soft and deep a bed the immediate edges of the shore of the Mediterranean. Being so soft and dry, nothing could answer better for the "alga" of Valerius Flaccus:

. . . "molli iuvenes funduntur in alga."

Being infinite in quantity, and perpetually renewed by fresh supplies cast up by the waves, nothing could answer better for the "alga" of Horace, *Sat.* 2. 5. 8:

"et genus et virtus, nisi cum re, vilior alga est."

How often have I not rested luxuriously on it, sitting or lying in the sun, where it clothes the beach in the neighbourhood of Leghorn!]

MENSAE REMOTAE. Not to be understood literally, as meaning *tables removed*, but generally, as equivalent to our *cloth removed*, or *dinner over*. See Comm. on the same expression, verse 727.

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221—226.

AMISSOS LONGO SOCIOS SERMONE REQUIRUNT
 SPERMQUE METUMQUE INTER DUBII SEU VIVERE CREDANT
 SIVE EXTREMA PATI NEC IAM EXAUDIRE VOCATOS
 PRAECIPUE PIUS AENEAS NUNC ACRIS ORONTI
 NUNC AMYCI CASUM GEMIT ET CRUELIA SECUM
 FATA LYCI FORTEMQUE GYAN FORTEMQUE CLOANTHUM

INTER DUBII, Serv.; Dan. H.; N. H. (1670); Heyn.; Wagn. (1861); Ribb.
 INTER DUBII. "Et quidam commodius distingui putant: SPERMQUE METUMQUE
 INTER, et sic subiungunt: DUBII SEU VIVERE CREDANT," Serv.
 Most undoubtedly DUBII INTER, not DUBII SEU. Compare 5. 654:

"at matres primo ancipites, oculisque malignis
 ambiguae spectare rates miserum inter amorem
 praesentis terrae, fatisque vocantia regna,"

where the structure is "ambiguae inter."

Not, with the commentators, a mere allusion to the conclamation of the dead ("Mos conclamandi mortuos tangitur his verbis," Wagner (1845, 1849), explaining NEC IAM EXAUDIRE VOCATOS; and, ed. 1861, explaining the same words, "si vocentur"), **but**—as sufficiently shown by AMISSOS, REQUIRUNT, and NEC EXAUDIRE VOCATOS—the actual conclamation itself.

AMISSOS LONGO SOCIOS SERMONE REQUIRUNT. "Non tam qualis post coenam esse solet, quam potius multis cum querelis. Vulgari oratione diceret: multa de sociis inter se conqueruntur," Heyne. No, no; REQUIRUNT is *search for, look for, long for, try to get, try to recover*—reposcunt. Compare Val. Flacc. 3. 601:

"illum omnes lacrymis moestisque reposcere votis."

Cic. Verr. 7. 70: "Abs te officium tuum debitum generi et nomini *requiro* et flagito;" and Verr. 7. 142 (2. 5. 67, ed. Orelli):

"Omnes hoc loco cives Romani, et qui adsunt et qui ubique sunt, vestram severitatem desiderant, vestram fidem implorant, vestrum auxilium *requirunt*." Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3. 315:

"quin potius natam pelago terrisque requiris."

Ovid, *Met.* 4. 129 (of Thisbe looking for Pyramus):

"illa redit: iuvenemque oculis, animoque requirit."

Plin. *Epist.* 6. 20 (of the eruption of Vesuvius): "Alii parentes, alii liberos, alii coniuges vocibus requirebant, vocibus noscebant." S. Ambros. *de Excessu fratris sui Satyri*, § 8 (ed. Monach. Benedict, 1686): "Nunc vero, frater, quo progrediar, quove convertar? Bos bovem requirit, seque non totum putat, et frequenti mugitu pium testatur amorem, si forte defecerit cum quo ducere collo aratra consuevit; et ego te, frater, non requiram? aut possum unquam oblivisci tui, cum quo vitæ huius semper aratra sustinui?"

This is one and no small part of every conclamatio: seek back the dead or supposed to be dead by much discussion whether they are dead or not—if missing, what can have become of them? if apparently dead, whether the death be real or only apparent—; and is here performed by Aeneas and his companions with the usual inquiries amongst each other, what can have become of their lost companions:

AMISSOS LONGO SOCIOS SERMONE REQUIRUNT,
SPEMQUE METUMQUE INTER DUBII SEU VIVERE CREDANT
SIVE EXTREMA PATL.

Compare the Theban soldiers' *requirere* of missing Amphiaræus (Stat. *Theb.* 8. 215):

"iam fessis gemitu paullatim corda levabat
exhaustus sermone dolor,"

where we have the very "sermone" of our text.

Another part of the conclamatio is lamentation. See Sil. 10. 404 (of the Roman soldiers after the battle of Cannæ):

"hic Galba, hic Piso, et leto non dignus inert
Curio deflentur; gravis illic Scaevola bello:
hos passim; at Pauli pariter ceu dira parentis
fata gemunt,"

This part of every *conclamatio* is described in no less express terms in our text:

PRAECIPUE PIUS AENEAS NUNC ACRIS ORONTI
NUNC ANYCI CASUM GEMIT, ET CRUELIA SECUM
FATA LYCI, FORTEMQUE GYAN, FORTEMQUE CLOANTHUM,

not improbably the very words which afforded Silius his model.

The last and principal part of the *conclamatio*—that from which as its most distinguishing feature the custom takes its name—is the calling on the deceased or missing to come back. Compare *Aen.* 3. 67:

. . . “animamque sepulchro
condimus, et magna supremum voce ciemus.”

Lucret. 3. 466:

“interdumque gravi lethargo fertur in altum
aeternumque soporem, oculis, nutuque cadenti;
unde neque exaudit voces, neque noscere vultus
illorum potis est, ad vitam qui revocantes
circumstant, lacrymis rorantes ora genasque.”

Ovid, *Met.* 4. 143:

“Pyrame, responde: tua te, carissime, Thisbe
nominat: exaudi, vultusque attolle iacentes.”

This most essential and distinguishing part of the *conclamatio* is, in our text, not merely touched on (“*tangitur*”), but stated in the most express terms to have been performed by Aeneas and his comrades—*NEC EXAUDIRE VOCATOS*. They were not only missing, but (*IAM EXTREMA PATI*) were dead, and did not hear the call to come to their sorrowing companions.

The picture then before us is not of an after-dinner's talking of, or even of an after-dinner's mourning over (“*conqueruntur*,” Heyne), lost companions: it is of the *conclamatio* itself—of the talking of the lost, of the enumeration of the perfections of the lost (*ACRIS ORONTI, FORTEM GYAN, FORTEM CLOANTHUM*; and compare Silius, 10. 404 (quoted above): “*Leto non dignus inertis Curio*,” “*gravis Scaevola bello*,” “*Paulli pariter ceu dira parentis fata gemunt*”), of the inquiry amongst each

other what had become of them, of their lamentations for them, and of the actually calling on them in a loud voice to come back.

NEC IAM EXAUDIRE VOCATOS. "VOCATOS: si vocentur," Wagner (1861). No, no; VOCATOS is clear and positive—*having been called*: they actually call them (*moesto clamore requirunt*," Silius, as above), and receiving no answer (NEC EXAUDIRE), conclude they are dead; not without hope, however, that it may be otherwise, and they may have escaped (SPEM METUMQUE INTER DUBII SEU—SIVE). Nor let it be objected that conclamation implies death, and that, the "amissi socii" not being dead, but only missing, there can be no conclamation intended. Conclamation—so far from implying death, or being used only in the case of those who were certainly known to be dead—was essentially and originally a means of determining whether the missing or apparently dead were really and past all recovery so, or not; nay more, was a last means in case they were only apparently lost or dead, of recovering them and restoring them to their friends. See Quinctil. *Declam.* 8. 10: "Unde putatis inventos tardos funerum apparatus? Unde, quod exsequias planctibus, ploratu magnoque semper inquietamus ululatu, quam quod *facinus* videtur credere tam facile vel morti? Vidimus igitur frequenter ad vitam post conclamata suprema redeuntes." Serv. ad 6. 218: "Plinius in *N. II.* dicit, hanc esse causam, ut mortui et calida abluantur, et per intervalla conclamantur; quod solet plerumque vitalis spiritus exclusus putari, et homines fallere. Denique refert quendam superpositum pyrae adhibitis ignibus erectum esse, nec potuisse liberari." Tzetzes:

τοῦτο δ' ἔδρων ὡς μνημονεῖς τυγχάνοντες γέλαις,
καὶ ὡς εἰ ἀπὲλεῖθ' ἵς, πρὸς τὴν γωνίην συνδράμοι.

"But 'conclamatium est' is equivalent to certainly dead, and all over." To be sure; but not because conclamation was used only in the case of certain death and of all being over, but because the conclamation—that means which afforded the last hope of recovering the person—had been tried in vain, and all hope was therefore over. Compare the conclamation of Hylas by the Argonauts. Val. Flacc. 3. 601:

"illum omnes lacrymis, moestisque reposcere votis,
 incertique metu, nunc longas littore voces
 spargere, ...
 ipse
 stat lacrymans magnoque viri cunctatur amore;"

and of Phaethon by his sisters, Ovid, *Met.* 2. 341:

. . . "et caesae pectora palmis,
 non auditurum miseræ Phaethonta querelas
 nocte dieque vocant."

AMISSOS LONGO SOCIOS SERMONE REQUIRUNT, SPEMQUE METUM-
 QUE INTER DUBII, SEU VIVERE CREDANT SIVE EXTREMA PATI NEC
 IAM EXAUDIRE VOCATOS, exactly equivalent to the more prosaic:
 "Amissos longo socios sermone requirunt, et vocant, spemque
 metumque inter dubii seu vivere credant, sive extrema pati nec
 iam exaudire."

PIUS. "Pius praeter omnes," Servius (ed. Lion). "PRAE-
 CIPUE Aeneas gemit, quia PIUS," La Cerda, following Priscian
 and quoting Val. Flacc. 5. 303:

"praecipue Aesonidem varios incerta per aestus
 mens rapit undantem curis ac multa novantem."

Also Wagner (ed. Heyn.). The junction of PRAECIPUE with PIUS
 had been so graceless—nay, if I may so say without offence
 to Ovid, by whom the junction has actually been made (*Met.*
 4. 551:

"nam quae praecipue fuerat pia; 'prosequar,' inquit,
 'in freta reginam'")

so awkward—that I could hardly allow it to have been
 made by our author, even if I had not the positive proof in
 6. 175:

"ergo omnes magno circum clamore fremebant;
 praecipue pius Aeneas"

(where the structure can by no possibility be "praecipue pius"),
 that nothing was further from our author's mind than such
 junction. Compare Apoll. Rhod. 2. 240 (of Phineus):

ισκεν Αγγυροειδης· αδιον δ' ελε χηδος εξαστον
 ηρωων, περι δ' αυτε δυο ευας βοηται.

This is one of the thousand-and-one pieces of idle gossip of Servius, which should warn us against surrendering our own better judgment to the *ipse dixit* of his venerable authority, on occasions on which we may yet be unable to produce so direct proof of his error. See Rem. on "Praecipue infelix," verse 716.

PRÆCIPUE, &c. *Not*, Aeneas laments the fate of those mentioned more than he laments the fate of the others who perished; *but*, Aeneas, more than his companions, laments the fate of those who perished.

PIUS. Aeneas laments more than his companions, because he is PIUS, tender-hearted. See Rem. on 1. 14.

FATA LYCI, the fates, *i. e.* the death of Lycus. Compare 4. 20:

. . . "miseri post fata Sychaei"

[the fates, *i. e.* the death of Sychaeus]. 12. 395:

. . . "ut depositi proferret fata parentis"

[the fates, *i. e.* the death of his parent]. 12. 507:

. . . "qua fata celerrima"

[where the fates, *i. e.* death, are speediest]. Manil. 1. 124 (of the *mundus*, or world):

. . . "principio pariter fatoque carentem"

[wanting both beginning and end].

LYCI. "LYCI pro Lycii," Priscian, *Gramm.* 12, probably to distinguish between this person and the Lycus of 9. 556. The truer explanation, perhaps, is, that Virgil, composing the ninth book, had wholly forgotten the Lycus of the first.

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227-230.

ET IAM FINIS ERAT CUM IUPITER AETHERE SUMMO
 DESPICIENS MARE VELIVOLUM TERRASQUE IACENTES
 LITTORAQUE ET LATOS POPULOS SIC VERTICE CAELI
 CONSTITIT

ET IAM FINIS ERAT. "Vel *epularum*, vel *famis*, vel *malorum*," Servius. "*Longi sermonis*: h. e. *querelarum*, aut omnino, *coenae factae*. Pompon. Sabinus *finem diei* interpretatur: . . . Fateor, nexum vel transitum mihi non videri esse felicissimi inventi," Heyne. "Sane *sermonis huius*: est nota transitionis formula, qua expressit Homericum illud: *ὡς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγορεύον*," Wagner (1832). No wonder that Heyne, interpreting the preceding passage as he did, should pronounce the connexion awkward. That passage rightly interpreted, the propriety, nay the elegance, of the connexion becomes apparent. ET IAM FINIS ERAT (Xenoph. *Cyrop.* 2 [ed. Hutch.], p. 66: *Ταῦτα μὲν διενταρθ' ἐλιξεν*); and now their search after and lamentations for their missing friends was at an end, when, &c. The lamentations of Jason's friends at Jason's departure are concluded by Valerius Flaccus (1. 350) in the self-same words.

Our heroes' lamentations are not, like those of their Homeric prototypes (*χλαιοντεσσι δὲ τοισιν ἐπηλυθε νηδυμος ὑπνος*, *Odys.* 12. 311.), continued until night, daylight being necessary for the fine scene immediately subsequent: QUUM IUPITER AETHERE SUMMO, &c.

CUM IUPITER AETHERE SUMMO, &c. How. little different, how precisely identical, are the Christian pictures! Prudent. *Cathem. Hymn. Matut.* 105 :

"speculator adstat desuper,
 qui nos diebus omnibus,
 actusque nostros prospicit
 a luce prima in vesperum."

Hymn. in Confessor.:

“sit salus illi, decus atque virtus,
qui supra caeli residens cacumen,
totius mundi machinam gubernat
trinus et unus.”

For Spenser's imitation of the passage, and of Mercury's descent from heaven, see his *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, verses 1225 *et seqq.* The whole of the interview between Jupiter and Venus has been also copied and greatly amplified by Camoens, *Lusiad.* 2. 33.

TERRASQUE IACENTES.—IACENTES, although in the strict grammatical construction connected with TERRAS only, is connected in the sense with all the objects of DESPICIENS, and is to be understood not of low-lying lands as contradistinguished from highlands or mountains, but of the whole prospect lying (*iacens*) under the eye of Jupiter. Compare *Georg.* 1. 65:

. . . “glebasque iacentes
pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas.”

SIC VERTICE CAELI CONSTITIT. The nominative to CONSTITIT is not IUPITER (verse 227), but *ille* understood—this being that *ανακολουθον* so usual to Virgil and of which we have already had so remarkable an instance in

“id metuens veterisque memor Saturnia belli;”

and the sentence begun at QUUM IUPITER being broken off at POPULOS, and a new one being begun at SIC. Compare the exactly corresponding construction, *Aen.* 7. 666:

“ipse pedes, tegumen torquens immane leonis,
terribili impexum saeta, cum dentibus albis,
indutus capiti, sic regia tecta subibat
horridus,” &c.,

where “ipse,” like IUPITER in our text, remains absolutely without any corresponding verb, and where a new sentence is begun at “sic.” Compare also “in lucem,” 2. 471, and Comm.; also “tum senior Nautes,” and Comm., 5. 704. The structure should, therefore, be indicated by a pause longer than that usually placed at POPULOS; viz. by a dash or semicolon. This

form of construction, though of so frequent occurrence in our author, is not to be admired. A sentence begun should be finished, unless where the matter itself presents an obstacle—supplies an obvious reason why it is not finished. Where there is no such obvious reason, where the same thought is still carried on, the sudden dropping of one structure and re-commencing with another has no other effect than to disturb the attention of the reader, to shake him pretty much in the way in which a horse which is trotting on in a right line, and shies, and then goes on again in a line not *in directum* with that which he has left, shakes his rider in the saddle. And it is, as I believe, a real shy in the writer: he has begun with a construction which he finds himself unable to carry to the end, and—instead of obliterating what he has written and beginning *de novo*, and making a new sentence which shall be “*teres atque rotunda*”—lets what he has written stand, and adds the remainder of the thought in a different construction. The fault and the etiology of the fault is the same, whether in poetry, in declamation, or in common conversation. If a long sentence with many windings is, even when complete and perfect, ill-adapted for poetry, how much less adapted a long sentence in which, besides the numerous windings, there is an actual fracture in the middle—a *fault*, as geologists say, in the strata. See Rem. on l. 23–26.

. SIC, *i. e.* SIC DESPICIENS. Compare *Evang. sec. Iohan. 4. 6*: “*Iesus ergo fatigatus ex itinere sedebat sic [i. e. sic fatigatus] supra fontem.*”

232—233.

TRISTIOR ET LACRYMIS OCULOS SUFFUSA NITENTES
ALLOQUITUR VENUS O QUI RES HOMINUMQUE DEUMQUE

VAR. LECT.

DEUMQUE I *Med.* (Fog.) III P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Thiel; Forb.; Lœd.; Ribb.

DEORUMQUE III Wakefield.

O *Pal., Ver., St. Gall.*

TRISTIOR ET LACRYMIS OCULOS SUFFUSA. "Ut miserationem faciat Venus, tristis, flens, et pulchra inducitur," Heyne. Incorrect. TRISTIOR is less than tristis—*rather sad*, or, according to the English idiom, *saddish, pouting, less gay than usual* (compare 7. 205, "obscurior," rather obscure, but not quite obscure; 7. 46, "senior," a little old, beginning to be old, but not yet old; 3. 377, "tutior," comparatively safe, but not quite safe. Tacit. *Hist.* 1. 14: "Piso . . . vultu habituque moris antiqui, et aestimatione recta severus, deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur," a little *triste*, rather *triste*); and LACRYMIS OCULOS SUFFUSA is much less than flens; flens, proper for Aeneas, *Aen.* 2. 279: had been improper here, where the circumstances are less urgent, where the person is a goddess ("neque enim lacrymare deorum est," Ovid, *Fasti*, 4. 521; with which compare Eurip. *Hippol.* 1395:

HIPPOL. ορας με, δεσποιν', ως εχω, τον αθλιον;
DIANA. ορω' και' οσσων δ' ου' θειμις βυλιν διαρν.

Ovid, *Met.* 2. 621:

. . . "neque enim caelestia tingi
ora decet lacrymis"),

and not merely a goddess but the goddess of beauty, who should not spoil her face with weeping.

The whole expression, TRISTIOR ET LACRYMIS OCULOS SUFFUSA is our author's very elegant paraphrase of sublacrymans, Gr. *υποδακρυουσα*—*Anthol. Pal.* (ed. Dübner), 9. 613:

τῆς Μαρίας το λοιτρον ἰδὼν υπεδακρυε Μωμος
ἐπὼν, 'Ὡς Μαρην, καὶ σε παρερχομεθα.'

237-240.

CUNCTUS OB ITALIAM TERRARUM CLAUDITUR ORBIS
CERTE HINC ROMANOS OLIM VOLVENTIBUS ANNIS
HINC FORE DUCTORES REVOCATO A SANGUINE TEUCRI

VAR. LECT.

REVOCATO A SANG. I *Vat.* (REVOCATOS^ASANGVINE: the A superscribed, apparently by the original hand), *Rom., Med., Ver.* III P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Thiel; Forb.; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

REVOCATO SANGUINE I "In *Mediceo* cod. et aliquot aliis antiquis absque praepositiva particula legitur REVOCATO SANGUINE," Pierius.

O *Pal., St. Gall.*

No better example need be required of the utter futility and worthlessness of very many of the most ancient interpretations of Virgil's meaning than the second of Servius's interpretations—I am fain for Servius's sake to say, the second interpretation *inter Serviana* of this passage: "Sane multi OB ITALIAM, iuxta Italiam antiquo more dictum, accipiunt, ut sit: pars orbis clauditur, quae circa Italiam est; ob enim veteres pro *iuxta* ponebant"—an interpretation which, utterly futile and childish as it is, has nevertheless found favour in the eyes of more than one modern grammarian of whom better might have been expected. See Schirach, p. 512; and Hand, *Tarsell.* 4, p. 537. The only reason which occurs to me why so acute a grammarian as the last mentioned should even for one moment harbour so ill-considered a gloss is, that he has been unable to find any sense

in his reply, dwells not on the nature or quality, but on the extent, of the *dicio* he guarantees—286:

“his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
imperium sine fine dedi;”

290:

“Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.”

241—245.

POLLICITUS QUAE TE GENITOR SENTENTIA VERTIT
HOC EQUIDEM OCCASUM TROIAE TRISTESQUE RUINAS
SOLABAR FATIS CONTRARIA FATA REPENDENS
NUNC EADEM FORTUNA VIROS TOT CASIBUS ACTOS
INSEQUITUR QUEM DAS FINEM REX MAGNE LABORUM

POLLICITUS.—Wagner has removed the full stop placed by Heyne and preceding editors after this word, and supplied its place by a comma, observing: “Est hoc genus quoddam anacoluthi.” Wagner is wrong. POLLICITUS, placed as it is at the end of the long sentence CERTE HINC—POLLICITUS, and at the same time beginning a line and followed by a pause, is the word on which the whole force and gist of the speaker falls. See Comm. on 2. 247; and the exactly similar position of “polliceor,” *Ciris*, 337:

“meque deosque tibi comites, mea alumna, futuros
polliceor: nihil est, quod texas ordine, longum.”

POLLICITUS, therefore, is not the participle, but the finite verb, and equivalent to *pollicitus es*; and so Priscian, 18. 201 (ed. Hertz ap. Keil); quoting the passage, observes: “Deest *es*. Cicero *pro Ligario*: ‘queritur se prohibitum,’ deest *esse*.”

POLLICITUS. *Thou promisedst*. Venus’s voice falls with the last syllable of the word, and there is a full pause. She has stated what Jupiter’s promise was, and the statement (connected with the preceding complaint that the Trojans were

excluded from Italy) implies that Jupiter had broken faith—yet Jupiter remains silent. Hence the necessity for the direct question: QUAE TE, GENITOR, SENTENTIA VERTIT?

Only four lines further on we find a verse constructed in the same manner:

INSEQUITUT. QUEM DAS FINEM, REX MAGNE, LABORUM?

where QUEM DAS FINEM, REX MAGNE, LABORUM is a precisely similar question, of precisely the same length, occupying precisely the same part of the verse, having in its middle a precisely similar vocative, and separated by a pause of precisely the same length from a first word of precisely the same length, and in precisely the same manner closing the preceding sentence. Compare the exactly parallel expostulation of Mars with this same Jupiter on behalf of Romulus, Ovid, *Met.* 14. 812:

“tu mihi concilio quondam praesente deorum,
nam memoro, memorique animo pia verba notavi,
unus erit, quem tu tolles in caerula caeli,
dixisti: rata sit verborum summa tuorum,”

where “dixisti” in the very POLLICITUS of our text; not only having the same meaning, the same emphasis, and the same position in the verse, but being last word of a similar protasis, and separated by a full pause from a similar apodosis.

POLLICITUS (*es*), not POLLICITU’S, for I would fain save the word—as well as “exosus,” 5. 687, and “laetatus,” 10. 827—from the ugly scar of Voss’s and Ribbeck’s un-Virgilian mutilation.

GENITOR.—Independently of the argument by which it has been attempted to show in the preceding remark that a sentence is closed at POLLICITUS and a new sentence, begun at QUAE, there is another in the word GENITOR, properly and effectively placed third word in the new sentence, but most awkwardly and ineffectively last word but two in a sentence consisting of four entire lines. It may also be observed that the appeal to the parental feeling contained in the tender, and at the same time respectful, word GENITOR—intimately bound up with the words QUAE TE SENTENTIA VERTIT, Sire, *why hast thou broken*

thy promise to thy daughter?—is quite foreign from the particulars of the promise itself, which the three preceding lines are occupied in enumerating.

SENTENTIA. Corresponding, not to our mere fugitive *opinion* or *thought*, but to our persisting, deliberate *judgment*, the German *rath*. Compare Cic. *ad Lentul.* 1. 7: “Nostra propugnatio ac defensio dignitatis tuæ, propter magnitudinem beneficii tui, fortasse plerisque *officii* maiorem auctoritatem habere videatur quam *sententiae*.” Also, Cic. *pro Flacco* 1: “Ut omnia praesidia reipublicæ, totum statum civitatis, omnem memoriam temporum præteritorum in vestra potestate, in vestris *sententiis*, in hoc uno iudicio positam esse et defixam putetis.” Arnobius, 1. 28: “Qui dedidimus nos Deo, cuius nutu et arbitrio omne quod est constat, et in *sententiae* suæ perpetuitate defixum est.”

QUAE TE SENTENTIA VERTIT. Substitute tibi for vobis, and we have the exact equivalent in 10. 6:

. . . “quianam *sententia* vobis
versa retro?”

FATIS CONTRARIA FATA REPENDENS. Repaying, compensating, with fates (viz., happy fates promised), opposite fates (viz., unhappy fates present); **exactly as** Ovid, *Met.* 5. 15:

. . . “hac vitam servatae dote rependis?”

Claud. *Rapt. Proserp.* 1. p. 198:

“nascendique vices alterna morte rependis?”

Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 2. 677:

“illae munditiis annorum damna rependunt.”

Ovid, *Amor.* 1. 8. 80:

“vanescat culpa culpa repensa tua.”

Ovid, *Epist.* 15. 31:

“si mihi difficilis formam natura negavit,
ingenio formæ damna rependo meæ.”

Val. Flacc. 1. 660:

. . . “quam munere gaudens
liquerat hospitio, pharetrasque rependerat auro
Salmoneus.”

Tertull. *De Patientia*, 10: "Absolute itaque praecipitur malum malo non rependendum." Aul. Gell. 1. 3: "Rependitur quippe et compensatur leve damnum delibatae honestatis maiore alia gravioreque in adiuvando amico honestate" (in every one of which instances rependere is joined with the ablative of the thing repensum; the repayment, the equivalent value, the compensation); **and exactly as** pensare and compensare are so often joined with the same ablative; Senec. *Oedip.* 488:

"Naxos Aegeo redimita ponto
tradidit thalamis virginem relictam,
meliore pensans damna marito;"

Ovid, *Trist.* 3. 11. 49:

. . . "ut munus munere penses;"

Ovid, *Met.* 5. 94:

. . . "pensaue hoc vulnere vulnus;"

—in the last of which examples pensare vulnus vulnere, and in the last but one of which examples pensare munus munere, is exactly the rependere fata fatis of our text. And so Heyne, Ladewig, Dietsch, and Conington: "REPENDENS, compensans; FATA CONTRARIA, Troianorum calamitates; FATIS, sc. melioribus, novo Italiae regno. . . . Plane aliter contraria fata dicuntur, 9. 136, 241 [read 7. 293; 9. 136]," Heyne. "Indem ich das ungünstige schicksal der Trojaner mit dem andern (dem besseren nämlich) abwog," Ladewig. "Quin per v. FATIS idem significet atque per hoc, i. e. praeclaras res, quae fato Aeneae destinatae essent. Iam cum talibus rependi dicuntur contraria fata, quis est quin haec mala exantlanda esse intelligat? Et quid in hac sententia vituperandum: Hoc solabar casus, cum futuram felicitatem pluris esse ducerem, quam mala praesentia, prae illa haec nihili facerem?" Dietsch, *Theolog.* p. 20. "Compensating or repaying destiny [of the destruction of Troy] with destiny [of reaching Italy]," Conington.

Clear and usual, however, as this structure seems to be, and good sense as it affords to the passage—for what better sense can there be than compensating bad fortune with good?—

not all commentators are satisfied with it; both Voss and Haeckermann maintaining *FATIS* to be the dative, and to mean the now present unhappy fates, to which the future promised happy fates (*FATA*) are contrary (“*Istis FATIS, calamitati Troianorum, rependens CONTRARIA, meliora FATA,*” Voss); and Haeckermann going so far as to add, with his usual asperity towards Heyne, “Nicht ‘plane aliter’ sondern eodem sensu steht ‘contraria fata,’ 7. 293; 9. 136;” to Dietsch’s refutation of which analysis, and the arguments by which it is supported (“*primum male comparati sunt loci, Aen. 7. 293, et 9. 136, cum utrobique fatis alicuius fata alterius opponantur, h. l. de divorsis eorundem fatis dici manifestum sit. Tum qui FATIS pro dativo habuerunt (Haeckerm. pp. 8, sq.) videntur neglexisse, neque rependere unquam pro examinare, expendere dictum esse, nec sententiam talem: HOC (i. e. eo, quod fatis ostendebatur) SOLABAR CASUS (i. e. mala fata), FATA (i. e. bona), quae FATIS (i. e. malis) CONTRARIA essent, expendens, bene habere,*” Dietsch, *Theolog.* p. 20) it is as unnecessary I should add a single word as it is unnecessary I should observe further with respect to Wagner’s gloss (“*FATIS (sive cum fatis) vs. 238 indicatis compensans (αντιστοιχουσα) FATA his CONTRARIA, meliora igitur futura,*” Wagner, 1861) than that compensation of happy fates with unhappy, good with bad, had been a strange kind of comfort indeed—*HOC SOLABAR.*

CONTRARIA, i. e. contraria nobis, adversa. Compare Aesch. Eumen. 334 (ed. Ahrens):

τοῦτο γὰρ λαχὸς διαν-
αια Μοῖρ' ἐπέκλωσεν
ἐμπέδως εἶχεν, . . .

OCCASUM TROIAE TRISTESQUE RUINAS is repeated both in *CONTRARIA FATA* and in *TOT CASIBUS*; *HOC* is repeated in *FATIS*; *EADEM FORTUNA* and *TOT CASIBUS* (therefore also *OCCASUM TROIAE TRISTESQUE RUINAS*) are repeated in *LABORUM*.

246-250.

ANTENOR POTUIT MEDIIS ELAPSUS ACHIVIS
 ILLYRICOS PENETRARE SINUS ATQUE INTIMA TUTUS
 REGNA LIBURNORUM ET FONTEM SUPERARE TIMAVI
 UNDE PER ORA NOVEM VASTO CUM MURMURE MONTIS
 IT MARE PRORUPTUM ET PELAGO PRÆMIT ARVA SONANTI

VAR. LECT.

PRORUPTUM I *Rom., Med., Ver.* (PR^{AE}RVPTVM). III Serv. ("PRORUPTUM, i. e. effusum fluens. Et melius PRORUPTUM, quam PRÆRUPTUM legere"); Turnæbus; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Thiel; Forb.; Lad.; Haupt.; Ribb.; Coningt.

PRAERUPTUM I *Vat.* The actual reading of the *Vat.* is PR^{OE}RVPTVM. Between the first and second R there is a triangular hole in the parchment. This hole has very much of the shape of an A, and not at all the shape of an O. I conclude that an A not an O has stood between the first and second R—a conclusion confirmed by the existence of a letter over the hole, which appears to be an E added in afterwards. This added-in letter has obliterating strokes* drawn through it, and an added-in O placed beside it. I conclude, therefore, that the original writing has been PRARVPTVM, intended for and afterwards made. PRARVPTVM by the addition of the E, and that this PRARVPTVM has been changed into PR^ORVPTVM by the obliteration of the A and the E, the adding-in of O, and the subsequent dropping out of the obliterated A. III Senec. (*Nat. Quaest.* 3. 1); P. Manut.

O. *Pal., St. Gall.*

I believe I am not only the first but the only one of Virgil's commentators who has explored the Timavus and can speak of it from personal observation. In September, 1865—being on a foot tour with my daughter, from Leghorn, through the Tirol, to Dresden—we turned aside at Ober-Drauburg, the frontier

* These obliterating strokes form something like an R, for which they have actually been taken.

town of Carinthia, and crossing the Julian Alps southward, by the Predil, descended through Görtz and along the Isonzo to the *embouchure* of the Timavo (or Timao) into the bay of Monfalcone, the extreme north-westerly nook of the Adriatic, at San Giovanni di Tuba, between Monfalcone and Castle Duino. We remained three days, going over the whole locality in every direction, and with the most lively interest comparing the accounts given by ancient authors, and especially these celebrated verses of Virgil, with the testimony of our own senses, the *viva-voce* relations of persons on the spot, the notices of Cluverius (*Ital. Antiq.* 1. 20), of Schlözer, who visited the place in 1777 (*Briefwechsel*, part 2, p. 340), and of Valvasor (*Ehre des herzogthums Krain*, Laibach, 1689; book 2, ch. 66, and book 4, ch. 44); as well as with the more recent memoirs of Abate Berini di Ronchi di Monfalcone, *Indagine sullo stato del Timavo e delle sue adiacenze al principio dell' era cristiana*, Udine, 1826; of Catinelli, *Sulla identità dell' antico coll' odierno Timavo*, *Archeografo Triestino*, Trieste, 1829, vol. 2, p. 379; of Dr. Adolf Schmidl, *Ueber den unterirdischen lauf der Reca, aus dem hefte des jahrgangs 1851, der sitzungsberichte der Math.-Naturwis. classe der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften besonders abgedruckt*; and of Dr. P. Kandler, of Trieste, *Discorso sul Timavo*, Trieste, 1864—these two last the cause of our extending our personal researches as far as the disappearance of the Reca underground at San Canziano, eighteen Italian miles above its re-appearance and discharge into the sea near the church of San Giovanni di Tuba. **Only** when we saw the Reca, after a course of sixteen Italian miles from its source at the foot of Monte Albio, chafing in its rocky, much-impeded channel, at the bottom of the four-hundred-foot-deep chasm on the brink of which we stood, and disappearing under the dark arch of the natural tunnel (“voragine,” Dr. Kandler), under the mountain—**only** when we heard from Dr. Kandler, and read in his *Discorso* (p. 24) that the sand and silt and broken pieces of mill-wheels of the Reca valley are discharged through the “ora Timavi” at San Giovanni di Tuba (“a San Giovanni uscissero e sabbia e melme che sono unicamente della valle del Timavo soprano” [so Dr. Kandler denominates

the Reca *above* San Canziano, to distinguish it from the Reca *below* San Canziano, denominated by him “Timavo sottano”] “e pezzi di legno di ruote di molini che in quella vallata si trovano”) —**only** when we read the accounts in Dr. Kandler’s periodical, *L’Istria*, of the floods of the Reca both above San Canziano and below San Giovanni di Tuba, did we at last understand the mystery of the “fons Timavi.”

UNDE PER ORA NOVEM, VASTO CUM MURMURE MONTIS,
IT MARE PRORUPTUM ET PELAGO PREMUIT ARVA SONANTI,

viz., that the so-called “fons Timavi” is not a fons, or spring, or source at all, but only the re-appearance, in several streams gushing forth from under the mountain at very short distances from each other, of the river—Posidonius’s river Timavus—which had become subterranean at San Canziano, eighteen miles higher up in the mountains (Strabo, 5. 1. 8: Ποσειδώνιος δε φησι ποταμον τον Τιμανον εκ των ορων φερομενον καταπιπτειν εις βερεθρον, ειθ’ ιππο γης ενεχθεντα περι εκατον και τριακοντα σταδιους επι τη θαλαττη την εκβολην ποιεισθαι); and that it is the occasional sudden bursting forth of this river with unusual violence and in unusual quantity through the ORA at San Giovanni di Tuba—in other words, a flood of the Reca below San Giovanni di Tuba—which our author describes in our text.

A personal visit to the locality having thus cleared up our own difficulties, I am enabled to present the reader with such a picture as will probably clear up his also. At the foot of Monte Albio (Schneeberg), the last of the Julian Alps eastward, rises a river, which at San Canziano, sixteen miles from its source, becomes subterranean, and (having flowed from San Canziano eighteen miles underground) emerges from under the mountain at San Giovanni di Tuba, in numerous so-called springs or *sorgenti* coalescing almost immediately again into a single deep and broad stream, which, after a slow, smooth, and noiseless course of scarcely more than an Italian mile through the flat and marshy litoral, discharges itself into the Adriatic by a single mouth. The “Timavus” of our author is this river, from its re-appearance above ground at San Giovanni di Tuba to the sea; the ORA NOVEM of our author are the apertures

which give passage to the re-appearing river; the “*fons Timavi*” of our author is the aggregate of these apertures—these apertures taken collectively and regarded, as they are still regarded on the spot, viz., as the source or spring of the river below them—and the phenomenon described in our text is a flood or freshet (usual after heavy rains or a sudden melting of the snow upon the Albio) of the unseen, unsuspected river behind them, suddenly bursting through them with great violence, and deluging as with a wide-spread boisterous sea the narrow and almost flat stripe of land between them and the Adriatic. “Antenor,” says our author, “penetrated to the very extremity of the Adriatic gulf, beyond the fountain of the Timavus, *i. e.* beyond those nine mouths or apertures through which the river, bursting, floods the country [ARVA, the fields, the lands, the cultivated grounds] as with a wide and noisy sea.” So understood, the passage is free from all difficulty, the description agrees accurately in every respect with the circumstances both of the Timavus of Posidonius and Strabo, and of the Timavo (or Timao) of the present day; and the reader is **as little** under the necessity **either** of magnifying a river only about one thousand yards long, not merely into a sea (MARE) but into a wide and noisy expanse of sea (PELAGO SONANTI) [as is done by La Cerda: “An omnia ista” [Virgil’s and other similar accounts of the Timavus] “inania, cum hic tam magnus vastusque fluvius nullibi sit terrarum; veteres omnes illius meminerunt, nostri vix inveniunt?” and Heyne: “Quibus autem in terris fluvius ille quaerendus sit, magna fuit inter viros doctos controversia”], **or** of adopting the preposterous construction put on the passage by J. H. Voss, and repeated by Thiel and Kappes, viz., that PRORUPTUM is a supine depending on IT and having MARE for its object, **as** he is under the necessity of leaving the present Timavo, both springs and river, and going in vain search of a river—the Tagliamento, or the Brenta, or the Po (!)—[“Alii dicunt esse fluvium Patavinum, et appellari lingua vernacula Brentam,” Cyntius Cenet., quoting Luc. 7. 192, and Mart. *Ep.* 13. 89. “Maluere itaque alii referre ad Meduacum s. Brentam, nonnulli adeo ad

Padum," Heyne, *Excurs. ad loc.*] to which the expressions MARE PRORUPTUM, PELAGO SONANTI, and VASTO CUM MURMURE MONTIS may with some shadow of propriety apply.

At verse 261 of the third book of his *Pharsalia*, a more manly and dignified, however less elegant, courtly, insinuating and successful a poet than Virgil, writes thus of the Tigris:

"at Tigrim subito tellus absorbet hiatu,
occultosque tegit cursus, rursusque renatum
fonte novo flumen pelagi non abnegat undis."

Change one single word, viz., Tigrim into Timavum, and these verses become a faithful re-enumeration of the just-described particularities of the Reca-Timavo, if I may so denominate our river, in its course from its source at the foot of Monte Albio to the sea. There is, first, its sudden disappearance in the chasm at San Canziano ("subito tellus absorbet hiatu"); then its underground course of eighteen Italian miles from San Canziano to San Giovanni di Tuba ("occultosque tegit cursus"); next, its re-appearance ("rursusque renatum") at San Giovanni di Tuba, by a new spring ("fonte novo," Virgil's nine-mouthed fountain of Timavus); and, lastly, its discharge into the sea about a mile below San Giovanni di Tuba and the new spring ("pelagi non abnegat undis") in a single deep and broad stream ("flumen").

All this seems sufficiently plain and simple, and the reader has little difficulty in picturing to himself the Timavus, or, as I prefer to call it, the Reca-Timavo, issuing, at the height of about 1200 feet above the sea-level, from under the last of the Julian Alps immediately to the north of Fiume; running thence in a north-westerly direction for sixteen Italian miles, parallel to and not far from the line of the ancient Roman road from Aquileia to Pola; suddenly engulfed in the ground at the village of San Canziano; running from thence eighteen miles underground, and re-appearing at San Giovanni di Tuba, only to throw itself into the bay of Monfalcone, the extreme north-westerly nook of the Adriatic (εσχατος μυχος του Αδριου), about a mile further on. Some one of my readers—perhaps, more curious than the rest, either about Virgil and Antenor, or about

ancient chorography, or about picturesque scenery—not possibly about all three together—and more deeply impressed than his fellows by the Horation maxim:

“*segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
quam quæ sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus*”

—suddenly stops short when he has read so far, flings my half-perused essay, along with a couple of shirts, a Bradshaw, and a Murray, into his valise, and sets out by rail and first packet direct for the spot. He will judge for himself—small blame to him—and not take it on the word of any one. Arrived towards the end of the week at Monfalcone, he sleeps there, and spends the following day walking to San Giovanni di Tuba, either along the high Monfalcone and Trieste post-road, or, as I and my daughter preferred, along the parallel railway line close under the most westerly spurs of the Karst; diverging a little, on his way, to visit the tarn of Pietra Rossa on his left, and on his right the still-frequented ancient Roman hot baths of Monte Sant Antonio. San Giovanni reached towards evening, there is no sleeping place, and he goes on, as we went on, to the little roadside inn at Duino, sups and sleeps, and next morning after breakfast returns to San Giovanni, halting every now and then, both as he goes and as he returns, to listen for the “*vastum murmur montis*,” always present to his mind, but never even so much as once saluting his ear. Disappointed and perplexed, he stands still at last in the middle of the road, the slightly elevated church of San Giovanni only about a hundred yards before him, with the road trending on past it towards Monfalcone. “Here, if anywhere,” he says to himself, “should the ‘*fons Timavi*’ be.” Not a drop of water, however, is to be seen, except just below the road, on his left, two millponds—or, rather, one large millpond divided into two by a bush-covered peninsula only a few yards wide. “Even if the Timavus were here, and the mountain echoing it as much as ever it did either in Virgil’s time or Antenor’s, one could not hear it for the rout those weirs are making; one would think it was the Timavus itself was tumbling over them. The mills are not at work. I’ll see is there any one at them can give me any information.”

Ere long he has found the intendant, who receives him with a courteousness and a readiness to give information for nothing, not easy to be imagined by an Englishman who has never been in Italy. "Come with me, and I will show it to you," he says; "only the waters are now low, and will give you little notion what it is sometimes." In a few minutes they are standing beside and below the mill weir. "There it is," says the intendant. "Where?" says the traveller. "There, coming down over the weir." "I see nothing," says the traveller, "but the overflow of the mill-pond tumbling down the weir and running off." "That is the river you were asking about—the Timavo." "And where are the ORA?" Unfortunately, the intendant is not a Latin scholar, knows nothing about ORA. "Where does all this large quantity of water come from?" "Out of the mountain, through a culvert under the post-road you came by. We believe it to be the Reca that sinks into the ground at San Canziano. But you have not seen the half of it. Let us walk down a little further." "How wide do you think it is?" asks the traveller, as they walk down along the left bank. "I would guess about twenty-five or thirty yards," replies his guide, "but it will soon be twice as wide or more, for look there at the accession it is just going to get, and we are not more than a hundred yards below the weir yet." "What river is that?" asks the traveller. "The Timavo." "Another Timavo?" "Yes. That is the Timavo from the other weir." "The breadth of the two united cannot be much less than seventy yards?" "Not much less," replies the intendant, "and they are to be joined by the Locavitz bye-and-bye." "Would you have time to come that far with me?" "Certainly. It is not more than a quarter of a mile further, and I am never tired of looking at the deep, broad, majestic stream, up which so many *trabaccoli* are constantly bringing the grist to our mills, and down which they are no less constantly bringing the flour back to Trieste. You see the tops of the masts there under the church behind you. And here is the Locavitz joining in; and yonder, scarcely a mile before us, the double line of uprights marking the channel for the *trabaccoli*,

where the river, spreading out on both sides, is hardly distinguishable from the sea. Indeed, it would be no harm if the poles came up to where we are standing; for after heavy rains, especially in the spring, when the snow begins to melt in the mountains, both banks of the river are overflowed up to the very weirs—the Locavitz, and the two arms coming down from the weirs, thrown into one; that wide-spreading and pretty high hill on the other side of the river, where you see the fortification, and where yesterday you visited the ancient Roman hot baths, is turned into an island, and all this lowland here into a perfect sea. Sometimes we think we shall be all lost, when the sea itself, driven by a Sirocco, comes inland at the same time, and forces the flooded river back upon us. Have you seen enough, or shall we go further?" "Thank you very much," replies the traveller, "I have only too much imposed on your kindness. Let us turn." So they go back along the bank, past the weir and pond, and out on the road just where the traveller had been standing. "Many is the accident which has happened here before this new road was made," says the intendant. "In times of floods you could hardly tell which was the road and which the pond, and you were swallowed up before you knew where you were. Look down over the kerb and see how the water is rushing out of the culvert below; yet there is no flood now, the pond is only at its usual level." The traveller looks down and sees through the smooth transparent surface the violently agitated water below. "How many of these culverts have you?" "Three; one for this pond, two for the other." "Answering, of course, to as many openings in the side of the mountain?" "Not exactly. I understand that before the culverts were built or the road made, there were in this place five *sorgenti*." "You mean five openings in the mountain's side discharging water?" "Yes. Three culverts were found sufficient to transmit the water of the five *sorgenti* safely across, under the road, into the ponds." "Five of the 'ora Timavi' satisfactorily accounted for," thinks the traveller to himself: "And you sleep quietly in your bed a-nights in the mill, with all this quantity of water impending

over you?" "Yes, now we do. I do not say we did before the Trieste waterworks had relieved the underground river of so large a proportion of its water. The only danger now is a flood from above, stopped below and thrown back upon us by a high tide and the Sirocco working together. The culverts are nine feet below the sea level." "Then you sometimes have a visit from the sea itself?" "No. The sea only throws back the river upon us, never comes itself. We are a good deal protected by the rising ground next the water, and the accumulated sand on the very shore, as well as by the far-from-inconsiderable hill of Sant Antonio nearer us, where you saw the fortification to-day, and the ancient Roman hot baths yesterday." "And except for which," subjoins the traveller, "the whole of the flat and marshy ground—I think you call it the Lisert—along the foot of the mountains, between this and Monfalcone, would long ages ago have become an estuary of the Adriatic." "I am not so sure," answers the intendant. "Those great floods, the result of melting snows or heavy rains in the mountains, are exceptional—occur only at long intervals; whereas the deposition of the sand and other *debris* of the mountains is perpetual; and I, for my part, am so little of opinion that there is any danger of the Lisert being turned into a bay, and Monte Sant Antonio into an island, by irruptions of the sea, that I rather think it is the Lisert which is filling up, becoming every day more and more inland, and Monte Sant Antonio every day less and less an island in the sea." So saying, and wishing the traveller a pleasant journey, the intendant doffs his hat and turns into the mill; and the traveller proceeds along the post-road to Monfalcone, comparing, as he goes, the aspect of the locality now when the water is at the lowest, with the description given by Dr. Kandler in his periodical, *L'Istria*, anno 6, No. 46, published in Trieste, Nov. 15, 1851, of the same locality during a flood: "Le piene straordinarie d'acque che si monstrarono in questi primi giorni del Novembre, ci persuasero a visitare di persona le regioni del Timavo inferiore, per trarne argomento o di conferma per quanto avemmo a ritenere del corso e delle commu-

nicazioni summontane di quell' acque, o di rettificazione o di richiamo per quanto avessimo erroneamente guidicato di quei singolari fenomeni. . . . Abbiamo visitato nel dì 9 Novembre l'estuario di Monfalcone o le paludi fra S. Giovanni di Duino e quell' antico municipio, che non esitiamo a dire tale. Quel seno coperto tutto dalle acque ci presentò agli occhi corporei precisamente quell' antica condizione marina che cogli occhi della mente credemmo di riconoscere attraverso i cangiamenti seguiti. Il monte di S. Antonio o dei bagni e quell' altro ivi prossimo, detto della Punta, che è più prossimo all' emissario del Timavo di S. Giovanni, si mostrarono perfettamente in isole a breve distanza l'una dall' altra; quella dei bagni a breve distanza dalla terra ferma; per cui ha conferma la credenza ad un ponte di congiungimento, che Marino Sanuto vide nel 1483, e che noi facciamo rimontare fino all' epoca Romana. Fra il *Monte della Punta* e l' *Isola Amarina* rimaneva aperto l' ingresso cui dinanzi stava la lanterna o faro detto poi *Belforte*, di cui oggi poche riune, e la *fossa Timari*. L' estuario fra le isole ed i monti posti di contro presentava l' aspetto di amplissimo e bellissimo porto, difeso dalle isole contro i marosi; ma non tutto era porto praticabile da legni maggiori, come altra volta avemmo ad indicare. Le sorgenti di S. Giovanni di Tuba, quelle che mettono in movimento il molino, e quelle altre più a levante, erano talmente rigonfie, che le colonne d' acqua sorgiva si vedevano sbalzare oltre il livello della massa del fiume, il quale era alto quanto la traversata pel molino permetteva alzarsi; alle sorgenti più orientali, il livello della massa d' acqua era assai più alto dell' ordinario ed occupava il letto della strada abbandonata ivi prossima; indizio che l' acqua sgorgante era maggiore in copia di quello che il solito letto permettesse di scorrere tosto per equilibrarsi col mare; ondoso era il correre del fiume, non per vento che lo spingesse, o per ineguaglianze del letto (che anzi concede solitamente placidissimo lo scorrere del fiume), ma per la foga dell' acqua sgorgante dalle aperture sottacquee del masso compressa dall' acqua di più alto livello, contenuta nell' interno dei monti." That it is such a flood of the river Timavus, not the river Timavus itself in its ordinary

state, which our author places before us in the text, appears, I think, from the following considerations: **First**, that the word *arva*, in conjunction with *premit*, cannot signify the country through which something (in the case before us, a river) runs—as *arva* signifies where it is joined with *inter* and *fluit*, 2. 781:

. . . “ubi Lydius *arva*
inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris”

—can only signify the country which something (in the case before us, a flooded and overflowing river) presses with its physical weight, as Faunus lying on the grass in the heat of the day is said “*premere arva*,” Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 761:

“nec Dryadas, nec nos videamus labra Dianae,
nec Faunum, medio cum premit *arva* die.”

Compare Avien. *Orb. Terr.* 336:

“hic qua secretis incidit flexibus agros,
Aethiopum lingua Siris ruit; utque Syenen
caerulus accedens diti loca flumine adulat,
nomine se claro Nilum trahit, inque iacentem
Aegyptum fusus fluctu premit *arva* marito,
fecundatque solum;”

also Rutil. *Itiner.* 1. 639 (of the port of Pisa in Tuscany).

“vidimus excitis pontum flavescere arenis,
atque eructato vortice rura tegi,
qualiter oceanus mediis infunditur agris
destituenda vago quum premit *arva* salo,
sive alio refluus nostro colliditur orbe,
sive corusca suis sidera pascit aquis;”

in both which passages “*premit arva*” can only be presses (oppresses) the lands with its physical weight, and in the latter of which, “*arva*” is explained by “*rura*” and “*agris*”: proof demonstrative that *ARVA*, in the same connexion in our text, is neither the country through which the river flows, nor the tract usually occupied by the river, the bed of the river—sometimes of considerable width at the foot of mountains, or at a river’s *embouchure* into the sea—but is the cultivated ground overflowed by the river in a state of flood, **the** “*valles*,”

“campi,” and “agri” of Pliny, *Ep.* 8. 17: “Tiberis alveum excessit, et demissioribus ripis alte superfunditur. Quanquam fossa, quam providentissimus imperator fecit, exhaustus, premit valles, innatat campis, quaque planum solum, pro solo cernitur. Inde, quae solet flumina accipere et permista devehere, velut obvius retro cogit, atque ita alienis aquis operit agros, quos ipse non tangit;” **the** “patuli campi” of Silius, 6. 141:

“Bagrada non ullo Libycis in finibus amne
victus limosas extendere latius undas,
et stagnante vado patulos involvere campos;”

and of Avienus, *Orb. Terr.* 423:

. . . “tum caeruleum Padus evomit antro
flumen, et extento patulos premit aequore campos;”

the “agri” of Ovid, *Met.* 1. 422:

“sic ubi deseruit madidos septemfluus agros
Nilus, et antiquo sua flumina reddidit alveo;”

the “agri” and “campi” of Lucan, 6. 272:

“sic pleno Padus ore tumens super aggere tutas
excurrit ripas, et totos concutit agros.
succubuit si qua tellus, cumulumque furentem
undarum non passa ruit, tum flumine toto
transit, et ignotos aperit sibi gurgite campos;”

and the “omnia” of our author himself, *Georg.* 1. 115:

“praesertim incertis si mensibus amnis abundans
exit, et obducto late tenet omnia limo.”

Secondly, that the very word *arva* has been used by our author himself when speaking of the irruption of a flood over a country, *Aen.* 2. 496:

“non sic aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis
exiit, oppositasque evicit gurgite moles,
fertur in arva furens cumulo, camposque per omnes
cum stabulis armenta trahit.”

where not only have we the very *ARVA* of our text, but “exiit” corresponds to the *UNDE* IT, “oppositas evicit moles” to the *PRORUPTUM*, “gurgite” to the *MARE*, and “fertur furens cumulo”

to the PELAGO PREMIT SONANTI, as nearly as the difference of circumstances permits, *i. e.*, as nearly as the difference between an ordinary river which overflows its banks and floods the country and a river which bursts already-flooded out of the ground and overflows the country permits. **Thirdly**, that the district of the Timavus is actually, as testified by Dr. Kandler (above), subject to such floods bursting out through the ORA at San Giovanni; **and**, above all, that the expressions MARE PRORUPTUM, PELAGO SONANTI, and VASTO CUM MURMURE MONTIS applied to the already-flooded Timavus bursting out from under the mountain, are as fit and proper (compare Claud. *in Rufin.* 2. 209:

. . . "prorumpat in arva
libertas effrena maris, vel limite iusto
devius errantes Phaethon confundat habenas")

as, applied to the Timavus in its ordinary state, whether at the ORA or elsewhere in its course, they are unfit and bombastic. How modest in comparison the younger Pliny's account (*Ep.* 8. 8) of the font of the Clitumnus ("Fons adhuc et iam amplissimum flumen atque etiam navium patiens")! How excusable in comparison, Seneca's application of the term mare (not even heightened by pelagus), whether to the arm of the great Nile in its ordinary state, or to the great, inundating Nile itself! *Nat. Quaest.* 4. 2: "Sic quoque quum se ripis continet Nilus, per septena ostia in mare emittitur; quodeunque elegeris ex his mare est." *Ibid.*: "Initio diducitur, deinde continuatis aquis in faciem lati ac turbidi maris stagnat."

Nor let any one suspect that this flood of Dr. Kandler's may be the imagination, or, at least, the exaggeration, of a partisan, whereon to found, or wherewith to buttress, a theory of the Virgilian meaning. On the contrary, Dr. Kandler, so far from being the partisan of a scholastic theory, does not even profess to be a scholar at all; and while writing his interesting, eloquent, enthusiastic, and truly Italian *Discorso sul Timavo* (observe, not for a learned society, but "per nozze Guastalla-Levi") turns his back on geographers and poets, not excepting even Virgil himself, and indites directly from "the great book of nature" ("Ma io preferisco leggere dapprima il gran libro che Dio ha

plasmato, il quale svela le veracità o le aberrazioni degli uomini che ne vollero discorrere," *Discorso*, p. 7; and again, in the Dedication, p. 2: "In altri tempi aveva raccolto notizie, e, come tutti gli scrittori s'inganno, non comuni; le ho per Voi rivedute: vengo dal campo e fui testimon di ciò che narro, io stesso. Del Timavo vi tesso ghirlanda fresca fresca, di tutta mia composizione, e l'offro a Voi, sposi fortunati"). Had the amiable garlandist adhered strictly to his programme, and interwoven in his garland no flowers at all from poet's or geographer's *partierre*, he had **neither** mistaken Virgil's "fons Timavi," viz., the fons at San Giovanni—the only "fons Timavi" of which Virgil seems to have had any knowledge—for the real "fons Timavi" at the foot of the Albio (*Discorso*, p. 7: "Il quale [Virgilio] dà un solo fonte al Timavo, in prossimità della Liburnia più interna che è appunto sopra Fiume città, e dà a lui nove emissari al mare Adriatico, nel suo seno più interno, togliendo così ogni possibilità di scambio tra fonte ed emissario, ben altro che identici, anzi richiedenti distanza tra l'uno e l'altro") **nor** have jumbled up together Asinius Pollio and Antenor (*Ibid*: "Virgilio celebrando Antenore, che sicuro traversò le parti più settentrionali di Liburnia, lo felicità di avere superato *saxa Timavi*, il che è facilissimo presso all'emissario, ed accenna alle *arva Timavi*, che possono cercarsi intorno la chiesa di S. Giovanni e per molte miglia in distanza"). But the reader is long since sufficiently convinced that the picture in our text is not of a river, whether the Timavus (the modern Timavo) or any other, in its ordinary state—"medio alveo delabentis in mare"—but of the Timavus (the modern Timavo), reputed both then and now to have its source less than an Italian mile from the sea, bursting forth suddenly and unaccountably in full flood from that reputed source, and "lapides adesos stirpesque raptas et pecus et domos volventis una, non sine montium clamore vicinaeque silvae, cum fera diluvies quietos irritat amnes," and begs I may proceed.

IT MARE PRORUPTUM. What is the subject of it? What is it that *goes*? "The sea," answer many; "the real, literal sea [MARE], which ascends the river up to its very source" (Serv. (ed. Lion): "Sane multi IT MARE PRORUPTUM ET PELAGO PREMITS

ARVA SONANTI hoc intelligi volunt: quod tanta est in illis locis accessa, quæ dicitur, maris, ut per ora Timavi, *i. e.*, usque ad initium fontis, mare ascendat, unde ait: IT MARE, &c., *i. e.*, aqua maris premat arva, *h. e.* littori vicina cooperiat. Constat autem et in illo loco, accessam maris usque ad montem pervenire, et per omne littus Venetiarum mare certis horis et accedere per infinitum et recedere." Phaer:

"where issues nine the sea makes in, for noise the mountain rings."

Wood, *Essay on Homer*, p. 51: "This is not a description of the river running with violence into the sea, but of the sea bursting into the channel and even the sources of the river, and overflowing the land")—an answer, to which it will be time enough to attend when it has first been explained how FONTEM UNDE IT comes to mean "fountain *towards* which goes." "The sea," answer others, "the real, literal sea (MARE), which penetrates by hidden, underground channels into the ORA, and bursts out through them" (Iovitæ Rapitii *Balneorum ad Timavi ostia descriptio*, ap. Graevii *Thesaur. Antiquit. Italiae*, tom 6: "Nunc autem iam planum est eum [Virgilium] proprie et ad rem accomodate locutum esse. Ut enim mare est quod aestu excrescens per subterraneas concavitates in ipsa montis intima et quasi viscera ingreditur, recte dicitur MARE et *pelagus*, eo tropo quo ex toto partem intelligimus, ut sit MARE PRORUPTUM prius occulte ingressi et prorupti maris pars, quæ mox non sine magno murmure prorumpens atque exundans circumpositas terras late opprimit atque operit aut vastat sonantibus aquis illis e pelago ingressis et egressis, atque una cum maris aestu vel exundantibus vel subsidentibus."

"where with the limestone's reboant roar,
through nine loud mouths the sea-waves pour,
and all the fields are deluged o'er."—Conington)

—an answer, which it will be time enough to consider when there is any reliable evidence of the real, literal sea (MARE) bursting forth, or having ever burst forth, through the ORA. The real literal sea, therefore, *i. e.* the Adriatic, neither ascending to the fountain nor descending from the fountain, it becomes certain that it is not with the real, literal sea we have here to do at all,

but only with a figurative sea; and the new question—never, I believe, discussed by any commentator—arises: whether is this figurative sea subject or predicate, in other words: whether is the structure UNDE [veluti] PRORUPTUM MARE IT, or UNDE [Timavus] IT [veluti] PRORUPTUM MARE? and I, for my part, find no difficulty in answering: “Predicate.” Predicate (*a*), because Timavus is more effectually lauded when every word of the laudation is made to gravitate directly towards Timavus itself, than if every word of the laudation be made to gravitate towards a mere characteristic, the representative of Timavus for the nonce; predicate (*b*), because so long as [veluti] MARE is regarded as the subject of IT, the action of the first clause of the verse begins, is carried on, and ends within the limits of a monosyllable of no more than two letters; whereas, [veluti] MARE being regarded as predicate, the action of the first clause is carried on until it is lost and disappears in the greater action of the second; predicate (*c*), because mare and pelagus being but different names for one and the same thing viewed under different lights, the expression MARE PREMIT PELAGO is, if allowable at all, as awkward and disagreeable as it is tautologous; predicate (*d*), because instances of a sea’s being said to go, in the sense of really going, and not merely as in Mela, 3. 6 (“Qua littora attingit [mare] ripis contentum insularum non longe distantibus, et ubique paene tantundem, it angustum et par freto; curvansque se subinde, longo supercilio inflexum est”) in the sense of seeming to go or trending, are as rare—an hour’s search has furnished me with no more than one, viz., Claud. *Stilich.* 1. 172:

“Illyricum peteres, campi montesque latebant.
vexillum navale dares; sub puppibus ibat
Ionium”—

as instances of a river’s being said to go, in the sense of really going, are of common occurrence, an hour’s search having afforded me no fewer than eleven (viz., *Aen.* 8. 726:

“Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis;
extremique hominum Morini Rhenusque bicornis.”

Hor. *Od.* 1. 2. 13:

“vidinus flavum Tiberim, retortis
littore Etrusco violenter undis,
ire deiectum monumenta regis
templaque Vestae.”

Ovid, *Heroid.* 1. 33:

“hac ibat Simois, hic est Sigeia tellus.”

Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 257:

“ut solet, aequoreas ibit Tiberinus in undas.”

Ovid, *Met.* 1. 111:

“flumina iam lactis, iam flumina nectaris ibant.”

Ovid, *Met.* 2. 455:

. . . “nemus gelidum, de quo cum murmure labens
ibat, et attritas versabat rivus arenas.”

Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 364:

“amnis it insana, nomine Gallus, aqua.”

Ovid, *Amor.* 3. 6. 19:

“tu potius, ripis effuse capacibus amnis,
—sic aeternus eas—labere fine tuo.”

Ovid, *Amor.* 3. 6. 25:

“Inachus in Melie Bithynide pallidus isse
dicitur.”

Ovid, *Amor.* 3. 6. 98:

“quis grata dixit voce, ‘perennis eas?’”

Mela, 1. 9: “Deinde iterum iterumque divisus [Nilus] it per omnem Aegyptum vagus atque dispersus”), **and**, finally, predicate (e), because while I search in vain for an example of a sea (mare) said to press the lands with a pelagus, I meet at every turning examples of a river *πελαγίζων*, i. e., pressing the lands with a pelagus; Herodot. 2. 92 (of the Nile): *Ἐπειὰν πληρῆς γένηται ὁ ποταμός καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίζῃ, φρεῖται ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρῖνεα πολλὰ τὰ Αἰγυπτίῳ καλεῖσσι λῶτον.* *Ibid.*

1. 184 (of the Euphrates): *Προτερον δε εωθεε ο ποταμος ανα το πεδιον παν πελαγιζειν*. Strabo, 3. 3: *Ο δε Ταγος και το πλατος εχει του στοματος εικοσι που σταδιων και το βαθος μεγα, ωστε μυριαγωγους αναπλεισθαι. δυο δ' αναχισεις εν τοις υπερκειμενοις ποιειται πεδιοις, οταν αι πλημαι γινωνται, ωστε πελαγιζειν μεν επι εκατον και πεντηκοντα σταδιους και ποιειν πλωτον το πεδιον, εν δε τη επανω αναχισει και νησιον απολαμβανειν οσον τριακοντα σταδιων το μηκος, πλατος δε μικρον απολειπον του μηκος, εναλδες και ευαμπελον*. Dio Cass. 53. 20: *Ο γαρ Τιβερις πελαγισας πασαν την εν τοις πεδιοις Ρωμην κατελαβεν, ωστε πλεισθαι*. *Ibid.* 45. 17: *Ο τε Ηριδανος επι πολυ της περιξ γης πελαγισας, εξαιρνης ανεχωρησε*. Theophylact Simoc. *Quaestiones Physicae*: *Ισασι τοινυν διαιτης τεχνην οι κορακες. ορωσι δε και του Ιστρον τα ρειθρα, και μην και τον Νειλον την Αιγυπτον πελαγιζοντα, αλλ' ομως πινειν εκεινοις οικνεσιν. αλλ' οια Τανταλοι κολαζομενοι δορυμυτατην δικην ταυτην εισπραττουσιν*. Himer. *Ecl.* 13. 31: *Ο γαρ δη Μελης οντος . . . ανισχει μεν εν προαστειω της Σμυρνης, τικτουςι δ' αυτον μυριαι πηγαι και πλησιον αλληλων βλαστανουσαι αφ' ων πλημμυρων ο ποταμος πελαγιζει γε ενθς εκ πηγων και πλωτος και ολκασι και κωπη γινεται*—passages almost sufficient of themselves to make it certain not only that it is an inundation of the country by the Timavus, as it were with a pelagus or wide-spreading sea, which Virgil describes in our text, but that the whole clause *PELAGO PREMIT ARVA SONANTI* is neither more nor less than Virgil's ornate paraphrase of the Greek word *πελαγιζει*.

For all these reasons *MARE* is predicate, not subject, and the structure is not *UNDE* [veluti] *MARE* *IT*, but *UNDE* [Timavus] *IT* [veluti] *MARE*. It will, of course, be objected that at first sight, and before consideration, *MARE* puts itself forward as the subject of *IT* quite as prominently as (10. 207) "*Aulestes*," or (*Georg.* 3. 517) "*arator*," puts itself forward as subject of the same verb, and I do not deny that it does; but if it does, and yet is not, as I think I have shown it is not, really subject but only predicate, and the reader is obliged in consequence to cast about for another subject, such trouble to the reader arises

wholly and solely from an inaccuracy in the construction similar to, however less in degree than, that which is so observable in a passage quoted a little above, viz., *Aen.* 2. 496:

“non sic aggeribus ruptis quum spumeus amnis
exiit, oppositasque evicit gurgite moles,
fertur in arva furens cumulo, camposque per omnes
cum stabulis armenta trahit”

(where “fertur” and “trahit” stand absolutely without a subject, and cannot be supplied with one, except either by depriving “exiit” and “evicit” of theirs in some such manner as the following: “Non sic spumeus amnis, quum aggeribus ruptis exiit, oppositasque evicit gurgite moles, fertur in arva furens cumulo, camposque per omnes cum stabulis armenta trahit:” or by imagining an anacoluthon at “moles,” thus: “Non sic aggeribus ruptis quum spumeus amnis exiit, oppositasque evicit gurgite moles—fertur [spumeus amnis] in arva furens cumulo, camposque per omnes cum stabulis armenta trahit”). In both places the reader—the experienced reader even more than the inexperienced—feels the hitch, the jolt in the saddle; and if he says nothing about it, it is only because he recollects that the poem consists of some seven thousand verses, and was impatiently expected by the absolute master of the ancient Roman world. Curious and almost incredible that in both passages it is the principal verb, occupying the most prominent position, and expressing the main action, which stands thus subjectless, or, to use a milder phrase, for which *subiectum quaeritur*. Let not, however, the reader, in either case, dwell too much on a petty *désagrément*, or make a mountain out of a mole-hill. Let him rather draw, for the case in hand, what advantage he can from the just-cited case; and—observing that “fertur” in the latter perfectly represents it in the former, both in meaning and position in the verse; that “amnis” in the latter is neither more nor less than the generic expression for the special *TIMAVI* of the former, and occupies the very same position in the verse; that the “aggeribus ruptis” and “oppositas evicit moles” of the latter exactly make up the *PRORUPTUM* of the former, and that there is the same *arva* in both—let him conclude at once and without hesitation

that as the subject of “fertur” in the latter case is only to be found in “amnis,” so the subject of IT in the former case is only to be found in TIMAVI, and console himself for his henceforward somewhat lower estimate both of Virgil’s fertility of imagination and accuracy of expression, with his henceforward much more correct notion of Virgil’s landscape of the Timavus.

IT MARE PRORUPTUM ET PELAGO PREMIT ARVA SONANTI. The second clause of the verse is our author’s usual variation, or re-enunciation in different terms, of the first clause: (Timavus) *goes as if it were a burst-forth sea and presses the fields with, as it were, a sounding pelagus.*

Let us suppose for a moment that Antenor—instead of sailing up to the head of the Adriatic and founding the city of Patavium beyond where the Timavus, issuing out of the ground through nine ORA, overflows its banks and turns the country into a pelagus—had sailed up to the head of the Mediterranean, and founded the city of Berytus beyond where the Nile *πελαγίζει* (Herodotus, quoted above), our author, in his account of the circumstance, might have used the very words PELAGO PREMIT ARVA SONANTI. Let us further suppose that the Nile, instead of flowing through Nubia and Upper Egypt *sub dio*, had performed that part of its course secretly under ground and emerged only at the cataracts, in several streams coalescing immediately into a river, which, in its course to the sea, overflowed its banks and inundated the country (“effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum”); our author, in his account of the circumstance, might have used not merely the words PELAGO PREMIT ARVA SONANTI, but, had his measure permitted him, all the other words of our text, except the geographical denominations alone; thus: “Cyrenaicos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus regna Marmaridarum et fontem superare Nili, unde per ora novem magno cum murmure montis, it mare proruptum et pelago premit arva sonanti. Hic tamen ille urbem Beryti sedesque locavit Teucrorum.”

Having now, let us hope, some definite notion of the river Timavus—its fons or source at the foot of Monte Albio, its disappearance under ground at San Canziano, its reappear-

ance at San Giovanni in several streams more or less numerous under different circumstances and mistaken for a fons, its almost immediate re-coalescence into a single stream, its discharge into the sea about a mile further on by a single mouth, and its occasional flooding of the country below San Giovanni—we are in a condition to inquire what has this river, either itself, or its fons, or its floods, to do with Antenor's flight from Troy to Italy. Cleonymus, bound for Venetia (Liv. 10. 2), sails right up the middle of the Adriatic, keeping clear of the two dangerous coasts, the Scylla on the one side and the Charybdis on the other, until, arrived opposite the Brenta, he makes for, and sails up, that river ("Circumvectus inde Brundisii promontorium, medioque sinu Hadriatico ventis latus, quum laeva importuosa Italiae littora, dextra Illyrii Liburnique et Istri, gentes ferae et magna ex parte latrociniis maritimis infames, terrent, penitus ad littora Venetorum pervenit. Ibi expositis paucis, qui loca explorarent, quum audisset tenue praetentum littus esse, quod transgressis stagna a tergo [sint], irrigua aestibus maritimis; agros haud procul proximos campestres cerni; ulteriora colles; inde esse ostium fluminis praealti, quo circumagi naves in stationem tutam vidisse (Meduacus amnis erat); eo invectam classem subire flumine adverso iussit. Gravissimas navium non pertulit alveus fluminis. In leviora navigia transgressa multitudo armatorum ad frequentes agros, tribus maritimis Patavinorum vicis colentibus eam oram, pervenit"); Antenor, on the contrary, sailing up the same Adriatic for the same Venetia, instead of ascending the Brenta westward, turns his back upon it and penetrates eastward into the heart of Liburnia and passes the "fons Timavi"—POTUIT ILLYRICOS PENETRARE SINUS ATQUE INTIMA TUTUS REGNA LIBURNORUM ET FONTEM SUPERARE TIMAVI. How he ever got out alive from among those fierce tribes, or how, having got out alive from among them, he ever made his way by that route to where he built Padua on the Brenta, passes my comprehension; and if it did not pass Jupiter's also, it could only have been because that personage was, *ex officio* as well as *ex natura rerum*, familiar with and up to all sorts of impossibilities. "I cannot help

thinking Venus might have been more cautious about what she said." "How do we know Venus said so at all?" "Virgil says she did, and so do all the commentators." "All the commentators, if you please, but certainly not Virgil." "Are you serious?" "Never was more serious in my life. But what's the matter? What makes you put on so long a face?" "I'm thinking of the E. I. Civil Service, and the lot of poor fellows I sent off yesterday." "Oh! never mind them; they're all right. You told them what answers they were expected to give, and you may be sure they'll give them. Had you told them the real state of the case, what Venus really does say, you would only have brought disgrace both upon them and yourself." "It's an idle curiosity, perhaps; still I must own I would like to know the truth. Tell me, in confidence; I'll not breathe one word of it to any one." "Well, I'll tell you. Venus does not say Antenor penetrated the Illyrian gulf and the interior of the Liburnian realms in safety, and passed the nine-mouthed spring of the Timavus [*Hoc ergo nunc ad argumentum pertinet quod tutus est etiam inter saevos populos,* Serv. (ed. Lion). 'Nach Virgil's angabe drang Antenor . . . durch die Liburnier über den Timavus in das innere des landes, welches den namen von seinen begleitern erhielt,' Mannert, *Geogr. von Italia*, s. 53. 'ILLYRICOS PENETRARE SINUS ATQUE INTIMA TUTUS REGNA LIBURNORUM,' Heyne (who observes in a note: 'poetam male a Servio accusatum dices, quod Antenorem Illyricum et Liburniam tenuisse dixerit, nec minus male post Corradum a Burmanno defensum ex usu voc. *penetrasse*, quod h. l. sit *transisse*') and Wagner (1832 and 1861). 'Tief zur Illyrischen bucht und dem innersten reich der Liburner eingehen ohne gefahr, und umlenken den quell des Timavus,' J. H. Voss. 'Drang in alle buchten (PENETRARE SINUS ATQUE INTIMA REGNA LIBURNORUM) und kam so auch in die durch die weite mündung des Timavus gebildete bucht' (!) Kappes. 'Penetrare is not so much to penetrate into as to make his way through or past (!) Illyricum,' Conington], but Venus says, 'Antenor penetrated the Illyrian gulf, and passed in safety the Liburnian realms farthest up on that gulf,

and the nine-mouthed spring of the Timavus.' "You are most undoubtedly right. It can be nothing else. Antenor did not go in among the fierce Liburni at all, only passed both them and the Timavus by, and then made across for the Brenta. He could do that TUTUS. If he had gone in either among the Liburnians or the Istrians, he never would have been heard of more, nor one of his company. PENETRARE ILLYRICOS SINUS, SUPERARE INTIMA REGNA LIBURNORUM ET FONTEM TIMAVI. Quite Virgil's manner. PENETRARE ILLYRICOS SINUS, the general enunciation; SUPERARE INTIMA REGNA LIBURNORUM ET FONTEM TIMAVI, the specification; the former of the two clauses informing us that he went up the Illyrian gulf, the latter how far he went up it, viz., past both Liburnia and Istria. What a dolt I was not to see it sooner!" "Say, rather, what dolts we all were!" Nothing could be plainer. Penetrated the Illyrian gulf beyond both Liburnia and Istria, and sailing up the Brenta, founded his city in Venetia. And that terrible Timavus ("and all the dangers of Timavus' fount"), with the whole Adriatic rushing out through it ("where with the limestone's reboant roar, through nine loud mouths the sea-waves pour")—no wonder the mountain rumbled—is nothing but a raw-head and bloody-bones to frighten children. Take off the raddled cloth and you have the bare broomstick, the Timavus—remarkable for its manifold spring, and the overflowing of its banks—standing for Istria (just as you so often have the Nile—remarkable for its manifold mouth and the overflowing of its banks—standing for Egypt: *ex. gr. Georg. 3. 28.*

"atque hic undantem bello magnumque fluentem
 Nilum, ac navali surgentes aere columnas.
 addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten;"

Aen. 6. 801:

"et septemgemini turbant trepida ostia Nili"),

and the sole difference between the line Cleonymus took, up the Gulf, and the line taken by Antenor, is, that Cleonymus, setting out from Magna Graecia, kept nearer the western side and turned sooner into the Brenta than Antenor, who, having come round the Peloponnesus from Troy, kept naturally nearer to

are in the inmost part, or heart, of something else, viz., of the Adriatic gulf; in other words, are far up the Adriatic. Compare Val. Flacc. 4. 512 (of the Harpies):

“iamque et ad Ionias metas atque intima tendunt
saxa, vocat magni Strophadas nunc incola ponti,”

not the innermost part, or heart, of the “saxa” (Strophades), *but* the “saxa” (Strophades) innermost, *i. e.* far up in the Ionian sea. Val. Flacc. 5. 281:

“at Iuno et summi virgo Iovis intima secum
consilia et varias sociabant pectore curas,”

not the interior or heart of their counsels, *but* the counsels which were innermost in their hearts. Ovid, *Met.* 11. 416 (of Halcyone):

. . . “cui protinus intima frigus
ossa receperunt,”

not the innermost part, or marrow, of her bones, *but* her bones, the innermost part of herself. Ovid, *Heroid.* 16. 133 (Paris, of himself):

. . . “praecordiaque intima sensi
attonitus curis intumuisse novis,”

not the innermost part of the praecordia, *but* the praecordia, innermost part of himself. Sil. 4. 691:

. . . “Nympharumque intima moestus
implevit chorus attonitis ululatibus antra;”

not the innermost part of the caves, *but* the innermost caves (of the river). And our author himself, *Georg.* 4. 65:

. . . “ipsae
intima more suo sese in cunabula condent;”

not the innermost part of their cradles, *but* their cradles in the innermost part of the hive. And *Georg.* 4. 481:

“quin ipsae stupere domus, atque intima Leti
Tartara;”

not,—with Wagner and Forbiger, and in point-blank contradiction to *Aen.* 6. 273:

“vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci
. : Letumque Labosque,”

—*not the innermost part of Tartarus, where Letum dwells, but*

Tartarus, innermost part of Letum, far-in in the realms of Letum, whither it was, of course, the most difficult for song to penetrate. Compare also Liv. 1. 1 (of this very expedition of Antenor): "Casibus deinde variis, Antenorem cum multitudine Henetum, qui, seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi, et sedes et ducem, rege Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso, quaerebant, venisse in intimum maris Hadriatici sinum;" *not* the innermost part of the sinus of the Adriatic sea, *but* the innermost sinus of the Adriatic sea, the sinus which was farthest up the Adriatic, *i. e.*, the extreme northerly sinus, comprehending towards south-east the present bay of Trieste (meerbusen von Triest) and towards north-west the present bay of Monfalcone (meerbusen von Monfalcone), into which latter, and not—as stated by Heyne, Wagner, Conington, and so many others who have neither visited the place nor used good charts—into the bay of Trieste, the present river Timavus, as we have already seen, discharges itself.

ILLYRICOS PENETRARE SINUS—INTIMA REGNA LIBURNORUM SUPERARE. Antenor is *not* said to pass by the Illyrian gulf, as Myscelus (Ovid, *Met.* 15. 50, quoted p. 544) is said to pass by the bay of Thurii, because not past, but into, the Illyrian gulf was Antenor's direct way to the Brenta and site of his future city, whereas past and not into the Thurian gulf was the direct way for Myscelus to the Aesar and site of his future city; and Antenor *is* said to pass by Liburnia and the "fons Timavi," as Myscelus is said to pass by the bay of Thurii, because past and not into Liburnia and the "fons Timavi" was Antenor's way to the Brenta and site of his future city, as past and not into the bay of Thurii was the way for Myscelus to the Aesar and site of his future city.

FONTEM TIMAVI. "Pro Timavo, ait FONTEM TIMAVI," Serv. (ed. Lion), followed by Gossrau (who, having quoted Servius, adds: "multus ea in re est Avienus, apud quem, *tergum maris, salis, sali, lacus; vada, freta gurgitis, arva soli, iugera terrae, aequoris unda*, alia multa"); also by Forbiger, ed. 4 ("FONTEM TIMAVI, *h. e.* Timavum"). The gloss is most assuredly false, if it were only because UNDE then becomes, of necessity, *ex quo Timavo*, quod absurdum. On the contrary, it is with

the greatest propriety Antenor, who is making a coasting voyage, is said to pass the "fons Timavi," not the Timavus (river Timavus), the fons, not the river, being the remarkable object, partly (*a*), on account of the unusual proximity of the fons to the sea, a proximity little less than that of the fons Arethusa worshipped by Aeneas himself as he sails past on his voyage from the same Troy to the same Italy; partly (*b*), on account of the unusual number of ora of which it consisted, a number variously reported by different visitors (Claud. 3. *Cons. Honor.* 120: "Phrygii numerantur stagna Timavi," where the enumerator is no less a personage than the emperor Honorius); partly (*c*), on account of the quantity of water discharged by those ora, so considerable at times as to overflow both banks of the deep and wide river, and *πελαγίζειν* all round; and partly (*d*) because, of the two always sacred objects, fons and river, the fons, as source and father of the river and residence of the river-god, and as consisting of purer water than the river, was the most sacred; so sacred indeed that a fons without its chapel or temple or lucus or oracular cave, or all four together (*Aen.* 7. 81:

"at rex sollicitus monstris, oracula Fauni,
fatidici genitoris adit, lucosque sub alta
consultit Albunea, nemorum quae maxima sacro
fonte sonat, saevamque exhalat opaca mephitim."

Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 295:

"lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbra,
quo posses viso dicere, numen inest.
in medio gramen, muscoque adoperta virenti
manabat saxo vena perennis aquae.
inde fere soli Faunus Picusque bibebant.
huc venit et Fonti rex Numa mactat ovem."

Plin. *Ep.* 8. 8 (of the Fons Clitumnus): "Adiacet templum priscum et religiosum. Stat Clitumnus ipse amictus ornatusque praetexta. Praesens numen atque etiam fatidicum indicant sortes. Sparsa sunt circa sacella complura, totidemque dei; sua cuique veneratio, suum nomen, quibusdam vero etiam fontes. Nam praeter illum quasi parentem ceterorum, sunt minores

capite discreti, sed flumini miscentur, quod ponte transmittitur. Is terminus sacri profanique. In superiore parte navigare tantum, infra etiam natare concessum”), was as rare in ancient Greece or Italy as is at present in Bohemia a well or bridge without its Saint Nepomuck. Compare Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 469:

“praeterit [Ceres] et Cyanen et fontem lenis Anapi,
et te, vorticibus non adeunde, Gela.”

Claud. *Gigantom.* 69:

. . . “hic Rhodopen Hebri cum fonte revellit
et socias truncavit aquas.”

Stat. *Theb.* 4. 830 (thirsty soldier addressing the Fons Langiae):

. . . “tuque o cunctis insuete domari
solibus, aeternae largitor corniger undae,
laetus eas; quacunque domo gelida ora resolvīs,
immortale tumens; neque enim tibi cana repostas
bruma nives, raptasque alio de fonte refundit
arcus aquas, gravidive indulgent nubila Cori,
sed tuus, et nulli ruis expugnabilis astro;”

and Horace's “Fons [Bandusiae] rivo dare nomen idoneus.”

Fontem unde. Compare Varro, *L. L.* 4. 26: “Fons unde funditur e terra aqua viva.” Cic. *de Orat.* 1. 46 (figuratively): “Fontes unde hauriretis.”

ORA NOVEM. The number of ora assigned by Virgil to the “fons Timavi” is not to be too closely pressed. If it is higher by two than the highest number assigned to it by any writer who could not have copied from him, we must not forget that not only were the actual ora always varying in number, and therefore variously reported by visitors, but that no probable number had so good a claim on the poet—the poet *par excellence* and not the geographer—as the poetical and mystic three times three, the Muses' own number, the number of the enfolded spheres, the number of the holidays kept in honour of the dead, the number of the acres covered by the body of Tityus, the number of the stars in Ariadne's crown, the number of the days Ulysses was floating on the wreck of his vessel from Charybdis to the island of Calypso, the number of the days the same hero

floated on the mast from Crete to Thesprotia, the number of the years the ox was old out of whose hide was made the bag full of winds given by Aeolus to the same hero, the number of the days the same hero sailed from Aeolia with the bag before he came in sight of home, the number of the goats the same hero carried off from Cyclops' land for each of his twelve ships, the number off the judges of the sports at the court of Alcinous, the number of the years the Aloidæ were old when they were already that same number of cubits in breadth and that same number of *οὔναι* in height, the number of the days and the number of the nights Latona was in labour, the number of the cubits the golden necklace was long with which Dione and Rhea and Themis and Amphitrite and all the other goddesses except Juno bribed Lucina to expedite Latona's labour, the number of the days Deucalion's ark was tossed about on the waters of the flood before it rested on the top of mount Parnassus, the number of the days Apollo discharged his arrows on the Grecian army, the number of the days for which Apollo and Neptune turned the Trojan rivers against the wall which had protected the Grecian fleet during the siege of Troy, the number of the dogs accompanying the shepherds on the shield of Achilles, the number of the parlour dogs of Achilles himself, the number of the benches occupied by Nestor and the Pylians sacrificing to Neptune, and the number of the oxen sacrificed by the occupants of each bench, the number of the Trojans slain by Patroclus each of the three times he rushed on them just before he was himself slain, the number of the days the gods disputed whether or not Mercury should steal Hector's body from Achilles and restore it to Priam, the number of his sons Priam orders to prepare the cart which is to carry the ransom of Hector's body, the number of the cubits the *ζυγοδεσμον* of the said cart is long, the number of the days Clytie mourned and fasted before she was turned into a heliotrope, the number of the "pulcherrima fratrum corpora" with which his "fida" Tuscan "coniux" presented Arcadian Gilippus, the number of the months—but "ohe! iam satis, superque."

If the aspect of the place has changed, the land having so

much encroached on the sea that the quondam island of the baths is now part and parcel of the continent—if the “Tima-vum” of Strabo, with its temple of Diomedæ, port, and sacred grove, has disappeared—if the mountain no longer resounds with the tumultuous out-bursting through numerous ORA, of a flood resembling a sea—if the numerous ORA themselves, opening, the principal of them, at the bottom of a mill-pond, require to be sought for—still the Roman baths are there, the mountain is there, the numerous ORA are there, and are as differently counted as ever by different visitors; the flood outbursting through them like a sea is there; the river is there and called by the same name; nay, even the “religio loci” is there, maintained by the church of Santo Giovanni il Battezzatore, built on an elevation within the shortest safe distance of the venerable and venerated font. Where have two thousand rolling years not left as rough or rougher wheel-tracks?

252-253.

GENTI NOMEN DEDIT ARMAQUE FIXIT

TROIA NUNC PLACIDA COMPOSTUS PACE QUIESCIT

“GENTI NOMEN DEDIT; at quale? dicunt Antenoridarum: apud poetæ utique, non vero vulgare nomen; sed Venetorum nomen,” &c., Heyne.

. . . “gab namen dem volk, und heftete Trojas rüstungen.”

Voss.

“NOMEN, Venetorum, ab Henetis Paphlagoniæ, Antenoris comitibus, ut aiunt, ductum,” Wagner, *Virg. Br. Aen.* No, no; Virgil, so far from leaving us in the dark about the name which Antenor gave his colony, has in the word TROIA told us explicitly what that name was: the peculiar position of the word TROIA—at the close of the sentence to which it belongs, and at the same

time at the beginning of the next line, and separated from the remainder of the line by a pause—enabling it to embrace in its action not only its own immediate and proper substantive, but the other substantive bound up with it in the same clause. See Rem. on 2. 246. That such is our author's meaning is placed beyond doubt by the account handed down to us by Livy (1. 1) that Antenor actually called the first town which he built on his landing in Italy "Troja" ("In quem primum egressi sunt locum, Troia vocatur, pagoque inde Troiano nomen est, gens universa Veneti appellati"). If instead of the poetical, and therefore somewhat irregular TROIA, Virgil had contented himself with the more regular and prosaic Troiae, the meaning would probably have been less easily mistaken.

NUNC PLACIDA COMPOSTUS PACE QUIESCIT. "Quantum est in propria urbe sepultum, ubi eius nomen et memoria!" La Cerda. "Exoptatissimum hoc, mori in felicitate; compomi dicebantur proprie quorum cineres et ossa colligebantur et condebantur in sepulchro," Wagner (1861). Very true, but nothing to the purpose, nor by any possibility Venus's meaning, though the meaning assigned to her both by Hand (ad Stat. *Silv.* 1, p. 50), Jahn, Forbiger, Ladewig, and Alfieri. Venus, whose object it is to contrast the ill success of the expedition of Aeneas with the happy result of that of Antenor, could by no possibility cite the death and burial of Antenor in a foreign land as affording one of the points of contrast, and so most correctly Peerlkamp: "Venus uti hoc exemplo non potuit, quae nato suo non placidam mortem, sed felicem vitam optaret." On the contrary, it is the placid peace (PLACIDA PACE), the settled quiet (COMPOSTUS QUIESCIT)—in other words, the placid peaceful repose enjoyed by Antenor after his troubles—which is the object of Venus's envy; that placid peaceful repose enjoyed by Antenor, NUNC, at this very moment (NUNC PLACIDA COMPOSTUS PACE QUIESCIT) at this very NUNC, when Aeneas is still pursued by his ill fortune—NUNC KADEM FORTUNA VIROS TOT CASIBUS ACTOS INSEQUITUR—the two NUNC's uniting together in the one moment of time Aeneas shipwrecked on the barbarous coast of Africa, and Antenor, not surely dead and buried, but enjoying

rest after his troubles, in his new city of Patavium. *Compositus* is, no doubt, often used of that last of all settlements, death; but that is a special, very far indeed from necessary or even general, use of the word. The following are examples of its use in cases of other settlements of various kinds, some of them being settlements of a city or country, or in a city or country—some of them settlements in a state of peace and quiet; and others, again, exactly corresponding to the use of the word in our text, being settlements both in a city or country, and in a state of peace and quiet: *Aen.* 8. 321:

"is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis
composuit, legesque dedit
. . . sic placida populos in pace regebat"

[where we have our text repeated as nearly as the different circumstances of the narration permit]. *Stat. Silv.* 3. 5:

"anne quod Euboicos fessus remeare penates
auguror, et patria senium componere terra"

[where Statius speaks of returning to Naples, in order to compose (surely, not to bury) his old age there, in that delightful climate]. *Propert. Eleg.* 1. 11. 13:

"quam vacet alterius blandos audire susurros
molliter in tacito littore compositam."

Propert. Eleg. 2. 2. 2:

"at me composita pace fefellit Amor."

Varro Atacinus, apud Senec. *Controv.* 3. 16:

"omnia noctis erant placida composita quiete."

Val. Flacc. 7. 246:

"redde diem noctemque mihi; da prendere vestes
somniaferas, ipsaque oculos componere virga."

Liv. 30. 4: "Tempus esse, aut pacem componi, aut bellum naviter geri." *Plin. Epist.* 5. 18: "Neque enim dubito esse amoenissimam [villam], in qua se composuerat homo, felicior ante, quam felicissimus fieret." *Tacit. Ann.* 12. 68: "Dum res fir-

mando Neronis imperio componuntur." Tacit. *Ann.* 14. 39: "Rebelles barbarorum animos pace componi." Tacit. *Ann.* 15. 2: "Contra vetera fratrum odia et certamina, familiae nostrae Penates rite composuisse." Tacit. *Ann.* 3. 44: "Tanto impensius in securitatem compositus, neque loco, neque vultu mutato, sed ut solitum per illos dies egit." Sil. 17. 356 (Jupiter speaking):

. . . "tempus componere gentem;
ad finem ventum; et claudenda est ianua belli."

Virg. *Aen.* 3. 387:

"quam tuta possis urbem componere terra"

And compare the so similar picture of personified Tyre drawn by Q. Curtius, 4. 4 (ed. Bipont.): "Multis ergo casibus defuncta, et post excidium renata, nunc tamen longa pace cuncta refovente, sub tutela Romanae mansuetudinis acquiescit." See Rem. on "clauso componat Vesper Olympo," 1. 378. The contrast of Aeneas with Antenor is artfully managed and striking to the last degree. Antenor is simply Antenor; Aeneas is my Aeneas (MEUS AENEAS), and, therefore, Jupiter's own grandson. Whatever Trojans Antenor had with him are passed over *sub silentio*: Aeneas leads all Troy; the Trojan fates are identified with his (QUID TROES POTUERE?). Antenor slipped through without difficulty (MEDIS ELAPSUS ACHIVIS); Aeneas and his Trojans suffered all manner of hardships (TOT FUNERA PASSIS). Antenor had no promise; Aeneas had the most solemn promises, not only for himself, but for his Trojans, viz., that from him and them was to arise that great nation which was to rule the world—the Romans (CERTÉ HINC ROMANOS . . . POLLICITUS). Nevertheless, Antenor arrived safely, not only in Italy, but far up in Italy, at the very head of the Adriatic (ILLYRICOS PENETRARE SINUS), beyond the Timavus (FONTEM SUPERARE TIMAVI), and passed unhurt through the midst of the piratical Liburnians (INTIMA TUTUS REGNA LIBURNORUM)—nay, not only arrived safely, but there founded the city of Patavium, and hoisted the arms of Troy (URBEM PATAVI SEDESQUE LOCAVIT TEUCRORUM, ET GENTI NOMEN DEDIT ARMAQUE FIXIT TROIA), and is now, all being

settled, enjoying peace and quiet (NUNC PLACIDA COMPOSTUS PACE QUIESCIT); whilst we, thy children, notwithstanding all the promises made to us, and which were our consolation under all our misfortunes (HOC EQUIDEM OCCASUM TROIAE TRISTESQUE RUINAS SOLABAR, FATIS CONTRARIA FATA REPENDENS), are still struggling with one disaster after another (NUNC EADEM FORTUNA VIROS TOT CASIBUS ACTOS INSEQUITUR), and not only cannot reach the promised shore, but not even any part of Italy (ITALIS LONGE DISIUNGIMUR ORIS)—nay, not even any port or harbour of refuge anywhere, but have lost our ships, and are shut out from the whole world (CUNCTUS TERRARUM CLAUDITUR ORBIS), lest we should by any chance make our way at last to that promised land (OB ITALIAM)—and all this to gratify the anger of a single person (UNIUS OB IRAM). Is it thus you keep your promises?—your promises to us—to us, whose patriotism is so conspicuous (HIC PIETATIS HONOS?), and (by tacit inference) so different from that of Antenor?

HIC PIETATIS HONOS? Compare Plaut. *Rudens*, 1. 3. 8 (ed. Weise):

. . . “hancine ego partem
capio ob pietatem praecipuam?”

259—262.

VULTU-QUO CAELUM TEMPESTATESQUE SERENAT

PARCE METU CYTHEREA MANENT IMMOTA TUORUM

FATA TIBI

Compare Callim. *in Dian.* 28 (ed. Blomf.):

. . . πατηρ δ' ἐπένευσε γέλασσας
ἦν δὲ καταρρεῖων, ὅτε μοι τοιαῦτα θειῶναι
τίκτοιεν, τυτθὸν κεν ἐγὼ ζήλημονος Ἥρης
χωομένης ἀλεγόμην.

Mart. 9. 25 (comparing the statue of Domitian to that of Jupiter Serenus):

"quis, Pallatinos imitatus imagine vultus,
Phidiacum Latio marmore vicit ebur?
haec mundi facies, haec sunt Iovis ora Sereni;
sic tonat ille deus, cum sine nube tonat."

There is a representation of Jupiter Serenus with the inscription "Iovi Sereno sacr." on an ancient lamp in the Passerian Museum. It is stated by Passerius (I know not how truly) to be the only ancient representation of Jupiter Serenus in existence. See *Lucernae Fictiles Musaei Passerii*, tom. 1, tab. 33. There may be an allusion in our text to some painting or statue of Jupiter Serenus actually existing and well known in the time of Virgil. On Trajan's Column at Rome there is a figure supposed to represent Jupiter Pluvius; see Bartoli, *Colonna Trajana*, No. 133. Also one on the column of M. Aurelius Antoninus, in the Piazza Colonna, in the same city; see Bellorius, tab. 15. Boissard (*Topog. et Antiq. Urb. Romae*, pars 5, tab. 24, gives a representation of a monument (apparently the pedestal of a statue) bearing the inscription "Iovi Sereno. Numisius Albinus. Ex voto."

VULTU: look, aspect, as distinguished from face and features; Senec. *Herc. Fur.* 640 (Theseus returning with Hercules from Hades to Megara):

. . . "flebilem ex oculis fuga
regina vultum: tuque [Amphitryon] nato sospite
lacrimas cadentes reprime."

SERENAT. *Not* makes serene, in the sense of calm; *but* makes serene, in the sense of clear, *i. e.*, clears; Prudent. *Cathem.* 10. 77:

"veniunt mox praemia caelo,
pretiumque rependitur ingens:
nam lumina nescia solis
deus illita felle serenat."

PARCE METU CYTHEREA MANENT IMMOTA TUORUM FATA TIBI, &c.
—In what character does Jupiter make this announcement of the fates to Venus? In that of the supreme disposer of events, of him whose will is fate, or of one who after the disposal of events by supreme all-governing fate is admitted to a knowledge of the disposal, in all its particulars? Let us see. Venus

in her very first sentence ascribes to him the supreme disposal of events—

O QUI RES HOMINUMQUE DEUMQUE
AETERNIS REGIS IMPERIIS ET FULMINE TERRES—

reminds him of his promises (POLLICITUS), inquires why he has changed his mind (QUAE TE, GENITOR, SENTENTIA VERTIT?), what limit he, the great king, appoints to the troubles of her *protégés* (QUEM DAS FINEM, REX MAGNE LABORUM?), and even taunts him for not having better treated those who were always so dutiful towards him—

HIC PIETATIS HONOS, SIC NOS IN SCRIPTRA REPONIS?

Jupiter receives the honour paid him as no more than his due; assures Cytherea that he has not changed his mind (NEQUE ME SENTENTIA VERTIT); that she shall not only see all his promises fulfilled (MANENT IMMOTA TUORUM FATA TIBI), but a great deal more, which—fated to happen, but hitherto kept secret (FATORUM ARCANA)—he is going to tell her (MOVEBO), and proceeds forthwith to tell her at full, referring all to no other origin than his own supreme will and pleasure (HIS EGO NEC METAS RERUM NEC TEMPORA PONO; IMPERIUM SINE FINE DEDI. . . . SIC PLACITUM). It is impossible there could be **either** on the one hand more plain ascription of supreme all-governing power to Jupiter—and that, too, by a witness who could neither be ignorant, nor mistaken, nor deceived on the subject, viz., his own daughter, herself a goddess, and the queen of love and beauty—; **or**, on the other hand, more plain recognition and assumption of the power by Jupiter himself.

So far the Virgilian chronicle. But what says the Ovidian, of the same Jupiter revealing the same fates to the same Venus? That he is their author and disposer, and as their author and disposer communicates them at first hand to his beloved daughter? Far from it. That they are the eternal irreversible decrees of the three Sisters, which he has read engraved on bronze in their Record Office, and which she herself can read when she pleases to take the trouble of paying a visit to that place (*Met.* 15. 808):

. . . "intres licet ipsa Sororum
 tecta trium. cernes illic molimine vasto
 ex aere, et solido rerum tabularia ferro,
 quae neque concursus caeli, neque fulminis iram,
 nec metuunt ullas tuta atque aeterna ruinas.
 inuenies illic incisa adamante perenni
 fata tui generis; legi ipse animoque notavi,
 et referam, ne sis etiamnum ignara futuri.
 hic sua complevit pro quo, Cytherea, laboras,
 tempora, perfectis, quos terrae debuit annis.
 ut deus accedat caelo," &c.

If not a very edifying, it were at least a very curious inquiry, which of two etiological views—as point-blank opposed to each other as any of our own on the same subject—was the orthodox one in the days of the two poets. Far be it from me to judge from mere analogy, and answer at once: "The least rational."

265-268.

HIC TIBI FAVOR ENIM QUANDO HAEC TE CURA REMORDET
 LONGIUS ET VOLVENS FATORUM ARCANA MOVEBO
 BELLUM INGENS GERET ITALIA POPULOSQUE FEROCES
 CONTUNDET

VAR. LECT.

punct. HIC TIBI FAVOR III Serv.; La Cerda; Heyne; Brunck; Thiel.

punct. HIC TIBI FAVOR III P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Wakef.; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Forb.; Lad.; Ribb.; Coningt.

Not HIC TIBI . . . GERET, but HIC, TIBI FAVOR ENIM, . . . GERET. The TIBI and the TE are correlative and emphatic: "I will tell *thee*, since this care troubles *thee*, my dear daughter." And so the same Jupiter to the same Venus (Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 1. 214:

"curarum secreta tibi, Cytherea, fatebor;"

and compare *Aen.* 7. 427: "tibi me fari iussit;" and Plaut. *Bacch.* prol. 23:

"ecce fabor iam vobis, quod expetitis."

TIBI as the ethic dative would here mean—"this man, so please thee; this man, at thy service." But HIC by itself, the first word in the sentence and separated from the sequel by a sudden pause, is emphatic: "*This very man, who is now in this wretched condition.*"

TIBI FAVOR ENIM, QUANDO HAEC TE CURA REMORDET, LONGIUS, ET VOLVENS.—"LONGIUS VOLVENS, *i. e.* altius repetens," Heyne. "Videtur Iupiter hic ita loqui, quasi quendam librum fatalem manu teneat, ac non tantum priores paginas introspiciat, sed, LONGIUS VOLVENS, medias quoque et postremas," Wagner (1861)—**both** commentators, no less than Nonius in his citation of the passage ("LONGIUS ET VOLVENS FATORUM ARCANA MOVEBO), Donatus both in his citation and comment (LONGIUS EVOLVENS [*sic*] FATORUM ARCANA MOVEBO: . . . quia aegritudo animi tui non potest penitus brevitate sermonis excludi, utar prolixitate narrandi"); and all commentators and editors separating LONGIUS from its emphatic connexion with FAVORs the principal word of the sentence, and joining it to the less important, merely explanatory, words, VOLVENS MOVEBO. This is, as I think, in the highest degree incorrect. LONGIUS belongs to FAVOR, and—in its emphatic position, last word of its own sentence, and first word of a new verse (see Rem. on 2. 246)—adds great emphasis, an emphasis worthy of the speaker, to that important word FAVOR; and not merely FAVOR, but FAVOR LONGIUS—I will speak at greater length, viz., than I have yet spoken; the reference being, no doubt, to the information already given in the brief MANENT IMMOTA . . . VERTIT, just preceding.

FAVOR LONGIUS, as Cic. *Orat.* 48: "Haec dixi brevius quam si hac de re una disputarem; longius autem quam instituta ratio postulabat." Quint. *Inst.* 10. 2: "Otiosi et supini, si quid modo longius circumduxerunt, iurant ita Ciceronem locuturum fuisse." Sil. 10. 502:

. . . "sed iuveni (ne sim tibi longior) hinc est
et genus et clara memorandum virgine nomen."

Cic. *de Legib.* 1. 19: "Videtisne quanta series rerum sententiarumque sit, atque ut ex alio alia nectantur? Quin labebar

longius, nisi me retinuissem." Cic. *de Legib.* 2, 17: "Repri-
mam iam me et non insequar longius;" and compare Ausonius
Epist. 16. 8:

"sed dulcius circumloquar,
diuque fando perfruar."

Also *Georg.* 4. 192 (of the bees):

"nec vero a stabulis pluvia impendente recedunt
longius."

Stat. Theb. 12. 433 (of the funeral fires of Polynices and
Eteocles):

"pallidus Eumenidum veluti commisorit ignes
Orcus, uterque minax globus, et conatur uterque
longius."

Stat. Silv. 3. 3. 195:

"non totus rapiere tamen, nec funera mittam
longius."

Stat. Silv. 5. 1. 168:

. . . "caeco gerneret Mors clausa barathro
longius, et vacuae posuissent stamina Parcae."

—the last four, examples of *longius* placed for the sake of greater emphasis first word in the verse, and thrown to what precedes by a pause separating it from what follows; and the last an example, moreover, of the very error committed by commentators and editors in our text, its "*longius*" having been, in the same manner as the *LONGIUS* of our text, separated by commentators and editors from the preceding, and joined to the succeeding, to the utter subversion of the sense.

QUANDO HAEC TE CURA REMORDET. These words contain the reason, not why Jupiter will speak (for he has already been speaking for some time), but why he will speak *LONGIUS*.

VOLVENS FATORUM ARCANAE MOVEBO. *Volvere* and *movere* being both of them, in the language of the ancient grammarians, *media verba*, i. e. signifying merely *to roll* (i. e. turn over) and *to move*, and not at all specifying the manner of the rolling and the moving, i. e. not specifying whether the rolling and the moving are with the hand, or with the speech,

or with the mind, or in what other manner: it is only from the context it is possible to deduce, either here or elsewhere, how and in what manner the rolling and moving spoken of is performed. That the *volvens* and *movebo* of our text are rolling and moving by or with the mouth or speech, appears from the preceding *favor*, of which they are the complement and explanation; exactly as the “*olvebat*” and “*moveret*” of Claudian, *6. Cons. Honor. 146*, are shown by their adjoined “*pectore*” and “*secum*” to be rolling and moving in or with the mind:

“undosa tum forte domo vitreisque sub antris,
rerum ignarus adhuc, ingentes pectore curas
olvebat pater Eridanus, quis bella maneret
exitus; imperiumne Iovi, legesque placerent,
et vitæ Romana quies, an iura perosus
ad priscos pecudum damnaret sæcula ritus.
talìa dum secum movet anxius, advolat una
Naiadum resoluta comam,”

with which compare our author’s own “*multa movens animo*,” 3. 34, and 10. 890. *MOVEBO*, therefore: I will move, *i. e.* stir, disturb from their quiet, *viz.* (as shown by *FAVOR*), by speech, by speaking of them, and exactly equivalent to the fuller forms of expression, “*ore movebo*” (Ovid, *Met. 14. 20*: “*carmen ore move sacro*”), and “*voce movebo*” (Claudian, *Rapt. Proserp. 1. 192*: “*talìa voce movens*”). Compare 7. 41:

. . . “dicam horrida bella,
dicam acies, . . .
maius opus moveo”

[where “*moveo*” is again I will move, stir, set in motion; and where, as shown by the preceding “*dicam*,” the kind of motion meant is that of speech, that by speaking or singing]. Columel. 10. 215:

“sed quid ego infreno volitare per æthera cursu
passus equos audax sublimi tramite raptor [*al. raptos*]?
ista canat, maiore [*al. maiora*] deo quem Delphica laurus
impulit, et rerum causas, et sacra moventem
orgia naturæ, secretaque foedera cæli.
exstimulat vatem per Dindyma casta Cybebes,
perque Cithæronem, Nysæaque per iuga Bacchi,
per sua Parnassi, per amica silentia Musis

Pierii nemoris, Bacchea voce frementem
 Delie te Paeon, et te evie evie Paeon.
 me mea Calliope cura levior vagantem
 iam revocat, parvoque iubet decurrere gyro,
 et secum gracili connectere carmina filo,
 quae canat inter opus musa modulante putator
 pendulus arbustis, olitor viridantibus hortis"

[where "moventem" is shown, as well by the preceding "canat" as by the subsequent "canat" and "modulante," to be moving, stirring, or setting in motion with the mouth, *i. e.* by singing].
 Lucan, 1. 63:

"sed mihi iam numen; nec, si te [Neronem] pectore vates
 accipiam, Cirrhaea velim secreta moventem
 sollicitare deum, Bacchumque avertere Nysa"

[where "moventem" (*i. e.* "moventem ore") is the very MOVEBO, and "Cirrhaea secreta," the very FATORUM ARCANA of our text].
 Also, cited "inter Maronis opuscula, by Jul. Scal. *Poet.* 5. 16:

"Sirenes varios cantus, Acheloïa proles,
 et solitae miseros ore ciere modos,
 illarum voces illarum Musa movebat;
 omnia quae Thymele carmina dulcis amat"

[where "movebat" is a mere variation of "ore ciere"]. Ovid,
Met. 10. 148:

"ab Iove, Musa parens, ...
 carmina nostra move."

Soph. *Antig.* 1059 (Tiresias to Creon):

ορσεις με τὰκίνητα δια φρενων φρασσαι.
 CREON. κινει, μονον δε μη 'πι κερδισιν λεγων.
 (Adiges me ut immota pectore [arcana] eloquar. Move.)

VOLVENS, a similar *medium verbum*, is in like manner pointed out by the preceding FAVOR to be, **not** rolling in the mind (as the "volvit" of 7. 254:

"et veteris Fauni volvit sub pectore sortem,"

and the "volvebat" of Claudian, quoted above, are pointed out by their adjoined "sub pectore" and "pectore" to be), **not** rolling with the hand or by muscular power or force (as

6. 616: "saxum ingens volvunt alii"), **nor** yet rolling with that supreme will, power, and providence with which Jupiter is said *volvere*, *torquere*, to roll all things, Gr. *στρεφειν* (compare 4. 268:

"ipse deum
regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet;"

Aesch. *Eumen.* 644 (Apollo to the chorus of Furies, referring to Jupiter's having done worse than Orestes, viz., put his own father Saturn into chains):

ω παντομειση κνωδαλα, στυγη θεων,
πεδας μεν αν λυσειεν, εστι τουδ' ακος,
και καρτα πολλη μηχανη λυτηριος·
ανδρος δ' επειδαν αιμ' ανασπαση κονις
απαξ θανοντος, ουτις εστ' αναστασις.
τουτων επωδας ουκ εποιησεν πατηρ
ουμος, τα δ' αλλα παντ' ανω τε και κατω
στρεφων τιθησιν, ουδεν ασθμαινων μενει.

[Jupiter *volvens ordinat*—can turn and do everything except make a dead man live again]), **but** rolling, turning over with the speech, with the voice, *i. e.* in words. See Senec. *Oed.* 559:

"vocat [Tiresias] inde Manes
.
carmenque magicum volvit, et rabido minax
decantat ore, quidquid aut placat leves
aut cogit umbras"

[rolls his song, turns his song, as if it were a round object]. Senec. *Oed.* 923 (of Oedipus when he has discovered his guilt):

. . . "spumat [Oedipus], et volvit minas,
ac mersus alte magnus exundat dolor"

[rolls his threats; turns, rolls threats, as if they were round objects which could be rolled or turned round]. Lucan, 9. 927:

"plurima tunc volvit [Psyllus] spumanti carmina lingua
murmure continuo"

—in all which passages the rolling spoken of is unequivocally declared by the context to be, not rolling with the mind or with the hand, but rolling with the speech. Compare, also, Cic.

Brut. 70: "M. Pontidius . . . celeriter sane verba volvens, nec hebes in causis;" and, *ibid* 81: "Ita facile soluteque verbisolvebat satis interdum acutas, crebras quidem certe sententias, ut nihil posset ornatus esse, nihil expeditius;" Cic. *de Orat.* 3. 47: "Longissima est . . . complexio verborum quae volvi uno spiritu potest." VOLVENS FATORUM ARCANA MOVEBO is therefore only another less usual way of saying "fatorum arcana canam" (Ovid, *Met.* 2. 639, of Ocyrrhoe: "fatorum arcana canebat"), and in connexion with FAVOR LONGIUS, of which it is the complement, makes up the complete sense: "longiore oratione, FATORUM ARCANA canam."

Wagner (1861) (quoting Ovid, *Met.* 15. 808:

. . . "intres licet ipsa Sororum
tecta trium; cernes illic molimine vasto
ex aere et solido rerum tabularia ferro;
quae neque concursum caeli neque fulminis iram,
nec metuunt ulla tuta atque aeterna ruinas.
invenies illic incisa adamante perenni
fata tui generis; legi ipse animoque notavi;
et referam, ne sis etiamnum ignara futuri,"

where Jupiter is represented as telling Venus a similarly long story about Julius Caesar, and how she might see and read it herself where he had seen and read it, viz., in the archives of the three Sisters) is of opinion that Virgil in our text represents Jupiter as if ("*quasi*") reading the fates of Aeneas to his daughter out of a certain book of fates which he holds in his, hand, and the pages of which he turns over from the first to the last: "Videtur Iupiter hic ita loqui, quasi quendam librum fatalem manu teneat, ac non tantum priores paginas introspiciat sed (LONGIUS VOLVENS) medias quoque et postremas." And so Conington, only—for Conington is always intelligible and always straightforward—without any mystifying "*quasi*": "VOLVENS is probably a metaphor from a book unrolled . . . Jupiter says he will open yet further the secrets that lie in the book of Fate . . . 'awaken the secrets of Fate's book from the distant pages where they slumber.'" I need hardly add that I cannot see even so much as the shadow of a ground for the opinion, and that the very passage Wagner himself quotes

from Ovid in support of it goes point-blank to overthrow it; Jupiter being described in that passage neither as actually reading a book, nor as *quasi* reading a book, but as relating or giving an account of what he read engraved ("incisa") on adamant in the archive or record office of Fate.

272.

ADDITUR ILUS ERAT DUM RES STETIT ILIA REGNO

VAR. LECT.

ADDITUR—REGNO I *Med.* III P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Voss; Thiel; Forb.; Lad.; Ribb.; Coningt.

ADDITUR—REGNO OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED III Heyne.

O *Pal., Ver., St. Gall.*

ADDITUR: ILUS ERAT. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 4. 11:

... "Bacchumque vocant Bromiumque Lyaeumque
 Ignigenamque satumque iterum solumque bimatem.
 additur his Nyseus indetonsusque Thyoneus,
 et cum Lenaeo genialis consitor uvae,
 Nycteliusque Eleleusque parens et Iacchus et Euhan,
 et quae praeterea per Graias plurima gentes
 nomina, Liber, habes."

275.

LONGAM

VAR. LECT.

LONGAM (with capital initial letter) III N. Heins. (1670); Voss; Thiel; Forb.; Lad.; Coningt.

LONGAM (with small initial letter) III P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (1832, 1861).

279.

INDE LUPAE FULVO NUTRICIS TEGMINE LAETUS

“Romulum pro casside lupae exuvias seu lupinam pellem gessisse narrat,” Heyne, Wagner (1861). No, no; the picture is not of the head-dress, but of the entire dress of Romulus. The wolf-skin covered not merely his head but his whole body. Compare 7. 666 (of Aventinus):

“ipse pedes, tegumen torquens immane leonis,
terribili impexum saeta, cum dentibus albis
indutus capiti, sic regia tecta subibat
horridus, Herculeoque humeros innexus amictu.”

Senec. *Herc. Fur.* 1149 (Hercules momentarily recovering from his madness, and soliloquizing):

“ubi est parens? ubi illa natorum grege
animosa coniux? cur latus laevum vacat
spolio leonis? quonam abiit tegimen meum,
idemque somno mollis Herculeo torus?”

Senec. *Herc. Fur.* 797:

. . . “solvit [Hercules] a laeva feros
tunc ipse rictus, et Cleonaeum caput
opponit [Cerbero], ac se tegmine ingenti clepit.”

Apollodor. *Biblioth.* 2. 4. 10: *Και χειρωσάμενος* [Hercules]
τον λεοντα την μεν δοραν ημφιεσατο, τω χασματι δε εχησατο
χορυθι. Val. Flacc. 8. 125:

“talīs ab Inachiis Nemeae Tīrynthiūs antris
ibat, adhuc aptans humeris capitique leonem.”

Prudent. *Psychom.* 23 (of Fides):

“nuda humeros, intonsa comas, exserta lacertos,
namque repentinus laudis calor ad nova fervens
praelia, nec telis meminit, nec tegmine cingi:
pectore sed fidens valido, membrisque retectis
provocat insani frangenda pericula belli.”

TEGMINE LUPAE, not *the covering (skin) of the lupa*, but *the covering (dress) of Romulus, made of the lupa*, i. e. *of the wolf's skin*, exactly as (a), 7. 666, just quoted, "tegumen leonis" not *the covering (skin) of the lion*, but *the covering (dress) of Aventinus, made of lion*, i. e. *lion's skin*; (b), 1. 327: "tegmine lyncis," not *lynx skin*, but *covering or dress made of lynx*, i. e. *made of lynx skin*; and (c), 11. 576:

"pro crinali auro, pro longae tegmine pallae,
Tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent."

LUPAE *Wolf*, i. e. *wolf-skin*, exactly as Val. Flacc. 8. 116, just quoted, "leonem," *lion's skin*.

LUPAE NUTRICIS, *skin of the wolf that nursed him*.

The picture of Romulus with a fur cap had been indeed a sorry picture, enough to disfigure the whole Aeneid. See Rem. on "maculosae tegmine lyncis," 1. 327.

HIS EGO NEC METAS RERUM NEC TEMPORA PONO, theme; IMPERIUM SINE FINE DEDI, variation. See Rem. on 1. 550.

283—286.

QUIN ASPERA IUNO

QUAE MARE NUNC TERRASQUE METU CAELUMQUE FATIGAT
CONSILIA IN MELIUS REFERET MECUMQUE FOVEBIT
ROMANOS RERUM DOMINOS GENTEMQUE TOGATAM

See the fulfilment of this prophecy, testified by no less authority than that of Juno herself, in Ovid's *Fasti*, 6. 41–52.

METU. "Scilicet, quem de Carthagine habet; ut supra, 'id metuens,'" Servius; as if the fear spoken of were Juno's fear, and as if it were of hearing of that fear sea, earth, and heaven were weary. I think this is not the meaning, but that, on the contrary, the fear spoken of is the fear that Juno may take

measures which will disturb the course of the fates, and involve everything in confusion; and the weariness felt by earth, sea, and heaven is the perpetual fear in which they are kept by Juno that she will do something very untoward. It is with this meaning only, not with that assigned to the passage by Servius, that the sequel of Jupiter's sentence harmonises—*CONSILIA IN MELIUS REFERET*: will change her counsels for the better; and, instead of persecuting, join with me in cherishing the Romans. Compare Sil. 1. 63 (of this self-same Juno before she began to change her counsels for the better, and while she still kept sea, earth, and heaven in perpetual fear and apprehension of some terrible mischief):

“dat mentem Iuno, ac laudum spe corda fatigat,”

inspires the youth (Hannibal) with courage, and never ceases filling his mind with the hope of glory—fills his mind with the hope of glory till he is tired, worries him with the hope of glory. Precisely as the “*spes laudum*” with which Silius's Juno worries the heart of young Hannibal (*i. e.*, never lets the heart of young Hannibal rest) is the *spes laudum* not of Juno but of Hannibal himself, so the “*metus*” with which Virgil's Juno worries sea, earth, and heaven (*i. e.*, never lets sea, earth, or heaven rest) is the *metus*, not of Juno, but of sea, earth, and heaven; and, oddly enough—and I hope neither poet will be offended at an observation which, as an impartial critic, I am bound to make, at one and the same time for the elucidation of my author and the edification of my reader—it is precisely the “*spes laudum*” of Silius which is the “*metus*” of Virgil; or, more plainly, it is the substitution of Carthaginian for Roman domination which is the hope of Silius's Hannibal, and the fear of Virgil's earth, sea, and heaven—no exception being made by the Thunderer even in favour of himself. And, one observation more: how well founded was this “*metus*” of sea, earth, and heaven, and how nearly a match was Juno for both Jupiter and his fates, is shown with the clearness of a mathematical demonstration by this “*spes laudum*” of Hannibal, not merely not extinguished, but thriving green and flourishing a full thousand years or

more after Jupiter's enunciation of his sovereign will and pleasure, and the decision of the fates. Compare also Sen. *Med.* 870 (chorus; of Medea):

“quando efferet Pelasgis
nefanda Colchis arvis
gressum, metuque solvet
regnum, simulque reges?”

—where, in like manner, the fear with which Medea shall dissolve the Pelasgian kingdom and kings can by no possibility be the fear which she herself feels, must be the fear with which she fills them.

FATIGAT, *fatigues, worries*, and—still more precisely, and exactly as we are used to say in English—*does not let rest, or gives them no peace*: therefore, *never ceases*; 9. 605:

“venatu invigilant pueri silvasque fatigant”

[*give the woods no rest early or late, never cease hunting*]. 8. 94:

“olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant”

[*allow neither day nor night rest from their rowing; tire both day and night with their rowing, never cease rowing day and night*]. See Rem. on 8. 94]. 9. 609:

“omne aevum ferro teritur, vorsaue iuvenum
terga fatigamus hasta”

[*give the backs of the steers no rest from our spears, held by the wrong end; never cease goading with the butt end of our spears*]. 5. 263:

“velocis iaculo cervos cursuque fatigat”

[*wearies them with running after them, and throwing his javelin at them; gives them no rest, never ceases hunting them*]. 7. 582:

“undique collecti coeunt, Martemque fatigant”

[*give Mars no rest; are all for war, are for nothing but war*]. Sil. 3. 61:

“haec propere spectata duci; nam multa fatigant”

[for many cares worry him]. *Aen.* 1. 320:

. . . "qualis equos Threissa fatigat
Harpalyce, volucremque fuga praevertitur Hebrum"

[*wearies horses, rides so incessantly* (observe, not at all so fast, but *so incessantly*) *as to tire horses*; tires horses with her continual riding, never ceases riding, does nothing but ride; the speed with which she rides being expressed by "volucrem fuga praevertitur Hebrum," the constant repetition of the action by "fatigat"]. *Claud. Laud. Stilich.* 3. 307:

"nubiferas Alpes, Apenninique recessus,
Garganique nives Hecaërge prompta fatigat"

[*gives the Alps, Apennines, and snowy Garganus no rest; never ceases scouring them in all directions, tires them with her perpetual scouring through them*]. *Sil.* 15. 208 (of Scipio hurrying to besiege Carthage):

"progredditur, celeratque vias, et corripit agmen
pernici rapidum cursu, camposque fatigat"

[*tires the plains with his marching, allows the plains no rest with his marching, marches till the very plains on which he marches are weary*]. *Sil.* 6. 572 (of the reception given by the citizens of Rome to the wounded returning from the battle of Thrasymenus):

. . . "sollicite laeti funduntur, et ipsis
oscula vulneribus figunt, Superosque fatigant"

[*weary the gods with their thanks, give the gods no rest from their thanks*]. *Sil.* 5. 607.

"tum praeceps ruit in medios, solumque fatigat
Flaminium incessans"

[*never ceases attacking Flaminius, wearies Flaminius with his attacks*]. *Sil.* 7. 302:

"quae te cura vigil fessum, germane, fatigat?"

[*worries thee wearied and worn out*]. *Isan.* 4. 59:

. . . "colit hic artes, hic arma fatigat"

[*never ceases using arms, wearies arms with their use*].

How commonly *exercere* fills the place of a diminutive of *fatigare*, in this its sense of plague, tease, worry, appears from the following examples; *Aen.* 5. 779:

“at Venus interea Neptunum exercita curis
alloquitur.”

4. 622:

“stirpem et genus omne futurum
exercete odiis.”

Georg. 4. 453:

“non te nullius exercent numinis irae.”

Aen. 7. 798:

“Rutulosque exercent vomere colles.”

Sil. 15. 769 (ed. Rup.):

“ut, cum venatu saltus exercet opacos
Dictynna, et laetae praebet spectacula matri.”

IN MELIUS. Compare Eurip. *Med.* 907:

“εις το λωον σου μεθεστηχεν χειρ.”

ROMANOS RERUM DOMINOS GENTEMQUE TOGATAM. Not merely, the Romans, whose national dress is the toga, commanding the world; but the Romans *in their robe of peace, the “toga,”* i. e. in their civilian character—a nation of citizens—commanding the world. Compare Cic. *in Cat.* 2. c. 13: “Me uno togato duce et imperatore.” Cic. *in Cat.* 3. c. 6: “Quod mihi primum post hanc urbem, conditam togato contigit.” Cic. *in Cat.* 3. c. 10: “Erepti [estis] sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione; togati, me uno togato duce et imperatore, vicistis.” Sall. *Jugurth.* c. 21: “Et ni multitudo togatorum fuisset, quae Numidas insequentes moenibus prohibuit,” &c. See Rem. on *Aen.* 6. 853.

Any doubt there might be whether ROMANOS be a substantive in apposition or an adjective agreeing with DOMINOS is removed by the parallel, 6. 788:

“hanc aspice gentem
Romanosque tuos,”

where “Romanos” can only be a substantive.

290—294.

NASCETUR PULCHRA TROIANUS ORIGINE CAESAR
 IMPERIUM OCEANO FAMAM QUI TERMINET ASTRIS
 IULIUS A MAGNO DEMISSUM NOMEN IULO
 HUNC TU OLIM CAELO SPOLIIS ORIENTIS ONUSTUM
 ACCIPIES SECURA VOCABITUR HIC QUOQUE VOTIS

“Ad Augustum referas haud dubie verius quam ad Iulium Caesarem, cum Servio, Cerda et aliis apud Burm.,” Heyne, followed by Forbiger, Thiel, Gossrau, Conington—all, no less than Heyne, quoting the so similar “Augustus Caesar, divi genus,” &c., of the sixth book; but not one remarking that, however like to each other the two passages themselves, their subjects are as well distinguished from each other as any two subjects need be: that of the one being stated in express terms to be CAESAR IULIUS, A MAGNO DEMISSUM NOMEN IULO; that of the other, in no less express terms, to be “Augustus Caesar, divi genus,” *i. e.*, “divi Iulii genus.”

Even had the distinction between the two subjects been less sharply marked than it is—even had the Caesar of our text not been expressly stated to be Julius, nor the Caesar of the sixth book as expressly stated to be Augustus—the Caesar of our text could only be Julius, **first**, because in a poem written for the glorification of Augustus (Epigraph (in red letters) interposed between the four introductory verses and the verse “arma virumque cano,” &c., in a MS. (saec. 15) of the Aeneid in the Laurentian library, viz., cod. 12 of pluteus 39, Bandini:—“P. Virgilii Maronis Mantuani, poetae clarissimi, in laudem gloriamque Octaviani Imperatoris Aeneidos liber primus”), all mention of Augustus’s uncle and immediate predecessor, the deified founder of the Julian race and dynasty, could no more have been omitted than could in these days be omitted in a poem in honour of the third Napoleon all mention of the third Napoleon’s uncle and predecessor, the all but deified founder of

the Napoleonic race and dynasty; **and secondly**, because the prophetic words NASCETUR TROIANUS CAESAR, PULCHRA ORIGINE, and especially NASCETUR, point as plainly not to a second in order, an inheriting, dynast, but to a first founder of a dynasty, as the words:

HUNC TU OLIM CAELO, SPOLIIS ORIENTIS ONUSTUM,
ACCIPIES SECURA; VOCABITUR HIC QUOQUE VOTIS

point *not* to a person of whom, inasmuch as still living in the poet's time and therefore liable to every wheel of fortune, it had hardly been safe for Jupiter to prophesy the apotheosis, *but* to a person already in the poet's time dead and deified, and whose deification therefore Jupiter might prophesy with the same confidence with which he prophesies the other historical facts which constitute the staple of his reply to his daughter,—*ex. gr.* the wars of Aeneas with the Latins, the transference of the seat of government from Lavinium to Longa Alba, the foundation of Rome by Romulus and the conquest of Greece by the Romans, &c. For these reasons I reject the interpretation of Heyne as unhesitatingly as I embrace that of Servius (CAESAR; hic est qui dictus est Gaius Iulius Caesar"), and only wonder how any other could ever have been thought of. Compare the similar prophecy of Carmenta, concerning the same Julius Caesar, Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 527:

"iam pius Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem
afferet. Iliacos excipe, Vesta, deos.
tempus erit cum vos orbemque tuebitur idem,
et fient ipso sacra colente deo,

where it had been as impertinent, even towards Augustus himself, to have passed over in silence Julius Caesar, the founder of the dynasty, as it had been in our text.

IMPERIUM OCEANO, FAMAM QUI TERMINET ASTRIS. Compare Milton, *Par. Lost*, 12. 370 (of Christ):

. . . "and bound his reign
with earth's wide bounds, his glory with the heavens,"

very manifestly a translation of our text.

HUNC TU OLIM CAELO ACCIPIES SECURA, theme; VOCABITUR HIC QUOQUE VOTIS, variation.

HUNC TU ACCIPIES SECURA. Compare Metast. *Demof.* 3. sc. ult.:

. . . "Abbracci
sicuro tu la tua Dircea." . . .

HIC QUOQUE. "Ut reliqui e superis, quibus vota solent fieri," La Cerda; and such precisely is the force of "quoque," Stat. *Theb.* 8. 246:

"iamque erit ille dies, quo te [Amphiarum] quoque conscia fati
templa colant, reddatque tuus responsa sacerdos,"

where, there having been no previous mention of other deification or deity, the reference made by "quoque" can only be general—*thee as well as other gods or deified men*. Not so, however, in our text, where the deification spoken of has been just preceded by that still more remarkable deification, the deification of Aeneas himself, who is the principal subject of the conversation between Jupiter and his daughter, and to whom it is therefore hardly possible the quoque should not be referred both by speaker and hearer. La Cerda, therefore, is wrong, as well as Servius in his similar first interpretation. ("Hic quoque potest intellegi, 'sicut ego, sicut tu, sicut Romulus'"); and Servius's second interpretation, preferred by Servius himself and appropriated by Wagner (1861) ("Sicut Aeneas, de quo superius ait: *SUBLIMEMQUE—AENEAM*"), alone right.

295-300.

ASPERA TUM POSITIS MITESCENT SAECULA BELLIS
 CANA FIDES ET VESTA REMO CUM FRATRE QUIRINUS
 IURA DABUNT DIRAE FERRO ET COMPAGIBUS ARCTIS
 CLAUDENTUR BELLII PORTAE FUROR IMPIUS INTUS
 SAEVA SEDENS SUPER ARMA ET CENTUM VINCTUS AENIS
 POST TERGUM NODIS FREMET HORRIDUS ORE CRUENTO

The simple meaning is, that *men, ceasing from war, shall live as they did in the good old times, when they obeyed the precepts of Fides, Vesta, and Remus and Romulus*. Hear Claudian's similar adulation of Stilicho (*Laud. Stilich. 1. 325*):

“hoc quoque non parva fas est cum laude relinqui,
 quod non ante fretis exercitus adstitit ultor,
 ordine quam prisco censeret bella senatus.
 neglectum Stilicho per tot iam saecula morem
 rettulit, ut ducibus mandarent praelia Patres,
 decretoque togae felix legionibus iret
 tessera. Romuleas leges remeasse fatemur,
 cum procerum iussis famulantia cernimus arma.”

It is sufficiently evident, no less from this passage than from *Georg 1. 498*, and *2. 533*, that the deities mentioned in our text were specially associated in the Roman mythology with that primitive epoch of the national history, to which the Romans (sharing a feeling common to all civilised nations that have ever existed) loved to look back as an epoch of peace and innocence; for this reason and no other are they specified as the gods of the returning Golden Age here announced by Jupiter. I am unwilling so far to derogate from the dignity of this sentiment as to suppose, with Heyne, that it contains an allusion to the trivial circumstance of the temples of Fides, Vesta, and Remus and Romulus being seated on the Palatine Hill, near the palace of Augustus; nor do I think it necessary to discuss the opinion advanced by the late Mr. Seward, and preserved by

Hayley in one of the notes to his second Epistle on Epic Poetry, that the meaning is, that *civil and criminal justice shall be administered in those temples*, that opinion being based on the erroneous interpretation of IURA DABUNT, pointed out below.

The whole of this enunciation of the fates by Jupiter is one magnificent strain of adulation of Augustus. A similar adulation, although somewhat more disguised, is plainly to be read in every word of Venus's complaint to Jupiter, and in the very circumstance of the interview between the queen of love and beauty and the "pater hominumque deumque;" that interview having for its sole object the fortunes of Aeneas, Augustus's ancestor, and the foundation by him of that great Roman empire, of which Augustus was now the absolute master and head. Nor is the adulation of Augustus confined to those parts of the Aeneid in which, as in the passages before us, there is reference to him by name or distinct allusion; it pervades the whole poem from beginning to end, and could not have been least pleasing, to a person of so refined a taste, where it is least direct, and where the praise is bestowed, not upon himself, but upon that famous goddess-born ancestor, from whom it was his greatest pride and boast to be descended. Not that I suppose, with Warburton and Spence, either that the character of Augustus is adumbrated in that of Aeneas, or that the Aeneid is a political poem, having for its object to reconcile the Roman nation to the newly settled order of things; on the contrary, I agree with Heyne that there are no sufficient grounds for either of these opinions, and that they are each of them totally inconsistent with the boldness and freedom necessary to a great epic. But, nevertheless, without going so far as Warburton or Spence, I am certainly of opinion that Virgil wrote the Aeneid in honour of Augustus—that he selected Aeneas for his hero, chiefly because, as Augustus's reputed ancestor and the first founder of the Roman empire, his praises would redound more to the honour of, and therefore be more grateful to, Augustus, than those of any other hero with which the heroic age could have furnished him—and, still further, that he not only purposely abstained from introducing topics which might have been

disagreeable to the feelings, or derogatory to the reputation, of Augustus, but also seized every opportunity of giving such tendency and direction to his story, and illustrating it with such allusions, as he judged would be best received by him, and shed most honour and glory upon his name. Nor let this be called mere adulation: call it rather the heartfelt gratitude of the partial poet towards his munificent friend and patron, and the fulfilment and realization of his allegorical promise to build a magnificent temple to him by Mincius' side, *Georg. 3. 13*:

. . . "viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam
propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius, et tenera praetexit arundine ripas.
in medio mihi Caesar erit, templumque tenebit."

CANA. "Canam Fidem dixit, vel quod in canis hominibus invenitur, vel quod ei albo panno involuta manu sacrificatur," Servius. "Prisca, antiqua, qualis maiorum fuit," Heyne, Wagner (1861). No; but literally, grey, hoary, viz., with age. As youth is *viridis*, *purpureus*, so age is *cana*, and Fides, a goddess older than Jupiter (*Sil. 2. 484* "ante Iovem generata"), could hardly not have lost somewhat of her youthful bloom, and acquired instead a little of the canities of age. Scalig. *Comment. Numis. Constant.*: "Anus est Fides, puella Spes. Anus fingitur quia antiquior lege." Accordingly, the appellative is by no means peculiar to Faith, but is applied indifferently to other deities who are, *par excellence*, old and hoary; *ex. gr. (a)* by Catullus (*Coma Beren.*) to Tethys:

. . . "me nocte premunt vestigia divum;
luce autem canae Tethyi restitutor;"

(b) by Ovid, *Fast. 2. 191*, to the same:

. . . "canamque rogat [*al. adiit*] Saturnia Tethyn;"

(c) again by Ovid, *Met. 2. 509*, to the same:

. . . "et ad canam descendit in aequora Tethyn
Oceanumque senem, quorum reverentia movit
saepe deos;"

and (d) by our author himself (5. 744) to Vesta:

. . . "canae penetralia Vestae."

The same term is applied to the same goddess Faith by Prudentius (*Hamartigenia*, 853):

“tunc postliminio redeuntem suscipit alto
cana Fides gremio;”

and much less correctly by Ammian to the abstract quality which the goddess Faith personifies (26. 7: “En, inquit, cana Romanorum exercituum fides, et religionibus firmis iuramenta constricta!”); while its derivate verb is applied by Scaevola (quoted by Cicero, *de Legibus* 1. 1) to Cicero’s poem of Marius:

“canescet saeculis innumerabilibus,”

and by Cicero himself (*ibid.*, Quintus Cicero speaking) to Marius’s oak: “Dum Latinae loquentur literae, quercus huic loco non deerit, quæ Mariana dicatur: eaque, ut ait Scaevola de fratris mei ‘Mario’:

‘canescet saeculis innumerabilibus.’”

How little we are to understand CANA FIDES as equivalent to Horace’s “Fides albo velata panno,” and how still less we are to understand, with Servius, FIDES to be styled CANA, “quod ei alba panno involuta manu sacrificatur,” appears to be placed beyond doubt by Martial’s (1. 16. 2):

“si quid longa Fides canaque iura valent”

(where, in an application scarcely differing from that in our text, it is impossible that cana can have either of the meanings assigned to it by Servius, and where it must mean, more or less literally, hoary with age; exactly as canities, in its similar application by Claudian, 4 *Cons. Honor.* 504, can only mean hoariness owing to age:

“firmatur senium iuris, priscamque resumunt
canitiem leges, emendanturque vetustae,
acceduntque novae”).

Compare (a) Claud. *Bell. Gildon.* 24:

. . . “laxata casside prodit
canitiem, plenamque trahit rubiginis hastam,”

where hoariness is attributed to Rome, a goddess, like Faith, stricken in years. (b) Claud. *in 1 Cons. Stilich.* 2. 442:

“occurrit Natura potens, seniorque superbis
canitiem inclinat radiis,”

where we have a third allegorized goddess exactly corresponding to Fides and Roma, and, like them, not merely aged, but hoary. (c) Claud. *Rapt. Proserp.* 3. 11:

. . . “lucida [al. caerulea] Phorci
canities.”

(d) Ammian, 14. 6: “Patrum [P. C.] reverenda cum auctoritate canities”—words standing in the middle of an enunciation very similar to this of Jupiter’s; **and** (e) the so similar application of γραιαι to the Furies by Aeschylus, *Eumen.* 150 (the chorus of Furies to Apollo):

νεος δε γραιας δαιμονας [Furias] καθιππασω,
τον ικεταν [Oresten] σεβων αδεον ανδρα και
τοκευσιν πικρον,
τον μητραλοιαν δ’ εξεκλειψας ων θεος.

Ibid. 68:

υπνω ’πεσον δ’ αιδ’ [ed. Davies] αι καταπτυστοι χοραι [Furiae],
γραιαι, παλαιαι παιδες, αις ου μιννυται
θεων τις ουδ’ ανθρωπος ουδε θηρ ποτε.

CANA FIDES ET VESTA, REMO CUM FRATRE QUIRINUS. “Quod vero poetae animum ad has rerum imagines deduceret, ut Fidem et Vestam cum Remo et Romulo commemoraret, fuisse suspicor etiam hoc quod ut ex topographiis Romae disci potest in Palatino monte, adeoque circa Palatinam Caesaris domum templa Fidei, Vestae ac Romuli Remique erant,” Heyne, *Excurs. ad 1.* 291–296. Not only is the supposition that there is an allusion in our text to local circumstances altogether gratuitous, but such allusion, if it could be shown to exist, would take from, not add to, the effect of the allusion to the primitive times. The reign of Fides and Vesta and Remus and Romulus shall return, that is to say—Fides being truth, faithfulness, and sincerity in men’s dealings with each other; Vesta, the domestic sanctuary, the sanctity of home; and Remus and Romulus, just

and equal government—primitive times shall return, and men become again honest and of good faith in their dealings with each other, secure in and attached to their homes, and loyal subjects of a just and paternal government. Compare Ovid, *Fast.* 6. 375:

“tum Venus, et lituo pulcher trabeaque Quirinus
Vestaque pro Latio multa locuta suo est.
‘publica,’ respondit, ‘cura est pro moenibus istis,
Iupiter, ‘et poenas Gallia victa dabit.’”
tu modo, quae desunt fruges, superesse putentur,
effice; nec sedes desere, Vesta, tuas.”

Ovid, *Fast.* 6. 435:

. . . “tuetur
Vesta, quod assiduo lumine cuncta videt.”

Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 527:

“iam pius Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem
afferet. Iliacos excipe, Vesta, deos.
tempus erit, cum vos orbemque tuebitur idem;
et fient ipso sacra colente deo;
et penes Augustos patriae tutela manebit;
hanc fas imperii fraena tenere domum.”

Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 949:

“aufert Vesta diem; cognato Vesta recepta est
limine; sic iussi constituere patres.
Phoebus habet partem; Vestae pars altera cessit;
quod superest illis, tertius ipse tenet.
state, Palatinae laurus, praetextaque quercu
stet domus. aeternos tres habet una deos.”

Ovid, *Fast.* 6. 365:

“vidimus Iliacae transferri pignora Vestae
sede. putant aliquos scilicet esse deos?”

Liv. 1. 21: “Deorum assidua insidens cura, quum interesse rebus humanis caeleste numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac iusiurandum proximo legum ac poenarum metu, civitatem regerent.”

REMO CUM FRATRE QUIRINUS. Quirinus is no emblem of peace. Compare Claud. 4 *Cons. Honor.* 488:

“ut fortes in Marte viros, animisque paratos,
sic iustos in pace legis, longumque tueris
electos, crebris nec succedentibus urges.
iudicibus notis regimur; fruimurque quietis
militiaeque bonis; ceu bellatore Quirino,
ceu placido moderante Numa.”

IURA DABUNT. The meaning of the expression “iura dare,” has been scarcely less mistaken by Heyne in his excursus on our text, where he says, “iura dare, h. e. regnare, imperio Romano praeesse, rem Romanam tueri,” than in his comment on “iura dabat legesque viris” (verse 511), where he informs us that “iura legesque dare” is neither more nor less than “ius dicere” (“Nihil aliud quam ius dicere”). The following examples, which it were easy to multiply tenfold, are sufficient to show that “iura dare” is neither the one nor the other, but either strictly and literally to give rights (viz., by the medium of laws), or, loosely and generally to make laws (conveying rights), to perform the function of legislator, to legislate: *Georg.* 4. 560:

. . . “Caesar dum magnus ad altum
fulminat Euphraten bello, victorque volentes
per populos dat iura, viamque adfectat Olympo.”

Aen. 1. 735:

“Iupiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur.”

Ovid, *Amor.* 2. 17. 23:

“tu quoque me, mea lux, in quaslibet accipe leges.
te deceat medio iura dedisse toro.”

Prop. 4. 11. 18:

“det pater hic umbrae mollia iura meae.”

Ovid, *Met.* 1. 574:

“haec domus, haec sedes, haec sunt penetralia magni
annis; in hoc residens facto de cautibus antro,
undis iura dabat, Nymphisque colentibus undas.”

(where the river-god Peneus, "residens" (our author's own word), "facto de cautibus antro" (our author's "solio"), "iura dabat" (our author's own word), "undis Nymphisque colentibus undas" (our author's "viris")). Cic. *de Legib.* 2. 12: "Quid religiosius quam cum populo, cum plebe agendi ius [augures] aut dare, aut non dare?" Coripp. *Iohannid.* 1. 15:

"Iustiniane, tuis, princeps, assurge triumphis,
laetus et infractis victor da iura tyrannis."

On the other hand, "ius dicere"—an expression which Heyne should have known better than to confound with "iura dare"—is to *expound, explain, or lay down what the law is, to perform the office of a judge, to administer justice*. Compare Cic. *Epist. ad Fam.* 13. 14: "Huic in tua provincia pecuniam debet P. Cornelius. Ea res a Volcatio, qui Romae ius dicit, reiecta in Galliam est." Liv. 2. 27: "Appius . . . quam asperrime poterat ius de creditis pecuniis dicere." Suet. *Aug.* c. 33: "Ipse ius dixit assidue, et in noctem nonnunquam: si parum corpore valeret, lectica pro tribunali collocata, vel etiam domi cubans." Heyne's first mistake, viz., that "iura dare" is equivalent to regnare, praeesse, tueri is as old as the time of Donatus, who warns his readers against it: "'Iura dabat,' sic alii exponunt, imperabat, sed non ita est, nam qui sub novo [*suppl.* imperio] agebant nondum habebant leges et iura, quibus tenerentur. Haec ergo iura et leges dabat, hoc est constituebat, tenentibus quippe imperium plena potestas est, iura scribere ac leges proferre, quibus vivant qui agunt sub imperio. Non enim . . . potest recte vivere, nisi quem tenet iuris legumque necessitas." In his second, worse mistake, Heyne is, I am sorry to say, countenanced by Forbiger, who adopts Heyne's words as his own: "*Iura legesque dare* nihil aliud est quam *ius dicere*." A greater authority than either—however seldom appealed to in questions of philology—Lord Bacon, has, and most correctly, not only placed the two expressions in point-blank opposition, but accurately defined the meaning of both: "Judges," he tells us, *Essay 56* (of Judicature), "ought to remember that their office

is *ius dicere*, and not *ius dare*; to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law." See Rem. on "*Iura dabat legesque viris*," verse 511; and compare Tacit. *Annal.* 13. 54: "*Ceterum continuo exercituum otio, fama incessit, ereptum ius legis ducendi in hostem.*"

DIRAE FERRO ET COMPAGIBUS ARCTIS CLAUDENTUR BELLI PORTAE. Not CLAUDENTUR FERRO ET COMPAGIBUS ARCTIS, but DIRAE FERRO ET COMPAGIBUS ARCTIS, because—first, compages is never the means or instrument by which anything is shut or fastened, but always the compagination of the thing itself; secondly, because the separation of DIRAE from PORTAE by the whole length of the sentence CLAUD. FERRO ET COMP. ARCTIS were, to say the least of it, ungraceful; and, thirdly, because the emphasis were thus taken off the closing of the gates, which is the essential idea, to be placed on the tightness of the fastenings, which is a matter of no importance. Compare 6. 573:

. . . "horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae
panduntur portae,"

where "horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae" lead to and prepare for the emphatic word "panduntur," placed first word in the line, exactly as DIRAE FERRO ET COMPAGIBUS ARCTIS prepare for and lead to the emphatic word CLAUDENTUR, placed first word in the line.

DIRAE FERRO ET COMPAGIBUS ARCTIS, as Plin. *N. H.* 5. 4: "*Tertius sinus dividitur in geminos, duarum Syrtium vadoso ac reciproco mari diros.*" Sil. 4. 284:

"contorquet nodis et obusto robore diram
vel portas quassare trabem."

Tacit. *Hist.* 4. 62: "*Dux. Cl. Sanctus, effosso oculo, dirus ore, ingenio debilior;*" and Virgil himself, *Catalect.* 14. 2:

. . . "nimio pocula dira mero."

DIRAE FERRO. Iron is always dire: Lucan, 1. 355:

. . . "diro ferri revocantur amore,
ductorisque metu."

COMPAGIBUS, not bolts or other fastenings, but the *συνθρασκες*,

jointing, or compagination, of the door itself: the parts which—put, jointed, or compacted together—constitute the door. See Sil. 12. 143 (ed. Rup.):

“tradunt Herculea prostratos mole gigantas
tellurem iniectam quatere, et spiramine anhelō
torreri late campos, quotiesque minantur
rumpere compagem impositam expallescere caelum.”

FERRO ET COMPAGIBUS. Hendiadys for *ferreis compagibus*, as *Aen.* 2. 627: “ferro crebrisque bipennibus,” for *crebris bipennibus ferri*.

BELLI PORTAE. The temple was called *portae*, not merely on account of the remarkable use made of the doors, but because consisting of little else than doors—the entire building being no larger than was necessary to hold the statue, immediately in front of the one face of which opened the one door, and immediately in front of the opposite or other face of which, the other; Procop. *Bell. Goth.* 1. 25 (ed. Dind.): ο τε νεως απας χαλκους εν τετραγωνω σχηματι εστηκε, τοσουτος μιν, οσον αγαλμα του Ιανου σκεπειν . . . διπροσωπον δε την κεφαλην εχον. . . . Θυραι τε χαλκαι εφ’ εκατερω προσωπω εισιν. No wonder, indeed, that such a temple, with its two doors standing always wide open, should be called *portae*!

CLAUDENTUR—CRUENTO. Compare Voltaire’s application of this passage, *Henriade*, c. 1, to Elizabeth, Queen of England, and judge of the great epic poet and epic poem of France, and of the capability of the French language for the higher kinds of poetry:

“quel exemple pour vous, monarques de la terre!
une femme a fermé les portes de la guerre,
et renvoyant chez vous la discorde et l’horreur,
d’un peuple qui l’adore elle a fait le bonheur.”

CENTUM. Not to be understood literally, or as meaning the precise number one hundred, but as general, and meaning many, I don’t know how many; exactly as we say: “I have told you a hundred times,” meaning a great many times, very often; *Aen.* 6. 43:

“quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum.”

Ovid, *Met.* 13. 784:

“sumptaque arundinibus compacta est fistula centum;
senserunt toti pastoria sibila montes;
senserunt undae.”

Hor. *Od.* 2. 16. 33:

“te greges centum Siculaeque circum
mugiunt vaccae.”

Hor. *Od.* 3. 8. 13:

“sume Maecenas, cyathos amici
sospitis centum;”

and—than which there could be no more exact parallel to our text—Hor. *Od.* 2. 14. 25:

“absumet haeres Caecuba dignior
servata centum clavibus: et mero
tinget pavementum superbo,
pontificum potiore coenis,”

and Hor. *Od.* 3. 4. 79:

. . . “amatorem trecentae
Pirithoum cohibent catenae.”

See Rem. on “tercentum,” 4. 510. Also, London *Times* newspaper, of October 27, 1862, speaking of Van Male’s Latin translation of the Autobiography* of Charles I.: “The emperor resolutely refused to allow the work to be published, and ordered the book to be carefully locked up, ‘servari centum clavibus.’”

CRUENTO. Not sanguineo, *bloody*; but CRUENTO, *gory* (cruor, gore, different forms of the same word), *smear'd with spilled blood*; Lucret. 2. 194:

. . . “e nostro cum missus corpore *sanguis*
emicat exsultans alte, spargitque *cruorem*.”

* This work was translated from the original Spanish into French by Baron Kervyn de Lettinghove, and into English by Simpson, from his (the Baron’s) translation. [The above is copied from my pocket memoranda, of Tuesday, October 28, 1862.]

301—308.

HAEC AIT ET MAIA GENITUM DEMITTIT AB ALTO
 UT TERRAE UTQUE NOVAE PATEANT CARTHAGINIS ARCES
 HOSPITIO TEUCRIS NE FATI NESCIA DIDO
 FINIBUS AR CERET VOLAT ILLE PER AERA MAGNUM
 REMIGIO ALARUM AC LIBYAE CITUS ASTITIT ORIS
 ET IAM IUSSA FACIT PONUNTQUE FEROCIA POENI
 CORDA VOLENTE DEO IMPRIMIS REGINA QUIETUM
 ACCIPIT IN TEUCROS ANIMUM MENTEMQUE BENIGNAM

Compare (Silius, 13. 314) the mission of Pan to soften the hearts of the Roman soldiers bent on razing Capua, a description in which Silius has—I must acknowledge, a rare thing for Silius to do—very much and by far outdone his master, and given evidence, as it seems to me, that he was capable of doing much more than he has usually done, and was prevented from putting forth his strength by the necessity, real or imagined, under which he felt himself, of catering to the taste of readers wholly without relish for good poetry, and admiring only bad; a taste generally triumphant in all countries and all ages, and only triumphed over by some rare, fortunate, happily-circumstanced Virgil, or Horace, or Milton, or Dante.

UT TERRAE UTQUE NOVAE PATEANT CARTHAGINIS ARCES HOSPITIO TEUCRIS. *Not* UT TERRAE ARCESQUE CARTHAGINIS PATEANT, *but*—as shown, firstly by the better sense, and secondly, by the repetition of the UT—UT TERRAE PATEANT (that they may be allowed to land: see verse 545), UTQUE PATEANT CARTHAGINIS ARCES (and that they may be received into the city and palace).

NE FATI NESCIA DIDO FINIBUS AR CERET. “Quid aliud Dido, ne Aenean a finibus suis arceret itaque perniciiei obiectaret, monenda fuit, nisi illius conservationem in fato esse? Ita ut locum intelligamus, et nexus suadet, et verborum vis,” Dietsch (*Theolog.* p. 20). Not the meaning. Mercury is not sent in

order to inform Dido of the will of the Fates, but, by exercising a mollifying influence on her heart, to prevent her from (ignorantly, in her ignorance of the fates) refusing that hospitality to Aeneas without which the will of the Fates could not be fulfilled; and so, correctly, Wagner in his *Praest.*

VOLAT ILLE PER AERA MAGNUM REMIGIO ALARUM. Compare Milton, *Par. Lost*, 5. 266:

. . . "down thither prone in flight
he speeds, and through the vast ethereal sky
sails between worlds and worlds, with steady wing."

REMIGIO ALARUM. A favourite metaphor with the ancients (to whom rowing was so much more familiar than to us), and applied not merely as in our text, and at 6. 19, to flying, but to swimming (Cassiod. *Var.* 8. 10: "Diu iactatum navigium tumens fluctus absorbuit, nullum relinquens forti viro solatium, nisi tantum *remigia* brachiorum"), and even to walking, Eurip. *Iphig. in Aulid.* 138 (ed. Markl.):

ἀλλ' ἴθ', ἐρεσσων σον ποδα, γηρα
μηδὲν ἀπεικων.

Nor is the converse metaphor—that of wings for oars—less usual; Hom. *Od.* 11. 125:

οὐδ' εὐηρεῖ ἐρετμα, τα τε πτερα νηυσὶ πέλονται,

which latter metaphor must be held in mind if we would see the entire of the picture presented to us in the line (3. 124):

"linquimus Ortygiae portus, pelagoque volamus."

✓ PONUNTQUE FEROCIA POENI CORDA VOLENTE DEO. Compare Virg. *Georg.* 2. 51 (of trees undergoing cultivation): "exuerint silvestrem animum."

FEROCIA. *Ferox* is less our *ferocious* than our *fierce*, *high-spirited*, *haughty*, *over-confident*, *presuming*; Fr. *outrécuidant*. Compare 4. 135:

"stat sonipes, ac fraena ferox spumantia mandit;"

also the application of the term by Germanicus on his death-bed to the feelings which Agrippina, his wife, entertained

towards the persons who were suspected of having been the cause of his death; Tacit. *Annal.* 2. 72: "Per memoriam sui, per communes liberos oravit, exueret ferociam, saevienti fortunæ submitteret animum;" Hor. *Carm.* 3. 3. 42:

. . . "stet Capitolium
fulgens, triumphatisque possit
Roma ferox dare iura Medis;"

Nep. *Them.* c. 2; and especially Cic. *de Senec.*: "infirmetas puerorum est, ferocitas iuvenum, gravitas iam constantis ætatis;" and Livy, 30. 30 (Hannibal to Scipio): "Tuam et adolescentiam et perpetuam felicitatem, ferociora utraque quam quietis opus est consiliis, metuo." In all these passages, no less than in our text, the "ferocia" spoken of is not at all our *ferocity*, but mettle, *i. e.* a high, overbearing, fierce spirit, especially that which is produced by uninterrupted prosperity. Compare also Cic. in fragm. ap. Non. c. 4, n. 192: "Vereor ne ferociorem eum faciant tua tam præclara de eo iudicia;" and Cic. *Fragm.* (ed. Lamb), p. 470; Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 1322 (ed. Ritschl):

"nam tu quamvis potis es facere ut adfluat facetiis,
et quia tecum eram, propterea nimio eram ferocior;"

Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 1389 (ed. Ritschl):

. . . "stat in statu senex,
ut adoriatur mœchum, qui formast ferox,
qui omnis se amare credit, quæque aspexerit;"

Ovid, *Met.* 1. 757 (Phaethon speaking):

. . . "ille ego liber,
ille ferox tacui."

The Latin word has come down to the Italians, and is used by them in a similarly mitigated sense; Alfieri, *Autobiogr.*, year 1783: "Mi riuscì d' un grandissimo sollievo il conversar con quell' uomo incomparabile, buono, compassionevole, e con tanta altezza e ferocia di sensi, umanissimo," where "ferocia" is precisely the French *fiercé*.

Nothing can be weaker than this part of Virgil's poem. Venus intercedes with the Omnipotent on behalf of her *proté-*

gés. The Omnipotent, softened, kisses her and explains to her the glorious futurity which awaits them; and lest the Carthaginians in their ignorance should throw difficulties in the way of fate, sends his special messenger down to smooth matters. The messenger, alert as usual, winnows the air down, and soon stands on the Libyan frontier; and the reader is all agog to hear the steps taken in the critical conjuncture by the cleverest of all intermediaries. Not one word about them. Mercury, like a good boy, does as he was bid (*IUSSA FACIT*); and the Carthaginians, and especially the queen, at once lay aside their *outrévidence* and become as mild and gentle as sucking doves. It is this mountain in labour, this "indignus vindice nodus," this little-to-do-for—say rather nothing at all done by—a messenger god, the Dutch critic should have fallen foul of, not the nerveless verse-and-a-half which he has expunged, as not possibly Virgil's, because unworthy of Virgil: "IMPRIMIS—BENIGNAM. Haec adeo sunt humilia, ut qui admonitus, Virgilio plane esse indigna non sentiat, nihil non admittere et pati possit." If unworthiness of Virgil is a sufficient ground for elimination from the text, not the verse-and-a-half alone, but the whole passage (no less deficient both in expression and design than the verse-and-a-half), should have been eliminated. But elimination is too arbitrary treatment, either of a verse-and-a-half or of a whole passage handed down by all the MSS. as genuine; and it is the part of the editor to present his author, not as in his judgment he ought to have been, but as the MSS. inform him he was.

VOLENTE DEO. "Iove. Vel Mercurio," Donatus, Servius (ed. Lion), a very safe observation, one would think; and leaving the reader who has most in his mind that Mercury is the god last spoken of, as free to suppose that it is Mercury who is meant, and with Mercer to compare the *της Θεου το παν διεπουσης* of Aristaenetus, 1. 15, as it leaves the reader who reflects that Mercury is no more than the instrument of willing, determining Jove, at liberty to ascribe to Jove the whole glory. But what if the safety of Servius's and Donatus's observation is more apparent than real, and such the slipperiness of Virgil's style that DEO refers to neither of the two gods specially, but, with, Coning-

ton, generally to both, as if he had said "superis volentibus," or as we might express it, "such being the will of heaven?" Compare Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 418 (ed. Bloomf.):

τουτω μεν ουτως ευτυχειν δοιεν θεοι.
 Καπαheus δ' επ' Ηλεκτραισιν ειληχεν πυλαις,
 γιγας οδ', αλλου του παρος λελεγμενου
 μειζων, ο κομπος δ' ου κατ' ανθρωπον φρονει
 πυργοις δ' απειλει τοισδ' α μη χρονοι θεος [αλ. τυχη].
 θεου τε γαρ θελοντος εκπερσειν πολιν,
 και μη θελοντος φησιν, ουδε την Διος
 εριν πεδω σκηψασαν εκποδων σχεθειν,

where there is the same uncertainty whether the *θεου* of *θεου θελοντος* και μη θελοντος is general, and refers to the preceding *θεοι*; or particular, and refers to the succeeding *Διος*.

310-313.

UT PRIMUM—REFERRE

Not, UT PRIMUM LUX ALMA DATA EST, CONSTITUIT, but EXIRE UT PRIMUM LUX ALMA DATA EST, because there is something of puerile and even ridiculous in taking the whole night to consider, and coming only at dawn to the magnanimous resolution to sally forth and look about him. The comma, therefore, should be removed from after EST.

EXACTA REFERRE.—"EXACTA, quae explorasset, comperisset," Heyne. "Diligenter explorata," Wagner; on which interpretation Wunderlich (without proposing a better) observes: "qua significatione haec vox rarius [he might have said, 'nunquam'] usurpatur." EXACTA is simply *facta, transacta*; EXACTA REFERRE, Anglice, *report proceedings*. Compare 6. 637:

"his demum exactis, perfecto munere divae."

Georg. 1. 435: "Exactum mensem," *the month completed, finished*; "ad mensem exactum," *up to the end of the month*.

314.

CLASSEM IN CONVEXO NEMORUM SUB RUPE CAVATA

CONVEXO NEMORUM. The usual difficulty, arising from that capital defect of the Latin language, the want of the article. The words are equally capable of meaning in *a* "convexum nemorum" and in *the* "convexum nemorum" and have always been understood by all commentators in the former, *i. e.* in the indefinite sense. I think however that they are used in the latter, or definite sense, and mean in *the* "convexum nemorum," *i. e.* in the "convexum nemorum" already described—in other words, in the port itself; for to what purpose so insist on the security and quiet of the port—

"aequora tuta silent
 hic fessas non vincula naves
 ulla tenent, unco non alligat ancora morsu"—

if the ships are to be immediately removed into a "convexum nemorum"? No, no; it is in the safe port itself the ships are hid SUB RUPE CAVATA, where the precipitous rocky bank overhangs the water, and where they are concealed from view not merely by the overhanging bank, but by the thickly shadowing trees with which the bank is crowned—ARBORIBUS CLAUSAM CIRCUM ATQUE HORRENTIBUS UMBRIS, the very "tum silvis scena coruscis desuper" of the port, a little varied. But how is CONVEXO NEMORUM equivalent to the port just described? The question is easily answered. Whatever is *carried round* in the form of a bowl or basin is convexum (see Rem. on l. 611). The port, inasmuch as it is enclosed by "vastae rupes" on each side, an island in front, and a "frons" opposite, is carried round in the form of a bowl or basin: therefore the port is "convexum." Compare Plin. *H. N.* 12. 23: "Discessimus a terris oceanum spectantibus ad convexas in nostra maria," *forming the basin of our seas.*

Very well for "convexum," but why "convexum nemorum?" Because the "convexum" is crowned with woods—

"tum silvis scena coruscis desuper"—and "convexum nemorum" is the equivalent of "convexum nemorosum," exactly as, 6. 256, "iuga silvarum" is the equivalent of "iuga silvosa;" 11. 544, "iuga nemorum" of "iuga nemorosa"; and, *Ed.* 6. 56, "saltus nemorum" of "saltus nemorosi."

The concealment of the ships is complete and perfect. They are in a basin surrounded on all sides by high and precipitous banks crowned with dark shadowing woods, and they are moreover under the rocky thickly wooded bank, where it is hollowed out underneath by the water and projects overhead.

SUB RUPE CAVATA: where the precipitous bank is hollowed out below by the water, and projects overhead. Compare Liv. 37. 27: "A mari exesae fluctibus rupes claudunt; ita ut quibusdam locis superpendentia saxa plus in altum, quam quae in statione sunt naves, promineant." Ovid, *Met.* 4. 524:

"imminet aequoribus scopulus; pars ima cavatur
fluctibus, et tectas defendit ab imbris undas;
summa riget, frontemque in apertum porrigit aequor."

Lucan, 4. 455:

"impudent cava saxa mari, ruituraque semper
stat (mirum!) moles, et silvis aequor inumbrat.
huc fractas aquilone rates, submersaque pontus
corpora saepe tulit, caecisque abscondit in antris."

IN CONVEEXO NEMORUM SUB RUPE CAVATA.—IN CONVEEXO NEMORUM, in a wooded promontory; SUB RUPE CAVATA, under the excavated precipice, *i. e.* in an excavation of the precipice. The two clauses are descriptive of the same object, which is a rocky promontory covered with woods, and having an excavation in its side; as if he had said "sub rupe cava nemoris convexi." In Lucan, *l. c.*, the "impudent cava saxa mari" corresponds to the SUB RUPE CAVATA, "ruituraque semper stat (mirum!) moles" to the CONVEEXO, and "silvis aequor inumbrat" to the NEMORUM and ARBORIBUS CLAUSAM CIRCUM ATQUE HORRENTIBUS UMBRIS of our text.

317.

MANU CRISPANS

The Latin term *crispus* signifies, **not** curly or curled, as I think is sufficiently shown by the actual application of the term by Plautus to curls (*Trucul.* 2. 2. 32 [ed. Weise]):

"iam ego istos fictos, compositos, crispas cincinnos tuos
unguentatos usque ex cerebro exvellam!"

but *crisp*, *i. e.* the state opposite to flaccid, relaxed, lank, languid, listless, dull (Germ. *schlaff*, Lat. *lentus*). Accordingly we find it applied to the animal body, or part of the animal body, when it is not in a relaxed but in a tonic state, *i. e.* when the skin or muscles or both are in tone, or in a state of tonic action [*Copa*, 2:

"crispum sub crotalo docta movere latus,"

the flank not relaxed or languid, or unbraced, but braced—in a state of tonic life and activity, ready to bend actively, not passively; as when we set our arms a-kimbo, and with an air of defiance move the upper part of the body with a lateral motion from left to right and from right to left alternately. *Mart.* 5. 61 (ed. Schneid.):

"crispulus iste quis est, uxori semper adhaeret
qui, Mariane, tuae? crispulus iste quis est?"

—*not* that curly-pated little fellow, *but* that *crisp*, dapper, cocket, smart little fellow]. The same term is also applied to the speech or manner of speaking, to signify that it is *crisp*, *i. e.* smart; the opposite of relaxed, languid, drawling, or whining. Compare *Aul. Gell.* 1. 4: "Crispum sane . . . agmen orationis rotundumque, ac modulo ipso numerorum venustum." In like manner *crispare* is to *make* or *be* *crisp*—*crispus* in the just explained sense. See *Persius*, 3. 87:

"ingeminat tremulos naso crispante cachinnos"

[*i. e.* "ingeminat cachinnos naso crispante—with a nose turning

itself up, cocking itself up; precisely as we say in English: *cocked up his nose*]. Arnob. *Adv. Gent.* 7. 33 (ed. Orelli): "Quid cessatis quin et ipsos dicatis deos ludere, lascivire, saltare, obscenas compingere cantationes, et clunibus fluctuare crispatis:" also *ibid.* 2. 42 and Claud. *Epith. Pall. et Celer.* 4:

. . . "crispatur opaca
pampinus, et mites undatim ventilat uvas"

(whith which use made by the Romans of the verb *crispare* compare the exactly corresponding use made by the French of their equivalent and derived verb *crisper*, Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, 11, 1: "Les doigts osseux et maigres qui la meurtrissaient se crispaient sur sa chair, et se rejoignaient alentour"). Plin. *N. H.* 2. 82 (de terrae motu): "Tutissimum est cum vibrat crispante aedificiorum crepitu" [vibrates with a short, sharp crackling]. Val. Flacc. 1. 311:

"alma novo crispans pelagus Tithonia Phoebos"

[crisping the surface of the sea; making the surface of the sea (which during the night lay dull and flaccid) sharp, lively, fresh, buoyant, and elastic; putting it in tone, as the skin, muscle, or hair of an animal is put in tone, and so Milton, *Par. Lost*, 4. 237:

. . . "from that sapphire fount the crisped brooks,
rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,
ran nectar, visiting each plant"].

precisely in the same sense are we to understand *crispare*, when applied to arms or weapons; Claud. *3 Cons. Honor.* 194:

"altum fulminea crispare in casside conum
festinat Steropes"

[to make crisp the cone on the helmet; manufacture, or work, or set up the cone, so that it may look crisp—lively—alert—on the cock—not drooping, or languid, or tame]. Sil. Ital. 8. 374:

"non illis solitum crispare hastilia campo:
pila volunt."

Amm. Marc. 14. 2: "Ubi autem in planitie potuerint reperiri.

quod contingit assidue, nec exsertare lacertos, nec crispare permissi tela, quae vehunt bina vel terna, pecudum ritu inertium trucidantur." Amm. Marc. 20. 4: "Hocque comperto, milites quos ignota pari sollicitudine movebant et nota, pars crispantes missilia, alii minitantes nudatis gladiis, diverso vagoque (ut in repentino solet) excursu occupavere volucriter regiam"—in the whole of which last three passages *crispare* is applied precisely as in our text, viz., to express the holding or handling the weapons, so as to give them an active appearance, so as to make them appear as it were possessed of life and energy, *crisp*—ready for action—on the cock—on the sharp.

The *manu crispatio* of the hostile by the soldier may perhaps be rendered easy of comprehension to the truant school-boy by a reference to the *manu crispatio* of the ferula, or birch, by the schoolmaster. Nor do the French not make a precisely similar application (viz., to arms) of their borrowed *cresper*; Littré, *Dict.*, quoting from R. Belleau, *Berger*, t. 1, p. 3, dans LACURNE:

"mais qu'en me façonnant comme un soldat pratique
j'eusse appris à *cresper* le long bois d'une pique,
à piquer un cheval, le manier en rond"

[not, with Littré, to *brandish* (*brandir*) a pike, but to *hold a pike firm, in a martial manner, ready of action, as it should be held by a soldier*].

MANU CRISPANS, *clenching* in his hand. See again Amm. l. c.: "Ubi autem in planitie potuerint reperiri, quod contingit assidue, nec exsertare lacertos, nec crispare permissi tela, quae vehunt bina vel terna, pecudum ritu inertium trucidantur" [*not allowed to grasp or clench their weapons in their hands*]. That clenching, not brandishing, is the true sense of CRISPANS in the passage before us, is further shown by the remarkable fact that *crispatus* (first changed, of course, into *crispé*, and then into *crêpé**) is the very term employed by the French at the present day to express the clenched or curled state of the fingers (Eugene Sue, *Mystères de Paris*, vol. 1. c. 13: "Car lorsque

* *Crespé* not in Boiste or Fleming and Tibbins. but both have *crêper* in this sense.

l'action succédait à la parole, c'est-à-dire lorsque ses doigts crispés ne rencontraient que la surface de son crâne luisante et polie comme du marbre, le digne *squire* était confus et honteux de sa présomption." Vict. Hugo, *Notre-Dame*, 9. 5: "Ces images de volupté faisaient *crisper* ses poings et courir un frisson le long de ses vertèbres." Account of the murder of the Duchesse de Choiseul-Praslin by her husband, in the *Gazette des Tribunaux*, Paris, Aug. 20, 1847: "On établissait également que les cheveux trouvés entre *les doigts crispés* de la duchesse et dans la mare de sang où gisait son corps étaient précisément de la même couleur et de la même longueur que ceux de son mari." And again, in the account given of the same murder by *Le Droit*, same date: "*Les doigts de la main gauche* de la duchesse étaient *crispés*, et retenaient quelques cheveux du meurtrier, arrachés dans cette horrible lutte").

If the above explanation of *crispare* be correct, *crispare telum* differs from *capere telum*, in so far as the former expresses, first, the precise manner in which the weapon is taken in the hand, viz., by grasping; while the latter expresses only the taking in the hand, without any definition of the manner of the taking; and, secondly, the former expresses the continued action, viz., of holding so grasped, while the expression of the latter is limited to the first moment or commencement of the act; Liv. 22. 51: "Praecipue convertit omnes substratus Numida mortuo superincubante Romano vivus, naso auribusque laceratis; cum, manibus ad *capendum* telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira versus, laniando dentibus hostem exspirasset."

318-324.

CUI MATER MEDIA SESE TULIT OBVIA SILVA
 VIRGINIS OS HABITUMQUE GERENS ET VIRGINIS ARMA
 SPARTANAE VEL QUALIS EQUOS THREISSA FATIGAT
 HARPALYCE VOLUCREMQUE FUGA PRAEVERTITUR HEBRUM
 NAMQUE HUMERIS DE MORE HABILEM SUSPENDERAT ARCUM
 VENATRIX DEDERATQUE COMAM DIFFUNDERE VENTIS
 NUDA GENU NUDOQUE SINUS COLLECTA FLUENTES

VAR. LECT.

HEBRUM **I** *Rom., Pal., Med.* **II** HEBRUM, HAEBRUM, OF EBRUM $7\frac{2}{3}$ **III** Nonius; Priscian, *Inst. Gramm.* 8. 35; Cynth. Cenot.; Rom. 1469; Ven. 1471, 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475, 1492; Bresc.; P. Manut.; La Cerda (doubtingly); D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671); Phil.; Wakef.; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Voss; Thiel; Gossrau (ed. 3); Forb.; Lad.; Haupt.; Jacob (*Quaest. Ep.* p. 161); Coningt.

EURUM **III** Heyne; Brunck; Pott.; Ribb.; Weidner; Peerlk.

O *Vat., Ver., St. Gall.*

HEBRUM. I entirely agree with Wakefield, Wagner, Gossrau, Jahn, Conington, and Forbiger (4th ed.) that, rivers being as celebrated for speed as winds are [Call. *Hymn. in Delum*, 109 (ed. Spanh.), Latona in search of a place where she might lie-in of Apollo and Diana, and addressing the Thessalian nymphs:

*Νεμφαι Θεσσαλιδες, ποταμον γενος, ειπατε πατρι
 κοιμησαι μεγα χερμα περιπλεξασθε γενειω,
 λισσομεναι τα Ζηρος εν ιδατι τεκνα τεκισθαι.
 Πηνει Φθιωτα, τι νυν ανεμοισιν εριζεις;
 ω πατερ, ου μην ιππον αεθλιον αμφιβεβηκας.
 η ρα τοι ωδ' αιε ταχινοι ποδες; η επ' εμειω
 μοννοι ελαφριζουσι; πεποιησαι δε πετεσθαι
 σημερον εξαπνης;*

Hor. *Od.* 1. 12. 7:

“unde vocalem temere insecutae
 Orphea silvae
 arte materna rapidos morantem
 fluminum lapsus celeresque ventos.”

Sil. 3. 306:

“necnon Autololes levibus gens ignea plantis,
cui sonipes cursu, cui cesserit incitus amnis;
tanta fuga est, certant pennae, campumque volatu
cum rapuere, pedum frustra vestigia quaeras”]

there is no necessity for exchanging *HEBRUM*, the unanimous reading of the MSS., for the merely conjectural *EURUM*, proposed by Rutgers and Huet, adopted by Brunck, Heyne, Pottier, Peerlkamp, and Ribbeck, and fiated by Madvig (*Adv. Crit. Lat.* 6. 2) as “necessaria certissimaque coniectura iam communi sensu probata.”

Nor do I less agree with Forbiger as to the propriety with which the two Thracian notabilities, the Thracian maiden and the Thracian river, are placed in company with each other—a propriety which could scarcely have been quite absent from the mind of Silius when that poet was sketching his picture of the Thracian Rhodope coming to hear, and this same Thracian Hebrus stopping to hear, the music of the Thracian bard (Sil. 3. 618):

“quin et Romuloes superabit [Domitianus] voce nepotes,
quis erit eloquio partum decus; huic sua Musae
sacra ferent, meliorque lyra, cui substitit Hebrus,
et venit Rhodope, Phoebô miranda loquetur.”

To Servius's objection to his own reading of *HEBRUM* (“Sed falsum est (viz., *Hebrum volucrum esse*) nam est quietissimus etiam cum per hiemem crescit”) may be opposed the testimony of Plutarch *de Fluviiis*, 3. 1, quoted by La Cerda: *Εἰς ὅς ποταμός ἐστι τῆς Θρακίης, προσηγχοριαν εἰληχώς ἀπὸ τῆς σσιτοφῆς τῆς καταφορας τοῦ ὕδατος*, and the more explicit testimony of Seneca, *Theb.* 607:

“rapidusque campos fertiles Hebrus secat.”

In Sir Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, 5. 18, we have Fitz-james and his merry men outstripping on horseback the swift Teith:

“still at the gallop pricked the knight:
his merry men followed as they might.
along thy banks, swift Teith, they ride,
and in the race they mock thy tide.”

OS HABITUMQUE. "Vultum et amictum," Servius, followed both by Voss and Heyne. I cannot believe it. For why join the clothing by means of QUE so closely with its unlike, the face, and separate it so widely by means of GERENS and VIRGINIS from its like, ARMA? Why have we not either the three categories OS, HABITUS, ARMA; or, if we are only to have two, why are not these two not "OS HABITUSQUE" and "ARMA," but OS and HABITUS ARMAQUE? This is, I think, a decisive objection to the rendering of "habitus" by amictus. How, then, is OS HABITUMQUE to be understood? As a hendiadys for habitum oris? Possibly, and even plausibly, the expression habitus oris being one of so common occurrence [Tacitus, *Germ.* 31: "Crinem barbamque submittere nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti *oris habitum*." Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* 1. 35: "Oris quidem habitus ad vitae firmitatem nihil pertinet." Liv. 21. 2: "Tormētis quoque quum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris, ut, superante laetitia dolores, ridentis etiam speciem praeberit." Liv. 21. 4 (of Hannibal): "Eundem vigorem in vultu, vimque in oculis, habitum oris, lineamentaque intueri." Lucan, 9. 1033:

. . . "iam languida morte
effigies habitum notī mutaverat oris"

—in all which places habitus oris is precisely the *προσωπον στασις* of Philostr. *Imag.* 2. 32 (of the picture of Themistocles): *Ορα και τον Θεμιστοκλεα, την μεν του προσωπου στασιν παραπλησιον τοις λεγουσι* [as if he was speaking]]; but far from probably, if it were only on account of our very reasonable expectation that this introductory sketch of Venus's appearance, instead of being limited to her face, hair, and accoutrements, should comprehend some reference to or notice of that attire, which is so unusual that she herself apologizes for it afterwards. In what third way, then, is the HABITUM of our text to be understood? I reply, without hesitation, as meaning *air, aspect, personal appearance, σχημα* (Achill. Tat. 1. 1 (of the companions of Europa): *το σχημα ταις παρθενοις και χαρας και φοβου*), the combined result of figure, gesture, clothing, and, especially, mode of wearing the hair (compare Sil. 15. 28:

“alterius [Virtutis] dispar habitus: frons hirta, nec unquam
composita mutata coma; stans vultus, et ore
incessuque viro propior, lætique pudoris;
celsa humeros niveae fulgebat stamine pallae,”

where not only is the hair a part of the “habitus,” but the first part mentioned; while the dress is no more than the last, the concluding or completing part). Nay, so much does the mode of wearing the hair enter into the habitus as, along with the great size of the limbs, to constitute the habitus corporis, the peculiar aspect, or appearance, of the Scots, as described by Tacitus, *Agric. 11*: “Habitus corporum varii; atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus, Germanicam originem asseverant. Silurum colorati vultus, et torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania, Iberos veteres traiecisse, easque sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt;” [with which compare Ovid, *Fast. 2. 813* (of Lucretia):

“iamque erat orta dies: passis sedet illa capillis;
ut solet ad nati mater itura rogum.
grandaevumque patrem fido cum coniuge castris
evocat; et posita venit uterque mora.
utque vident habitum; quæ luctus causa requirunt;
cui paret exequias, quove sit icta malo,”

[where the chief part, if not the whole, of the mourning habitus of Lucretia consists in the mode in which she wears her hair]. Also Senec. *Troad. 84*, where Hecuba, having commanded the chorus of Iliades:

“solvite crinem. per colla fluant
moesta capilli tepido Troiae
pulvere turpes. paret exsertos
turba lacertos. veste remissa
substringe sinus, utroque tenuis
pateant artus. cui coniugio
pectora velas, captive pudor?
cingat tunicas palla solutas.
vacet ad crebri verbera planctus
furibunda manus,”

adds,

. . . “placet hic habitus.
placet.”

Stat. *Theb.* 11. 460:

“aversa caeli Pietas in parte sedebat
non habitu, quo nota prius; non ore sereno,
sed vittis exuta comam.”

Also Stat. *Theb.* 12. 106:

. . . “orbao viduaeque ruebant
Inachides, ceu capta manus: sua vulnera cuique;
par habitus cunctis; deiecti in pectora crines,
accinctique sinus. manant lacera ora cruentis
unguibus, et molles planctu crevere lacerti.”

And **especially** Macrob. *Sat.* 4. 4: “Ex habitu corporis:

. . . ‘passis Priameïa virgo
crinibus.’ ”

where ‘passis Priameïa virgo crinibus’ is quoted as an example of *habitus corporis*].

OS HABITUMQUE, then, is not the face and clothing, but the face and personal appearance, air, or aspect of Venus—the latter being the result, or combined effect, of the carriage, dress, mode of wearing the dress:

.
NUDA GENU, NODOQUE SINUS COLLECTA FLUENTES.
.
VIRGINIBUS TYRIIS MOS EST
PURPUREO . . . ALTE SURAS VINCIRE COTHURNO,

and the mode of wearing the hair:

. . . DEDERAT COMAM DIFFUNDERE VENTIS;

and the two words being joined together in order to express the *tout ensemble* of Venus, exactly as *vultus* and *habitus* are joined together by Tacitus, in order to express the *tout ensemble* of Piso (*Hist.* 1. 14: “Piso, M. Crasso et Scribonia genitus, nobilis utrimque, vultu habituque moris antiqui, et aestimatione recta severus, deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur.” And, *Hist.* 1. 17 (of the same Piso): “Nihil in vultu habituque mutatum”) exactly as the same words are joined together by Quintilian, in order to express the *tout ensemble* of his orator,

Inst. 11. 3. 2 (ed. Spalding) ("Affectus omnis languescat necesse est, nisi voce, vultu, totius prope habitu corporis, inardescat"), exactly **as** the same words are joined together by Horace, in order to express the *tout ensemble* of Catus's friend (*Sat.* 2. 4. 91:

. . . "adde
vultum habitumque hominis");

and exactly **as** the same words are used by Seneca to express the *tout ensemble* of Dejanira (*Herc.* Oct. 250:

"nec unus habitus durat, aut uno furit
contenta vultu"),

the *tout ensemble* of Hercules (*Herc.* Fur. 1015, Megara to Hercules:

. . . "natus hic vultus tuos
abitusque reddit"),

and, with the addition of *incessus*, the *tout ensemble* of Hector (*Troad.* 462 (Andromache speaking):

. . . "hos vultus meus
habebat Hector; talis incessu fuit,
habituque talis; sic tulit fortes manus,
sic celsus humeris, fronto sic torva minax,
cervice fusam dissipans lata comam,"

in which last example we have, moreover, the details of the *vultus* and *habitus* of Hector, exactly as we have in our text the details of the *os* and *habitus* of Venus.

Nor is this all. The very Virgilian terms themselves, viz., *os* and *habitus*, have been united **no less** by Silius, in order to express the whole personal appearance of Hannibal (1, 99:

"Hannibal haec patrio iussu ad penetralia fertur;
ingressique habitus atque ora explorat Hamilcar")

and of Piso (8. 463):

"ductor Piso viros spernaces mortis agebat,
ore puer, puerique habitu,* sed corde sagaci
aequabat senium, atque astu superaverat annos"),

* "Ore puer, *puerique habitu*," lect. vulg., probant Dausq. et Barth.
"Ora puer, *pulcherque habitum*," Ruperti.

than by Claudian, to express the whole personal appearance of the Amores (*Nupt. Honor. et Mariae*, 72:

“mille pharetrati ludunt in margine fratres,
ore pares, similes habitu, gens mollis Amorum”).

It only remains for me to point out as briefly as possible how entirely conformable is this use by Virgil of *habitus* to express in conjunction with *os* the whole personal appearance, not merely with Cicero's definition of the term (*De Inventione*, lib. 1 (ed. Lamb), p. 64: “*Habitus autem appellamus animi aut corporis constantem et absolutam aliqua in re perfectionem, ut virtutis aut artis perceptionem alicuius, aut quamvis scientiam, et item corporis aliquam commoditatem, non natura datam, sed studio et industria partam*”), but with Cicero's own use of the term in the interesting account he has left behind him of his personal appearance at a certain period of his life (*Brut.* (ed. Lamb), p. 243: “*Erat eo tempore in nobis summa gracilitas et infirmitas corporis, procerum et tenue collum, qui habitus et quae figura non procul abesse putatur a vitae periculo, si accedit labor et laterum magna contentio . . . Ita recepi me biennio post, non modo exercitator, sed prope mutatus; nam et contentio nimia vocis resederat, et quasi referbuerat oratio, lateribusque vires, et corpori mediocris habitus accesserat.*”

OS HABITUMQUE GERENS. Compare 2. 278: “*vulneraque illa gerens.*” Ovid, *Met.* 4. 134 (of Thisbe):

. . . “*oraque buxo
pallidiora gerens, exhorruit.*”

Ovid, *Met.* 13. 732:

“*illa [Scylla] feris atram canibus succingitur alvum,
virginis ora gerens: et, si non omnia vates
ficta reliquerunt, aliquo quoque tempore virgo.*”

Claud. *ex Gigant.* fragm. 1:

Κεντρὸς δ' οὐτε βέλος ἤτερον οὐδ' ὄπλον, ἀλλ' ἐκομίζειν
αἰγλαΐην

(where there is a sort of pun on the word κομίζειν, “*εκομίζειν, αἰγλαΐην*” meaning at one and the same time: “was beauti-

ful," and "wielded, or carried, the weapon beauty"). Prudent. *Cathem.* 3. 136:

"occe venit nova progenies,
aethere proditus alter homo,
non luteus velut ille prius:
sed Deus ipse gerens hominem,
corporeisque carens vitiis"

(where, no less than in our text, the appearance spoken of as gesta is not the real, natural or genuine, but an assumed appearance—*wearing*, as we say, *the appearance*; the wearing of the assumed appearance being expressed both in Latin and in English by a word which expresses the wearing, bearing, or carrying of something extraneous to the person, viz., in Latin by gerere, in English by wear). Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3. 416 (Ceres apostrophizing Proserpine):

"o decus, o requies, o grata superbia matris,
qua gessi florente deam"

(where, in like manner, the divinity is regarded as a thing *carried*, i. e. as separable from the personality; in other words, as a character or attribute). Senec. *Troad.* 718 (Andromache to Astyanax):

"gere captivum; positoque genu,
si tua nondum funera sentis,
matris fletus imitare tuas"

[*put on the captive, wear the captive*].

VIRGINIS OS HABITUMQUE GERENS ET VIRGINIS ARMA SPARTANAE VIRGINIS SPARTANAE OS HABITUMQUE *et* ARMA GERENS, the second VIRGINIS being added (see below) merely for the rhetorical and rhythmical effect, not at all as affecting the construction, or altering the sense.

VIRGINIS OS HABITUMQUE GERENS ET VIRGINIS ARMA. Compare Hom. *Il.* 22. 127:

τω οαριζεμενα, ατε παρθενος ηιθεος τε,
παρθενος ηιθεος τ' οαριζετον αλληλοισιν.

Quint. Calab. 1. 696:

ως δ' οτ' . . . περιμηκτα λααν
. . . απορηξη . ιος ομβρος,
ομβρος αρ' ηε κραινος.

Sil. 10. 480:

. . . "quondam *sub regibus* illa,
quae Libyco renuit frenos, *sub regibus* olim
Roma fuit."

Sil. 13. 116:

"quae *candore* nivem, *candore* anteiaret olores."

Ovid, *Met.* 2. 533:

"ingreditur liquidum *paronibus* aera *pictis*:
tam nuper *pictis* caeso *paronibus* Argo;"

and *ibid.* verse 541:

"cui color *albus* erat, nunc est contrarius *albo*."

Virg. *Aen.* 7. 411:

. . . "locus *Ardea* quondam
dictus avis, et nunc magnum manet *Ardea* nomen"

(where the second *Ardea* produces no alteration in the sense, and is added solely for the rhetorical effect produced by the repetition. But see Comm. on "locus *Ardea* quondam"). *Aen.* 12. 857:

"armatam saevi *Parthus* quam felle veneni,
Parthus, sive Cydon, telum immedicabile torsit."

Georg. 1. 10:

"et vos, agrestum praesentia numina, *Fauni*,
ferre simul *Faunisque* pedem *Dryadesque* puollae."

Aen. 12. 697-703 (where, within the space of five lines, "deserit" is repeated, "omnes" is repeated, and "quantus" is twice repeated):

"at pater Aeneas, audito nomine Turni,
deserit et muros, et summas *deserit* arces;
praecipitatque moras *omnes*; opera *omnia* rumpit;
laetitia exsultans, horrendumque intonat armis;
quantus Athos, aut *quantus* Eryx, aut ipse coruscis
quum fremit ilicibus *quantus*, gaudetque nivali
vertice se attollens, pater Apenninus ad auras."

Sil. 3. 421:

"hospitis Alcidae crimen; qui, sorte laborum
Geryonae peteret cum longa triorporis arva,

possessus Baccho saeva Bebrycis in aula
 lugendam formae sine virginitate reliquit
 Pyrenen, *letique deus* (si credere fas est)
 caussa fuit *leti* miserae *deus*."

The two Heinsii place a comma at GERENS, and a colon at SPARTANAE, as if the sense were: wearing the face and air of a woman, and the arms of a Spartan woman; or in such trim as Harpalyce, &c. Wagner (1861) and Ribbeck place a comma at ARMA, as if the sense were: wearing the face and air and arms of a woman, viz., either of a Spartan or of Harpalyce. The sense is neither of these, but: wearing the face and air and arms of a Spartan woman, or in such trim as Harpalyce, &c. There should be only one pause, and that should be at SPARTANAE.

SPARTANAE in this emphatic position (see Rem. on 2. 247) refers to both the VIRGINIS of the preceding line, pretty much in the same way as "Troia" (*Aen.* 1. 253) in a similar emphatic position refers both to "arma" and "nomen." It is no affront to Venus to be compared with a Spartan woman, Sparta being celebrated for the beauty of its women, even independently of its having produced Helen; Hom. *Od.* 13. 412:

οὐρ' ἂν ἔγων εἰθω Σπαρτην ἐς καλλίγυναικα.

Schol. to Theocr. *Idyll.* 14. 48:

γαῖης μὲν πάσης το Πηλεσγικὸν Ἀργὸς ἀμεινον,
 ἵπποι Θεσσαλικοὶ, Λακεδαιμονιοὶ τε γυναικες.

Theognis, *Sentent.* 996:

εὐειδὴς ῥαδινὰς χερσὶ Λακωνικὰ κορη.

SPARTANAE VEL. QUALIS EQUOS THREISSA FATIGAT HARPALYCE. Venus, with her loose neglected hair, her kilted dress not reaching to the knee, and her quiver, had the *athletic* appearance of a Spartan woman [Eurip. *Androm.* 595 (Peleus speaking):

. . . οὐδ' ἂν εἰ βούλοιο τις,
 σωφρων γενοῖτο Σπαρτιατὶδων κορη,
 ἢ ξὺν νεοῖσιν ἐξηρημοῖσαι δόμους
 γυμνοῖσι μηροῖς καὶ πεπλοῖς ἀναιμῖνοις
 δρομὸς παλαιστρᾶς ἢ οὐκ ἀνασχέτοισι τιμῇ
 κοινὰς ἔχουσι.

Cic. *Tusc. Quaest.* 2. 36: "Illi, qui Gracciae formam rerum publicarum dederunt, corpora iuvenum firmari labore voluerunt. Quod Spartiae etiam in feminas transtulerunt: quae caeteris in urbibus mollissimo cultu parietum umbris occuluntur: illi autem voluerunt:

'nihil horum simile [esse] apud Laenas virgines;
quibu' magi' palaestra, Eurotas, sol, pulvis, labor,
militia studio est, quam fertilitas barbara.' "

Philostr. *Imag.* 1. 29 (of the picture of Andromeda): *παρελθοῖαν καὶ Ἀνδρῶν ἀρᾶν, καὶ Ἀθιδά εὐροσμενον, καὶ Σπαρτιάτιν ἐργουμένην* [athletic]. And Philostratus Minor's account (15) of Atalanta at the Calydonian hunt, with short skirt, naked knee, bow and arrow, and crepida: *το δὲ κάλλος ἀρρενωγὸν ἐκ γυναικὸς ὄν*; **or of** Harpalyce (a romp such as Joan of Arc is described by Hall (the sixth yere of Kyng Henry the VII., Lond. 1580, black letter) to have been: "There came to hunt, being at Chynon, a maid of the age of xx yeres, and in man's apparell, named Jone, borne in Burgoyne in a tounce called Droymy [Domremy], beside Vaucolour, whiche was a greate space a chamberlein in a comen hostrey, and was a rampe of suche boldnesse that she would course horssees and ride them to water, and do thynges that other young maidens bothe abhorred and wer ashamed to do"), who—as a Thracian (THREISSA), and always on horseback (EQUOS FATIGAT), and of course riding astraddle, like "Jone" (see her hypaethral statues in Paris and Orléans, and the representations of the Amazons *passim*)—equally wore a kilt, equally neglected the usual feminine attire of the hair and equally carried bow and quiver.

EQUOS FATIGAT. Let no one be **mised**—as La Cerda and Wagner have been ("EQUOS: non suos, ait Corrad. His enim si uteretur, non laudaretur a celeritate, neque quadraret comparatio cum Venere peditē," La Cerda. "Hanc ne *equites* quidem insequentes assequi potuerunt, ut refert Servius," Wagner (1861)), and as I was once myself ("Twelve Years' Voyage"), by Servius's "suo scilicet cursu," and the same commentator's story of Harpalyce's fleetness of foot—to think that Virgil's EQUOS FATIGAT is equivalent to: outstrips horses, runs so fast

that horses are not able to overtake her, fatigues horses by out-running them. The weariness expressed by *fatigare*, as that word is used by the poets, being, as I have shown (1. 284), not the weariness arising from muscular effort, whether of speed or of force, but the weariness arising from frequent repetition, Harpalyce does not fatigue horses by outstripping them in the race, by running faster—in that case the fatigue would have been expressed by the words *fessus*—but Harpalyce rides so much as to make horses weary of her and her riding; or, to enter into *minutiae*, keeps perpetually worrying horses with bit, spur, and whip. Compare 11. 714:

“quadrupedemque citum ferrata calce fatigat.”

6. 79:

. . . “fatigat
os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo.”

Sil. 13. 142:

. . . “spumantis equi fera corda fatigans
evehitur porta sublimis Taurca cristis
bellator.”

Juv. 4. 5:

“quid refert igitur, quantis iumenta fatiget [Crispinus]
porticibus? quanta nemorum vectetur in umbra?”

Val. Flacc. 3. 20:

“Dindyma sanguineis famulum bacchata lacertis
dum volucris quatit asper equo, silvasque fatigat
Cyzicus, ingenti praedae deceptus amore,
adsuetum Phrygiæ dominam vectare per urbes
oppressit iaculo redeuntem ad frena leonem”

[*fatigues the woods by scouring through them on horseback, gives them no rest with his riding*]. Prisc. *Perieg.* 123:

. “veluti draco
qui iuga montivagus vastat, silvasque fatigat”

[*fatigues the woods by scouring perpetually through them in pursuit of his prey*: “montivagus vastat,” the last half of the verse, being epexegetic of the first]. Quint. Curt. 8. 13: “Stabant ingentes vastorum corporum moles [elephanti] et de industria irritatae horrendo stridore auras fatigabant” [*fatigued the air with their (incessant) roaring*]. Sil. 2. 73:

“quales Threiciae Rhodopen Pangaeaue lustrant
saxosis nemora alta iugis, cursuque fatigant
Hebrum, innupta manus”

(where it is not with outrunning it, outstripping it in the race, the Amazons tire the Hebrus, but with their riding continually on its banks; as appears not merely from the immediately preceding explicit

. . . “anhelum impellere planta
cornipedem,”

but from *Aen.* 11. 659:

“quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis
pulsant, et pictis bellantur Amazones armis,”

where “flumina Thermodontis pulsant” is: *shake, concuss the waters of the Thermodon*, viz., with the noise of the feet of their horses galloping on its banks. See Rem. on “Thermodonta pulsant,” 11. 660). All this being so, it is not by the word fatigue, but by the word worry, that the fatigare of Latin poets is to be expressed in English; and Virgil’s *HARPALYCE quae FATIGAT EQUOS* is exactly Pindar’s *διωξιππος Κυρῆνα*, *Pyth.* 9. 1 (ed. Disson):

εἶλω χαλκασπίδα Πυθιονικῶν
συν βαθυζωνοῖσιν ἀγγέλλων
Τέλεισικρατὴ Χαριτεῖσαι γέγωνεν,
ὀλβιον ἀνδρᾶ, διωξιππου στεφανώμα Κυρῆνας.

[Buttm. *Lexil.*: “In *διω* und *διωχω* ist nehmlich wieder, wie in so vielen verben aller sprachen, ursprünglich intransitive und transitive, oder genauer immediative und kausative bedeutung neben einander, doch so, dass jene als die einfachere die grundbedeutung ist; also *laufen*. Für diesen sinn hatten sich aber andere wörter und formen gebildet, und so ward der kausative sinn *laufen machen, treiben*, der vorherrschende”]. See Rem. on “fatigat,” 1. 284.

The expression has been both understood and used correctly by Hippol. Capilupus in his *Epigramma de Lycida* (Gherus, *Delitiae cc. Italarum poetarum*):

“sternit humi, heu! patrem Lycidas, dum verbere torto
concutit, et duro calce fatigat equum.”

The mistake of the commentators—not only of La Cerda and Wagner, above mentioned, but of Cynthius Cenetensis (“Harpalyce fuit puella quaedam ex Thracia adeo velocissima in cursu ut superaret equos et transiret flumina”), Conington (“Servius’s explanation, ‘*tires by outrunning them*,’ is supported by the imitation from Silius, just quoted, and corresponds with the story of Harpalyce, very circumstantially given by Servius”), and Weidner (“Keiner konnte sie einholen, auch auf dem schnellsten rosse nicht”)—viz., that Harpalyce is represented in our text as outstripping horses in fleetness, *i. e.* as a fleet runner, is easily accounted for. First, Venus, who is compared with her, is on foot, and has her gown tucked up as a racer would; and secondly, Harpalyce herself was noted for her fleetness of foot. See Servius as above, and Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epist.* 8. 11:

“soccos ferro cave, nec ut solebat
laxo pes natet altus in cothurno.
sed tales crepidas ligare cura,
quales Harpalyce, vel illa vinxit
quae victos gladio procos cecidit.
perges sic melius volante saltu,
si vestigia fasciata nudi
per summum digiti regant, citatis
firmi ingressibus, atque vinculorum
concurrentibus ansulis, reflexa
ad crus per cameram catena surgat.”

These merely accidental coincidences struck the imagination of the just-mentioned commentators so forcibly as to cause them to overlook those points of the context which put an absolute negative on our regarding the comparison in our text to be that of Venus with a foot-racer, viz.: (1), that Venus was in cothurni, boots reaching almost to the knee; whereas foot-racers, or persons equipped like foot-racers, either wore no *chaussure* at all, or the lightest, least cumbersome that could be had, as exemplified by Atalanta’s use of the crepida, Philostr. Min. 15, and stated *totidem verbis* with respect to Harpalyce herself by Sidonius Apollinaris (see above): (2), that THREISSA espe-

cially *THREISSA* placed in the middle between *EQUOS* and *FATIGAT*—points not to the swift runner, but to the Amazon horsewoman and horsebreaker, always in all works of art represented as booted: (3), that it is as unlikely it was for the purpose of running races against them, as it is likely it was for the purpose of riding them, Harpalyce ran off with the shepherds' horses out of their stalls, Hygin. *Fab.* 193: "Harpalyce graviter tum ferens patris mortem, contulit se in silvas; ibique vastando iumentorum stabula, tandem concursu pastorum interiiit:" **and** (4), that *fatigare equos* is, as just pointed out, not to weary horses by running faster than they are able to run, but to weary horses by riding them. In one word, Venus, carrying a bow, and quiver full of arrows, and wearing cothurni—nay, as may be presumed from the equipment of her sisters, a lynx-skin *palla*—was as like a Thracian horsewoman as she was unlike a foot-racer.

EQUOS FATIGAT VOLUCREMQUE FUGA PRAEVERTITUR HEBRUM (*al. EURUM*), so viewed, has its exact parallel in "equo praevertere ventos" (12. 345)—the *EQUOS FATIGAT* of the former passage being the "equo" of the latter; the *PRAEVERTITUR* of the former passage, the "praevertere" of the latter; and the *HEBRUM* (*al. EURUM*) of the former, the "ventos" of the latter.

NAMQUE, &c. Our author proceeds to show how Venus resembled a huntress in the two respects which he had just mentioned. She resembled a huntress with respect to her weapons (*ARMA*), inasmuch as she carried a bow; and she resembled a huntress with respect to her personal appearance (*OS HABITUMQUE*), inasmuch as she wore her hair dishevelled, and her tunic shortened by a *page*, so as to expose the knee, as in the statue of the Diana of Gabii, who will uncover the other (her left) knee, as soon as she has fastened the clasp of her *ματιον*.

HABILEM: fitting the hand, convenient to be handled, handy; neither unwieldy, nor heavy, nor stiff. Compare Callim. *Hymn. ad Dian.* 9:

οὐδ' αὖτις μετὰ τόξον' ἐμοὶ Κυκλωπὲς οἴστους
αὐτίκα τεχνήσονται, ἐμοὶ δ' ἐγκαμπὲς ἀεμῖα

(where the handy, *habilis*, *εγκαμπής* bow, or that which is suited

for the female, is contrasted with the *μεγας*, or that which is suited for the male). Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 639 (ed. Blomf.):

εχει δε καινοπηγες ευθρετον σακος

where the Scholiast: *ευθρετον, το επιβαστακτον, θειναι γαρ το αναλαβειν λεγουσιν οι Απεικοι, και οπλα εθεντο, ανι του ανελαβον. Hom. Od. 5. 234:*

δωκε μιν οι πελεκυν μεγαυ, αρμενον εν παλαμῃσιν.

DEDERATQUE COMAM DIFFUNDERE VENTIS. Compare Callistr. *Statuae*, 6 (of the statue of *Καιρος*): *και ξεμυρω τινασσειν, προς ο βοιλοιτο, και αλιπτων την κομην ανειον.* The picture is not that of a lady whose hair has been allowed to fall on her shoulders for the sake of effect, or to show off her face to advantage, but of a masculine athletic woman, who neglects appearances, and, like a Lacedaemonian virago, does not even so much as tie up her hair. Compare Hor. *Carin.* 2. 11:

. . . "incomptam Lacaonae
more comam."

Terent. *Phorm.* 1. 2. 55:

"nihil aderat adiumenti ad pulchritudinem.
capillus passus, nudus pes, ipsa horrida,
lacrumae, vestitus turpis, ut ni vis boni
in ipsa inesset forma, haec formam extinguerent."

Terent. *Heaut.* 2. 3. 47:

"sine auro tum ornatum, ita uti quae ornantur sibi.
nulla mala re esse expolitam muliebri:
capillus passus, prolixus, circum caput
reiectus negligenter."

Ovid, *Met.* 1. 474 (of Daphne):

"protinus alter [Apollo] amat; fugit altera nomen amantis.
sylvarum latebris, captivarumque ferarum
exuviis gaudens, innuptaeque aemula Phoebes.
vitta coercebat positos sine lege capillos.
.
spectat [Apollo] inornatos collo pondere capillos.
et, 'quid si comantur,' ait.
.
et levis impexos retro dabat aura capillos."

And our author himself, of Camilla, 11. 576:

“pro crinali auro, pro longae tegmine pallae,
tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent”

the only confinement of her hair was a tiger’s skin, which covered her head, and hung down over her back).

How coarse and masculine—how repugnant to all notion of female beauty—uncombed, untied, dishevelled hair in the female sex must have appeared to the ancients, can only be duly estimated by those who call to mind how terror-striking and martial it was considered by them even in males (see Hor. *Carm. 1. 12*:

“hunc et incompitis Curium capillis
utilem bello tulit, et Camillum
saeva paupertas.”

Typhon: ἀρχιμυραι δε ἐκ κεφαλῆς καὶ γενειῶν ἐξηγεμονιῶ
[diffundebantur ventis]. Epigr. Dioscoridis, *Anthol. Pal. 6. 220*:

. . . μαινομένην δούς [Atys] ἀνέμοισι τριχα).

The disguise of Venus, therefore, was complete, nothing being less like the queen of love and beauty than the coarse, athletic Lacedaemonian woman, with her naked knees, untied, uncared hair, and hunting dress and accoutrements.

Nodo, primarily a *knot* or *tying*; therefore, secondarily, the string, cord, band, belt-sash, or ribbon, which is knotted or tied, as in the statue of Diana of Gabii. Compare Hor. *Ep. 1. 1. 90*:

“quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?”

Manil. 4. 189 (co. Bentl.):

“at quibus Erigone dixit nascentibus aevum,
apta magisterio, nodoque coercita virgo,
ab studio ducet mores, et pectora doctis
artibus instituet.”

Claud. in *Prob. et Olyb. cons. 89*:

. . . “nodus, qui sublevat ensem,
album puniceo pectus discriminat ostro.”

Sil. 1. 317:

“hic valido librat stridentia saxa lacerto;
huic impulsa levi torquetur lancea nodo”

[is hurled with a slender cord or string]. Quint. Curt. 3. 1 : (of the Gordian knot): “Notabile erat iugum astrictum compluribus nodis in semet ipsos implicatis et celantibus nexus. Incolis deinde affirmantibus, editam esse oraculo sortem, Asiae potiturum, qui inexplicabile vinculum solvisset, cupido incessit sortis eius implendae. . . . Ille nequaquam diu luctatus cum latentibus nodis, ‘Nihil,’ inquit, ‘interest quomodo solvantur,’ gladioque ruptis omnibus loris, oraculi sortem vel elusit vel implevit.” Sil. 4. 200 (ed. Rup.):

“occumbit Sarmens, flavam qui ponere victor
caesariem crinemque tibi, Gradive, vovebat
auro certantem et rutilum sub vertice nodum.”

Aen. 6. 301:

“sordidus ex humeris nodo dependet amictus”

(the right and left sides of his cloak or covering were brought together and tied over his shoulder with a string). Prudent. *Peristeph.* 10. 886:

“iam nunc secandi doctus adsit artifex,
qui cuncta norit viscerum confinia,
vel nexa nervis disparare vincula.
date hunc: revulsis qui medeatur ossibus,
aut fracta nodis sarcimens compaginet”

(where “nodis sarcimens” is *repairing*, making good, not with *knots*, but as a surgeon repairs or tailors with bands or bandages; on which it is contrary to all rules of the art to make even so much as the smallest knot or tying). Nodus is here, therefore, the second, under, or lower girdle (page) (qu.: *νποζωστια*, *succingulum*?), which was anciently and is still used to shorten the skirt, and is to be well distinguished from the girdle, *ζωστια*, *zona*, *cingulum* or *balteus*, which was used for the purpose of tightening the skirt round the waist (see the *Diana of Gabii*), and over which, when there was no *nodus* at hand, or not sufficient time to put it on, the skirt was sometimes drawn so as to shorten it, and the *nodus* dispensed with; Theocr. *Idyll.* 26.

16 (the Maenads pursuing Pentheus, in haste, and without putting on a *page*):

. . . α δ' ἐδιωκον,
 πεπλως εκ ζωστηρος επ' ἔγνων ἐρεσσασα.

Stat. *Theb.* 4. 312 (of Atalanta hastening to dissuade her son, Parthenopaeus, from going into the battle):

. . . "fugit silvas pernicioꝛ alite vento
 saxa per et plenis obstantia flumina ripis,
 qualis erat, correpta sinus, et vertice flavum
 crinem sparsa Noto" . . .

(as she was, without waiting to put on a *nodus*, or making further preparation for a race than the mere shortening of her skirt by drawing it out in a fold above the *zona*, as stated at full in the just-quoted passage of Theocritus). Apollon. Rhod. 3. 868:

εκ δε θνραζει χιονσαι [Medea] θοης πεβησαι' απηνης.
 αν δε οι αμμιπολοι δομαι εκατερθεν εβησαν.
 ατη δ' ην' εδεκτο, και ευποιητον ιμασθλην
 δεξιτερη, ελαυν δε δι' αστιος· αι δε δη αλλαι
 αμμιπολοι πειρινθος εγαπτομιναι μετοπισθε
 τρωχων ευρειαν κατ' αμαζιτον· αν δε χιτωνας
 λεπταλους λευκης επιγονιδος αχρως αειρον.

COLLECTA: not merely tightened, viz. round the waist, but at the same time, shortened, gathered, tucked up; colligero being the appropriate—I may almost say the *modesta*—term for shortening ladies' dress; Ovid, *Amor.* 3. 2. 25:

"sed nimium demissa iacent tibi pallia terrae.
 collige; vel digitis en ego tollo meis."

Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 1. 153:

"pallia si terrae nimium demissa iacebunt,
 collige, et immunda sedulus offer humo."

Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 407:

"illa super suras tunicam collecta ministrat."

Any doubt that Venus, in her character of huntress, is represented as wearing her gown or dress drawn out over a *page*, and by that means so shortened as to expose the knee, will

disappear on comparing the terms here employed with those employed by Lucan, 2. 362:

“balteus haud fluxos gemmis adstrinxit amictus,”

where it is *balteus*, not *nodus*, the cincture round the waist under the bosom being meant, the outside or visible cincture, which, in full dress—and especially in the full dress of a bride—was of some considerable breadth, and therefore was occasionally (as here by Lucan) called *balteus*, belt. On the contrary, the cincture spoken of in our text—not being this visible cincture under the bosom, but another lower down, over which the dress was drawn out all round so as to hang down over it, and hide it—had no breadth, and was no more than a mere string or cord, which, fastened by a knot on itself, was denominated from this knot, its principal character, *nodus*: exactly as our modern *cravat* is, from the same principal character, denominated a tie. Further, in Lucan’s description it is “adstrinxit,” not “collegit,” the effect of the *balteus* being only to tighten, and scarcely at all or appreciably to shorten the dress; while on the other hand, in Virgil’s description, it is *COLLECTA*, not *astrieta*, the effect and object of the *nodus* not being so much to tighten, as to shorten, tuck up, the dress. Still further: the *balteus* (being on account of its breadth not easily knotted, and being, besides, liable to be injured by a knot), requires a fastening; and this fastening, being exterior and visible, should be of an ornamental kind. Hence, in Lucan’s description, “gemmis,” the gemmed buckle or clasp of the belt. On the other hand, the *page* (being a mere string, over which the dress is drawn out so as to hang down over it and cover it) requires neither ornament nor buckle, but is tied or knotted on itself, and thus becomes and is, as termed by Virgil, a *nodus*.

The two girdles or cinctures expressly stated by Claudian in 2 *Cons. Stilich.* 247 to have been worn by the nymphs of Diana can have been no other than the broad *balteus* or *zona*, above, just under the breast, and the narrow *nodus*, or string, below, just over the haunch:

. . . “duo cingula vestem
crure tenus pendere vetant.”

So also the two girdles assigned by the same poet to Diana herself, *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 33:

“crispatur gemino vestis Gortynia cinctu
poplite fusa tenus.”

In both of these passages Claudian, ascribing the shortening of the dress to the operation of the two cinctures, is less correct than our author, who ascribes this effect to the second one only.

In the *Museo Borbonico*, 9. 20, is a copy of a picture discovered at Pompeii, in which are represented two “pocillatori” (pincernæ), each with his tunic so shortened by a *page* as to expose his knees. The following is the account given of them by the describer of the picture: “Portano essi un berrettino frigio in testa, i coturnetti a’ piedi, ed indossano azzurra tunica succinta e senza maniche.” In these figures, as in by far the greater number of the *succinctæ* figures which have come down to us from antiquity, the *page* appears only from its effect on the dress, being itself hid from view by the dress which is drawn out over and hangs down in a fold in front of it: *ex.gr.*, Spanheim (ad Callimach. *Hymn. in Dianam*, verse 11) gives two figures of Diana, each with two girdles (an upper one, the zone or girdle properly so called; and one lower down, the *page*); one of the figures being from a Mitylenean, and the other from an Ephesian medal (the latter of the age of Antoninus Pius). In both figures the knees are bare; in both figures the effect of the two belts is very plain—of the upper to tighten, and of the lower both to tighten and shorten the skirt; and in both figures the sinus of the skirt is drawn out between the two belts, and hangs down in front of the lower one so as completely to cover it. There are, however, exceptions to the rule; and in the statue of Diana (No. 622), in the Vatican Museum, Chamber of the Bigæ, the less complete overlapping and hanging down of the dress in front allows you to see the *page* just where it is knotted.

The exposure of the legs implied in the expression “*succincta Diana*,” and in similar literal applications of the term *succinctus* (applications carefully to be distinguished from

the loose and general application of the same term at verse 327) has been placed before the eyes in a very lively manner by Ovid, *Met.* 15. 603:

“qualia succinctis, ubi trux insibilat Eurus,
murmura pinetis fiunt.”

Whoever has been in a pine wood will require no further comment on *succincta*, in its literal application to the female dress. A pine wood is indeed a wood of bare legs. Let no one say that Ovid is not a poet, or subscribe to Dryden's most unjust opinion of him. He was a more natural, more genial, more cordial, more imaginative, more playful poet not only than Dryden, but than our author, or any other Latin poet. His style, besides, is a very model of simplicity and perspicuity; while every second or third sentence of Virgil suggests, like an oracle or sphinx-riddle, every meaning except the meaning intended by the author, or—to use an illustration more flattering both to my author and the learned men who have occupied themselves now nearly for two thousand years in expounding him—reflects, like a crystal with many facets, a different prismatic colour to the eye of every different beholder.

In Giulio Romano's painting of *The Muses and Apollo dancing*, preserved in the Pitti palace, Florence, where I saw it (Oct., 1864), all the Muses, as well as Apollo himself, are represented as “*succincti*,” *undergirt*—or, in the parlance of modern toilette, wearing *pages*—and with their knees exposed. I have myself seen peasant women in Italy returning from work in the fields, so “*succinctae*,” *i. e.*, wearing a second or lower girdle, or *page*, between which and the ordinary girdle their long skirts were partially pulled out, so as to overhang the lower girdle all round by some four or five inches, and expose the knee, exactly as we must imagine the skirt of Gleim's milk-woman to have been drawn out between her two girdles, and her knee more or less exposed, as she tripped along with her four gallons of milk in a pail on her head:

“nachlässig aufgeschürzt, zwei gürtel um den leib,
auf leichten füßen ging ein artig bauerweib
frühmorgens nach der stadt, und trug auf ihrem kopfe
vier stübchen süsse milch in einem grossen topfe.
sie lief und wollte gern ‘Kauft milch!’ am ersten schrein.”

On a majolica plate (South Kensington Museum, London, No. 2627) date about A. D. 1500, subject, *The Judgment of Solomon*, one of the two women is plainly and the other indistinctly represented as wearing this double or sub-cincture. In both, the skirt is shortened by being drawn out between the two belts, so as to hang down over the lower one, as in the Gabian Diana.

FLUENTES. Not *flowing*, in the sense of *loose*, or *blown about with the wind*; but *flowing*, in the sense of *long, reaching down to the feet*. Her dress, but for the nodus or *page*, had descended to her feet, and accordingly did so descend when she threw off her assumed character, verse 408:

. . . "podes vestis defluxit ad imos."

To pursue the contrast pointed out above, the bride's dress is not *fluens*, but short, "*haud fluxos amictus*." There is thus in Lucan's line, p. 616, a tally for every word in Virgil's—"balteus" for *NODO*, "*fluxos*" for *FLUENTES*, "*adstrinxit*" for *COLLECTA*, and "*amictus*" for *SINUS*.

NUDA GENU, the effect of *NODO SINUS COLLECTA FLUENTES*.

The picture presented by Virgil in the words *NUDA GENU, NODOQUE SINUS COLLECTA FLUENTES* is thus the precise picture presented by Ovid, *Met. 10. 536*:

"nuda genu, vestem ritu succincta Dianae,"

and more briefly, *Fast. 1. 407*:

. . . "super suras tunicam collecta" . . .

Compare also Christodorus, *Descriptio Statuarum*, 2. 308, in *Anthol. Pal.* (of the statue of Diana):

. . . ἦν δ' ἐπὶ γονῶν
περθεῖον λεγνόντων ἀεζωσθεῖσα χιτῶνα,
καὶ τριζὸς ἀκρηθεῖον ἀνέμεινεν πλοκὸν ἀντιάς,

and Callim. *Hymn. in Dian.*, quoted above:

. ἐμοὶ δ' ἐνχαλκὲς ἀέμμε,
. καὶ ἐς γόνυ μυχὸς χιτῶνα
ζωννυμένη λεγνόντων, ἢ ἄρ' αὖθις θηγαῖο καίνο.

325-328.

HEUS INQUIT IUVENES MONSTRATE MEARUM
 VIDISTIS SI QUAM HIC ERRANTEM FORTE SORORUM
 SUCCINCTAM PHARETRA ET MACULOSAE TEGMINE LYNCS
 AUT SPUMANTIS APRI CURSUM CLAMORE PREMENTEM

“Heda! rief sie zuerst, sagt, jüinglinge, ob ihr vielleicht hier
 meiner gespiellinnen eine gesohn.” (Voss).

This is incorrect. MONSTRATE is not “say,” but *direct me*, give me instructions (viz., where to find her); precisely the German *weisen*. Compare 4. 497:

. . . “abolere nefandi
 cuncta viri monumenta iubet monstratque sacerdos”

[*weist mich*: orders me; instructs me, enjoins]. 9. 44:

. . . “conferre manum pudor iraque monstrat”

[dictates]. 11. 892:

“monstrat amor verus patriae” . . .

[dictates, enjoins]. The request MONSTRATE is respectful, inasmuch as monstrare, like the German *weisen*, is the act of a person who has either knowledge, or authority, or both.

SORORUM. Not literally, sisters by relationship of blood, but sisters by occupation, viz., of hunting. This and no other must be the meaning, for while it was easy for Aeneas and Achates to recognise by similarity of equipment a sister huntress, it would have been very difficult for them to recognise a sister by birth. No commentator, so far as I know, has taken any notice of the word except Servius, to whose, as it stands, enigmatical comment: “Non tanquam nota sit illis soror, sed ut est in consuetudine,” **add** the words: “*sociam appellare sororem*,” and the old grammarian will have given his author’s sense, hit off in a single word by Voss—„meiner gespiellinnen eine.” Compare 11. 820 (of Camilla):

“tum sic expirans Accam, ex aequalibus unam,
alloquitur: fida ante alias quae sola Camillae,
quicum partiri curas; atque haec ita fatur:
‘hactenus, Acca soror, potui.’”

There is a precisely similar use of the French *sœur* (“soeurs de charité”), of the English *sister* (“sisters of charity”), of the Italian *suora*, and of the German *schwester*.

SUCCINCTAM PHARETRA ET MACULOSAE TEGMINE LYNCS AUT SPUMANTIS APRI CURSUM CLAMORE PREMENTEM. “Quidam tamen LYNCS CURSUM a communi accipiunt,” Priscian, *Inst.* 17. 101, *i. e.* as if the structure were: PREMENTEM CURSUM MACULOSAE TEGMINE LYNCS AUT SPUMANTIS APRI. To the “quidam” of Priscian may be added a correspondent of the Göttingen *Philologus* (15. 553), who thus puts forward his objections to the received and more obvious construction PHARETRA ET MACULOSAE TEGMINE LYNCS: “Aus zwei gründen ist unstatthaft in diesem ganzen verse, wie bisher, eine schilderung des vorausgesetzten costüms anzuerkennen: 1., weil thierfelle überhaupt bei antiken dichtern keine tracht für jägerinnen sind; 2., wegen des dann unvermeidlichen, schiefen gegensatzes von ERRANTEM und CURSUM PREMENTEM,”—the former of which arguments is ~~an~~ little likely to recommend itself to any one who calls to mind either the Anthia of Xenophon of Ephesus, or the Daphne of Ovid, or Virgil’s own Camilla, all of whom are dressed in skins of wild beasts [Xenoph. *Ephesiaca*. 1. 2: *Ἦν δὲ το καλλος της Ανθειας οιον θανμασαι και πολυ τας αλλας υπερεβαλλετο παρθενους· ειη μεν τεσσαρακαυδεκα εγεγονει, ηνθει δ’ αυτης το σωμα εν’ ευμορφια, και ο τοι σχηματος κοσμος πολυς εις ωραν συνεβαλλετο κομη ξανθη, η πολλη καθειμενη, ολιγη πεπλεγμενη, προς την των ανεμων φοραν κινουμενη· οφθαλμοι γοργοι, φαιδροι μεν ως κορης, φορτεροι δ’ ως σωφρονος· εοθης, χιτων αλοργης, ζωστος εις γονι, μεχρι βραχιονων καθειμενος, νεβρις περικειμενη, γυνυτος ανημμενος, τοξα, οπλα, ακοντες φερομενοι, κυνες επομενοι. Ovid, *Met.* 1. 475:*

“silvarum latebris, captivarumque ferarum
exuviis gaudens, innuptaeque aemula Phoebe.”

Aen. 11. 576:

“pro crinali auro, pro longae tegmine pallae,
tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent”].

as the latter to any one who finds it easier to picture to himself a woman *either* wandering *or* hunting, than a woman *both* wandering *and* hunting. I have only to add, as against the revived and in favour of the received construction and interpretation, that it is a very meagre picture of a huntress which presents distinctly to the eye no part of her dress or equipment except only her quiver. Hardly more meagre were that of Paris [*Il. 3. 17*] without his leopard's skin on his shoulder when he steps forth before the ranks to challenge the bravest of the Achivi, or that of Hercules waging war against the Stymphalides without his lion's hide.

SUCCINCTAM PHARETRA ET MACULOSAE TEGMINE LYNCS, as 7. 187:
“Quirinali lituo, parvaque . . . succinctus trabea.” *Georg.*
4. 342:

“ambae auro, pictis incinctae pellibus ambae.”

SUCCINCTAM MACULOSAE TEGMINE LYNCS. Compare *Anthol. Pal. 11. 40* (ed. Dübner), of the child Cleodemus playing the bacchanal:

ἔριδε καὶ σιτίστοιο δορὴν ἐξωσάτο νεύων.

SUCCINCTAM. “Instructam, vel ut alii dicunt, in cingulo habentem pharetram et pellem,” Servius. Heyne and Wagner are of the opinion of Servius's “alii”—the former observing: “SUCCINCTAM PHARETRA, ut gladio, ferro, succinctum dicimus . . . Sed *succingere* est interdum instruere ita, ut cinctus ope adiungamus rem. Pharetra autem humeris pendet cingulo vineta;” and the latter, “*succingi* h. l. significat instrui aliqua re ita ut ea cinctus ope adiungatur.” I agree with Servius against Servius's “alii,” and Heyne and Wagner, who have followed them. SUCCINCTAM does not signify *how* the nymph wore either pharetra or lynx-skin, but merely that she wore them, was equipped with them ready for action, with them on; the notion of readiness for action being suggested by the sub. expressive, in literal succinctus, of under or second girding pre-

liminary to active exertion. See Rem. on "nodo sinus collecta fluentes," 1. 324. Exactly parallel is 7. 188:

"ipse Quirinali lituo, parvaque sedebat
succinctus trabea, laevaue ancilo gorebat
Picus equum domitor,"

where Picus is represented not as wearing either lituus or trabea in a girth or belt, but as equipped with lituus and trabea; exactly as in our text Venus is represented not as wearing either quiver or lynx-skin in a belt, but as equipped with both. The mistake both of Servius's "alii" and of Heyne and Wagner is that inveterate one of taking in a strict, narrow and special sense that which is meant loosely and generally, and here, as so often elsewhere, ignoring that in which the life whether of poetry or prose chiefly consists, viz., metaphor. Nothing is more common than this metaphorical use of *succinctus*. See Prudent. *Psychom.* 42:

"quam [Pudicitiam] patrias succincta faces Sodomita Libido
aggreditur, piceamque ardenti sulphure pinum
ingerit in faciem, pudibundaue lumina flammis
appetit, et tetro tentat suffundere fumo"

(where the "faces" with which Libido is represented as "succincta" (equipped and ready for action) can by no possibility be either girt round her waist, or suspended in a belt over her shoulder, and can only be held in her hand). *Aen.* 10. 634:

. . . "agens hiemem nimbo succincta per auras."

Claud. *de Laud. Stilich.* 1. 174:

. . . "nullis succincta Ceraunia nimbis."

Cic. *de Leg. Agrar.* 2. 32: "Deleta Carthago est, quod cum hominum copiis, tum ipsa natura et loco, succincta portubus, armata muris, excurrere ex Africa, imminere ita fructuosissimis insulis populi Romani videbatur." Sil. 10. 486:

"ille, ope Maenonia et populo succinctus Etrusco."

And, still more metaphorical, Stat. *Silv.* 5. 1. 76:

"vidit quippe pii iuvenis navamque quietem,
intactamque fidem, succinctaque pectora curis,
et vigiles sensus, et digna evolvere tantas
sobria corda vices."

Stat. *Theb.* 3. 425:

. . . "at vigil omni
fama sono varios rerum succincta tumultus
ante volat currum."

Petron. 5:

"his animum succinge bonis, sic flumine largo
plenus, Pierio defundes pectore verba."

Pseudo-Egesippus, *de Excid. Hierosol.* 1: "Eo die clarus militiae gestis Antigonus domum revertitur, et . . . illico ad templum—ecquid enim praeferret religioni? ut erat succinctus ornatu bellico, et circumfusus comitatu pari tendit." Sid. Ap. *Ep.* 1. 2 (of Theodoric, king of the Goths): "in succinctis regnat vigor ilibus" [qu.: *tidy*, tight, ready for action?] In all these passages succinctus is to be taken, not at all literally as *under-girt* or wearing a *page*, but more or less generally as meaning having something on the person so as to be ready for action with it on. Even in the case of the Ceraunian mountains and of Carthage, personified Ceraunia and personified Carthage are represented, the former as having her storm-clouds, the latter her ports on, ready for action with them, viz., Ceraunia to thunder and lighten, Carthage to pounce upon Sicily.

Besides these reasons for attributing to SUCCINCTAM a figurative or general, not at all a literal and special sense, there is the further reason that our author, having just described Venus herself as wearing her dress tucked up by means of a *nodus*, could not well without a sameness indicative of want of inventive resources have described her sister as carrying either her quiver or her lynx-skin in a *cingulum*. Between the *cingulum* and the *nodus* there had been too great a resemblance, too great a want of contrast. Our text exhibits no such meagreness of invention. The sister being not only, like Venus, a huntress, but recognisable as Venus's sister, should be dressed and accoutred in every essential respect like Venus herself [compare *Georg.* 4. 341:

"(leioque et Beroë soror, Oceanitides ambae,
ambae auro, pietis incinctae pellibus ambae."

and the two brothers armed alike, 12. 342:

. . . . "eminus ambo
Imbrasidas, Glaucum atque Laden, quos Imbrasus ipse
nutrierat Lycia, paribusque ornaverat armis,
vel conferre manum, vel equo praevertere ventos;"

also Claud. 4 *Cons. Honor.* 206 (of Castor and Pollux):

"haud aliter summo gemini cum patre Lacones,
progenies Ledaëa, sedent; in utroque relucet
frater, utroque soror: simili chlamys effluit auro:
stellati pariter crines"]

should carry bow and arrow, wear her hair loose, her dress tucked up, and be shod with Tyrian buskins; but, at the same time, there should be as much variety as possible in the account given of the similar equipments. While Venus, therefore, is described as having hung her bow from her shoulders, Venus's sister is described as equipped with a quiver—precisely the same accoutrement, viz., that of bow and quiver full of arrows (both hung on the shoulders), being meant in both cases; and while the shortness of Venus's skirt (*NUDA GENU NO-DOQUE SINUS COLLECTA FLUENTES*) is particularly specified, the materials are specified of her sister's *palla* (*MACULOSAE TEGMINE LYNCIS*); precisely the same lynx-skin *palla*, tucked-up *tunica*, and naked knee being, however meant in both instances. It had been mere tediousness and trifling to go as minutely into the remaining particularities of the sister's equipment as had been already gone into with respect to Venus; and the reader is left to conclude the similarity of the remaining particulars from the similarity of those mentioned, from *SORORUM*, and especially from the *VENATRIX* of Venus dilated in the case of the sister into *SPUMANTIS APRI CURSUM CLAMORE PREMENTEM*. In this way only have we the full picture intended by our author, viz., that of Venus in lynx-skin *palla*, tucked-up *tunica*, and Tyrian buskins, and long dishevelled hair; with bow and quiver full of arrows hung from her shoulder, hunting the wild boar, and inquiring from Aeneas whether he had happened to meet her sister, easily recognisable by her similar

equipment and similar occupation. See Rem. on “ferro accincta,” 2. 614.

If there is any defect in the description, it is in the application of *SUCCINCTAM* in a general and figurative sense to a person who is at the same time indicated by the whole account to be *succincta*—tucked up, in the special and literal sense. That there is this defect in the description, so far from being an objection to our understanding the description as just explained, is rather an argument for the correctness of the explanation; such ill-considered use of a term in a figurative sense, where it might be expected to be used literally, or in a literal sense, where it might be expected to be used figuratively, being of so usual occurrence in our author as almost to seem to be the rule, not the exception. See Rem. on “*illius noctis*,” 2. 361; on “*mons improbus*,” 12. 687: also on “*cavum conversa cuspide montem*,” 1. 85.

TEGMINE LYNCS: not the covering (skin) of a lynx, but the covering (dress) of the huntress, made of lynx, *i. e.* of lynx-skin. Compare 11. 576:

“pro crinali auro, pro longae tegmine pallae,
Tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent.”

See Rem. on “*tegmine lupae*,” verse 279, above.

That the lynx-skin was used as a covering for the person appears from Hom. *Hymn. in Pana*, 23:

... λαῖγος δ' ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφνοῖον
λυγχοῦ ἐχει [Pan];

and as saddlecloth, from Stat. *Theb.* 4. 271:

“cornipedem trepidos suetum praevertere cervos
velatum gmina deiectu lyncis
. [Parthenopaeus] agebat.”

AUT SPUMANTIS APRI CURSUM CLAMORE PREMENTEM. Compare Val. Flacc. 8. 261:

“Absyrtus subita praeceps cum classe parentis
advehitur, profugis infestam lampada Graiis
concutiens, diramque premens clamore sororem”

[pursuing his sister with shouts].

330-334.

NULLA TUARUM AUDITA MIHI NEQUE VISA SORORUM
 O QUAM TE MEMOREM VIRGO NAMQUE HAUD TIBI VULTUS
 MORTALIS NEC VOX HOMINEM SONAT O DEA CERTE
 AN PHOEBI SOROR AN NYMPHARUM SANGUINIS UNA
 SIS FELIX NOSTRUMQUE LEVES QUAECUMQUE LABOREM

VAR. LECT. (punct.)

NULLA TUARUM AUDITA MIHI NEQUE VISA SORORUM.
 O, QUAM TE MEMOREM, VIRGO! NAMQUE HAUD TIBI VULTUS
 MORTALIS, NEC VOX HOMINEM SONAT. O, DEA, CERTE;
 AN PHOEBI SOROR, AN NYMPHARUM SANGUINIS UNA;
 SIS FELIX, ... D. Heins.

NULLA TUARUM AUDITA MIHI NEQUE VISA SORORUM.
 O (QUAM TE MEMOREM?) VIRGO. NAMQUE HAUD TIBI VULTUS
 MORTALIS, NEC VOX HOMINEM SONAT. O DEA, CERTE;
 (AN PHOEBI SOROR, AN NYMPHARUM SANGUINIS UNA?)
 SIS FELIX, ... N. Heins. (Amsterd. 1670).

NULLA TUARUM AUDITA MIHI, NEQUE VISA SORORUM.
 O QUAM TE MEMOREM VIRGO? NAMQUE HAUD TIBI VULTUS
 MORTALIS, NEC VOX HOMINEM SONAT. O DEA CERTE;
 AN PHOEBI SOROR, AN NYMPHARUM SANGUINIS UNA?
 SIS FELIX, ... La Cerda.

NULLA TUARUM AUDITA MIHI NEQUE VISA SORORUM,
 O, QUAM TE MEMOREM? VIRGO; NAMQUE HAUD TIBI VULTUS
 MORTALIS, NEC VOX HOMINEM SONAT; O, DEA CERTE;
 AN PHOEBI SOROR? AN NYMPHARUM SANGUINIS UNA?
 SIS FELIX, ... Heyne.

NULLA TUARUM AUDITA MIHI NEQUE VISA SORORUM,
 O—QUAM TE MEMOREM, VIRGO? NAMQUE HAUD TIBI VULTUS
 MORTALIS, NEC VOX HOMINEM SONAT; O, DEA CERTE;
 AN PHOEBI SOROR? AN NYMPHARUM SANGUINIS UNA?
 SIS FELIX, ...

Wagner (ed Heyne, and 1861), followed by Conington.

NULLA TUARUM AUDITA MIHI NEQUE VISA SORORUM,
 O—QUAM TE MEMOREM, VIRGO? NAMQUE HAU [*sic*] TIBI VULTUS
 MORTALIS, NEC VOX HOMINEM SONAT; O DEA CERTE,
 AN PHOEBI SOROR? AN NYMPHARUM SANGUINIS UNA?
 SIS FELIX, ... Ribbeck.

NULLA—FELIX. **First**, the period placed by both the Heinsii at SORORUM is incorrect—politeness and respect for the goddess requiring the address O QUAM TE MEMOREM VIRGO to form part of Aeneas's first sentence, and on no account to be deferred to his second. **Secondly**, O belongs not to VIRGO, but to QUAM TE MEMOREM, and converts those words, viz., QUAM TE MEMOREM—not of themselves sufficiently plainly an exclamation—into the plain exclamation: O QUAM TE MEMOREM! "O whom shall I call you!" *i. e.* "O how shall I address you!" The dash, therefore, placed after the O by Wagner (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861), followed by Ribbeck and Conington, is no less subversive of the meaning than the parenthetical marks between which QUAM TE MEMOREM has been placed by Nich. Heinsius. The words ask no question, require no answer; only compliment the person to whom they are addressed, by the doubt which they express whether she was not a being of a superior order. **And thirdly**, the second O is not exclamatory, not a repetition of the former, but invocatory, O (thou); and here Aeneas pauses, and, doubting no longer that it is a goddess to whom he is speaking, adds DEA CERTE, and then pausing again and interjecting parenthetically AN PHOEBI SOROR AN NYMPHARUM SANGUINIS UNA (whether Diana or one of the nymphs), prefers his prayer: SIS FELIX (and whatsoever goddess thou art), QUAE CUNQUE, LEVES. In all this (as in the Homeric original, *Od.* 6. 149:

γουνουμια σε, ανασσα, θεος νυ τις η βροτος εσαι
 ει μεν τις θεος εσαι, τοι ουρανον ευρυν εχουσιν,
 Αρτεμιδι σε εγωγε, Διος κορυη μεγαλοιο,
 ειδος τε μεγεθος τε γυνη τ' αγγιστα εισω
 ει δε τις εσαι βροτων, τοι επι χθονι ναιεταουσιν),

there is no question, neither in AN PHOEBI SOROR, nor in AN NYMPHARUM SANGUINIS UNA; merely the request that the goddess whom he is addressing—whether she be Diana, or one of the nymphs, or whatever other goddess she be—may be propitious to him; and the graceful compliment of the ascription of divinity is paid to Venus without the reader's being reminded by the terms in which it is conveyed of the *interrogatoire* of a tramp or desperado by a French or Austrian commissary of police.

O DEA CERTE, AN PHOEBI SOROR, AN NYMPHARUM SANGUINIS UNA,
SIS FELIX, as 3. 261:

. . . "exposcere pacem
sive deae, seu sint dirae obscoenaeque volucres."

VIRGO, vocative, exactly our *lady*, and equally applicable to deity or mortal. Compare Hor. *Od.* 3. 22 (addressing Diana):

"montium custos nemorumque Virgo,
quae laborantes utero puellas
ter vocata audis, adimisque letho,
diva triformis."

NEC VOX HOMINEM SONAT. See Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 421:

. . . ο κομπος δ' ου κατ' ανθρωπων ηρουνε.

QUO SUB CAELO, QUIBUS ORBIS IN ORIS. *Under what sky, in what land we are*, the sky and the land making up the *ubi*
Compare Sil. 8. 69 (of Anna):

"non caeli, non illa soli, non gnara colentum
Sidonis in Latia trepidabat naufraga terra."

339.

HAUD EQUIDEM TALI ME DIGNOR HONORE

Not referring specially to *MULTA TIBI ANTE ARAS*, &c., but generally to the whole of Aeneas's speech ascribing divinity to her—as we would say: *you do me too much honour*. Compare 3. 474:

"quem Phoebi interpres multo compellat honore."

Sil. 2. 483:

"quam tali alloquitur Nemeae pacator honore,"

in which last example we have not merely the "honore" of our text, but the "tali" also.

With the interview between Aeneas and his mother on the African coast, compare the meeting, in the Syrian desert, of Zosimus with St. Mary of Egypt, *Leben und Thaten der Heiligen* (9th April) "Zosimus . . . thut einen blick auf sie, und sieht sie ganz mit hellem glanze umgeben; erschrickt davor und meint, es wäre entweder ein geist oder ein gespenst. Sie aber wendet sich zu ihm und spricht: 'Ich bin weder ein geist, noch ein gespenst, sondern ich bin staub und asche, nicht würdig, das tageslicht anzuschauen,'" &c.

343.

GENUS INTRACTABILE BELLO

VAR. LECT.

INTRACTABILE. Having neglected, until the opportunity had passed, to search for this word in the MSS., I am unable to state more concerning it, than that it is the reading **I** of the *Medicean*, as edited by Foggini; **II** of the cod. Canon. (Butler); **III** of Servius (ed. Lion); of Ascensius, of the codices of Pierius generally, as appears from his exception: "in codd. aliquot antiquis. INSUPERABILE legitur;" of Junta; of P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Thiel; Wagn.; Jahn; Forb.; Süpfle; Ribb.; Coningt.

INSUPERABILE **II** several MSS. of no note, cited by Heyne, **III** Donatus, probably a mere confusion of this place with 4. 40.

O *Vat., Ver., St. Gall.*

GENUS INTRACTABILE BELLO. Wagner is wrong; these words belong to the immediately preceding FINES LIBYCI, precisely as, *Aen. 4. 40*, "genus insuperabile bello" belongs to the immediately preceding "Gaetulæ urbes;" and precisely as, *Grat. Falisc. Cyneg. 159*:

"sunt qui Seras [canes] alant, genus intractabilis iræ,
at contra faciles, magnique Lycaonis armis,"

“genus intractabilis irae” belongs to the immediately preceding “Seras alant.” It is as if Virgil had said: “*Here*, indeed, are the peaceable Tyrians, but *there* are the fierce warlike Libyans.”*

344—350.

IMPERIUM DIDO TYRIA REGIT URBE PROPECTA

 . . . SED SUMMA SEQUAR FASTIGIA RERUM
 HUIC CONIUX SYCHAEUS ERAT DITISSIMUS AGRI
 PHOENICUM
 CUI PATER INTACTAM DEDERAT PRIMISQUE IUGARAT
 OMNIBUS

Two Virgilian commentators, Bothe and Van Ghent—alleging that the expression *regere imperium* is not to be found in any other Latin writer—eject *REGIT* from the text, and substitute *gerit*. Even were the allegation true, the example is not to be followed, first, because *REGIT* is the reading of all the MSS.; secondly, because the expression *regere imperium* is perfectly analogical with the expression *regere regna* employed by Ovid, *Amor.* 3. 10. 46:

“regnaque, quam Iuno, sorte minora regat;”

and thirdly, because the expression which it is proposed to substitute is (*a*), the expression of a prose writer, viz., Corn. Nepos (*Epamin.* 7: “Quatuor mensibus diutius quam populus iusserat gessit imperium”), and therefore may perhaps not be perfectly suitable for poetry; and (*b*), signifies rather, as shown by this

* This comment, published first in my “Twelve Years’ Voyage,” and afterwards in my “Adversaria Virg.,” has not been without its fruit, for Wagner in his edition of 1861, has expunged the semicolon he had placed on his Heynian edition and translating the very words of my comm. as they stand in the “Advers. Virg.,” has issued them as his own.

very example of Nepos's use of it, to wear or carry a delegated authority than to rule, as Dido ruled, autocratically, or by inherent authority. But the allegation is not true, the following being no less than three examples of the use of the expression by other poets, and two of the three by no less a poet than Ovid himself; Ovid, *Trist.* 2. 166:

"imperium regat hoc cum seniore senex."

Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 3. 3. 61:

"sic regat imperium, terrasque coerceat omnes
Caesar."

Senec. *Hippol.* 619:

"the imperia regere, me decet iussa exsequi."

SUMMA SEQUAR FASTIGIA RERUM. Compare Hom. *Il.* 3. 213:

ητοι μὲν Μενέλαος επιτροχαδην αἰορεῖτε.

Ammian, 31. 5: "Sufficiet enim, veritati nullo velata mendacio ipsas rerum digerere summitates."

DITISSIMUS AGRI PHOENICUM. Not to speak of our author's own unquestioned (10. 563):

. . . "ditissimus agri
qui fuit Ausonidum,"

—**either** the consentient authority of the MSS. **or** the so exact Ovidian parallel (*Met.* 5. 129):

"et Nasamoniaci Dorylas ditissimus agri;
dives agri Dorylas: quo non possederat alter
latius, aut totidem tollebat farris acervos,"

(where also there is no variant), **or** the no less exact Silian (5. 259, ed. Ruperti):

. . . "altus lertēs
obtruncat Nerium; Rullo ditissimus arvi
obcumbis, generose Volunx, nec clausa repostis
pondera thesauris, patrio nec regia quondam
præfulgens ebore, et possessa mapalia soli
profuerunt"

had been sufficient, singly—how much more than sufficient are not all together?—to determine me to retain AGRI, and reject

Huet's wholly gratuitous suggestion of *auri*, adopted by Ribbeck. Compare Hom. *Il.* 14. 121:

. . . ναιε δὲ θωμῆ
 ἀγνῆιον βιωτοιο, αἷλις δὲ οἱ ἦσαν ἀρουραὶ
 περοφοροὶ, πολλοὶ δὲ γυνῶν ἑσάν οὐχατοὶ ἀμῆγῖς·
 πολλὰ δὲ οἱ προβατ' ἔσχε.

Pind. *Nem.* 8. 37 (Boeckh):

. . . χρυσοῦν εὐχονται, πεδῖον δ' ἑτέροι
 ἀπεραντόν.

PRIMISQUE IUGARAT OMNIBUS. OMNIBUS, nuptiis; omina, the omens prognosticating the happiness or unhappiness of the marriage, being used to signify the marriage itself, in the same way as faces, taedae, or Hymenaei, the nuptial torches and the nuptial songs, are used to signify the marriage itself.

PRIMIS. The marriage was a first marriage of both parties: therefore more solemn, and more interesting, their own feelings and the feelings of their relatives, friends, and the public. That we find it so frequently, so very usually, stated of a marriage, for which our sympathy is claimed, that it is a first marriage holds up to our view two characters of ancient society: first, that second marriages were of the most usual occurrence; were, as we may say, the norma—else why the statement on the particular occasion that it was a first marriage? and secondly, that the ancients, although second marriages were so common, yet regarded second marriages, if noth with positive disapprobation, at least with no approbation. These deductions from the so frequent careful and emphatic addition of the epithet *primae* to *nuptiae* are abundantly confirmed by the every now and then occurring *UNI NUPTA VIRO* of the cippus. For this hardly tacit disapproval of second marriages ancient moralists found, no doubt, *one* ground in the virtual and moral though not verbal breach of faith to the first love—a breach of faith with which even Dido reproaches herself, 4. 552:

“non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo;”

a *second*, in the necessarily complicated family relations of a double progeny; and not improbably a *third*, in the question

which could hardly fail to suggest itself to them, believing, as they did, no less firmly than the Jews in a second existence, into which every circumstance of this existence, except flesh and blood alone, accompanied them: "Whose wife shall she be of the seven?" However this may have been, second marriages were, then-a-days as now, at least little romantic, and Virgil did well, when endeavouring to excite our interest for his heroine, to inform us that she was not in her second widowhood, but only in her first; and I have a shrewd suspicion that he would more easily have excited our sympathies for a virgin seduced by a man who had never been married—or if you prefer it, for a man who had never been married seduced by a virgin—than either for a widow seduced by a widower, or a widower by a widow, even although that widow was Dido. But "*fata obstant*." He was a court poet, a laureate, bound to flatter both prince and people; and there was no medium through which flattery was so acceptable to the flattered, so easy and glib to the flatterer, as Aeneas and Dido—so well known, no matter whether mythically or historically, the one as a widower, the other as a widow, that not even so masterly a hand dared to tamper with the facts. I had, following the example of my author himself, almost forgot the third love of this susceptible hero, the unfortunate Lavinia ("*causa mali tanti*," the blame being, according to the usual fashion, thrown on any cause except the true one). Our author has been discreet enough to represent her as a mere cypher, a piece of furniture destined for the camp of whichever of the rival chiefs fortune favoured in the fight, and hardly regarded by either even with so much interest as might be expected to attach to the medium of conveyance of the crown of Latium. To have treated Lavinia otherwise, to have represented her as having a will of her own, and taking even a small part in the choice of the man who was to be her lawful husband and the father of her children, would have argued our author's acquaintance with other types than those furnished him by Homer and the Greek tragedians—with notions of connubial relations and domestic happiness seldom dreamt of by brides and bridegrooms of any class, either in his own day or ours; and

seldomest, if by any chance ever, by brides and bridegrooms of the first most privileged class of all. Cupid has been at all times a perverse little deity, and the passion he inspires—never not ready for *dénoûment* in an amour, or a seduction, or a rape—seems to have, especially among first-class *dévots*, an innate horror of the “iugum,” precisely such a horror as the Roman soldier had of its namesake the Caudine forks. It is, therefore, with the greatest propriety we have Aeneas married to Creusa, wooing Lavinia, and—no, not in love with (he was too courtly, too cold-hearted for that), but—making love to Dido; and it is with the greatest propriety he pays the female sex the unintentional compliment of choosing a female for perhaps the most perfect embodiment of disinterested love—nay, of love in opposition to interest—for which a grateful world has to thank a poet.

352—356.

ILLE SYCHAEUM

IMPIUS ANTE ARAS ATQUE AURI CAECUS AMORE
 CLAM FERRO INCAUTUM SUPERAT SECURUS AMORUM
 GERMANAE FACTUMQUE DIU CELAVIT ET AEGRAM
 MULTA MALUS SIMULANS VANA SPE LUSIT AMANTEM

IMPIUS. — Pygmalion's act was IMPIUS (*hard-hearted*; see Rem. on 1. 14), no matter where performed (Ovid, *Heroid.* 7. 127 (Dido speaking):

“est etiam frater, cuius manus *impia* possit
 respergi nostro, sparsa cruore viri.
 pone deos, et quæ tangendo sacra profanas;
 non bene caelestes *impia* dextra colit”

where the second “*impia*” shows the sense in which the first is to be understood, viz., wholly without reference to the gods),

but it became also IMPIUS (*hard-hearted*) towards the gods by being performed ANTE ARAS. As represented by Virgil, therefore, Pygmalion's act was hard-hearted in a much higher degree than as represented by Ovid: hard-hearted both towards men and gods.

For a curious—I will not say very successful—attempt to identify the story of Dido and Sychaeus with that of Criemhilde and Siegfried in the “Nibelungen-Lied,” see Jahn's *Jahrbuch*, suppl., vol. 16., page 65.

FACTUMQUE DIU CELAVIT, ET AEGRAM, MULTA MALUS SIMULANS, VANA SPE LUSIT AMANTEM. Impossible as it seems that any one should, notwithstanding this plain statement, commit the mistake of imagining Sychaeus to have been murdered before the eyes of Dido, the mistake nevertheless has been committed. See Madlle. Scudery, *Didon a Barce*: “Ie m'exposay hardiment à la fureur de ce sanguinaire; ie luy voulus arracher ses armes: ie luy voulus arracher les yeux; ie luy lancé tout le feu du sacrifice, et ie me jetté moy-mesme au-deuant du coup mortel pour le receuoir, et pour en garentir mon cher mary.” With so little understanding has Virgil been read and admired? what wonder that he is thought to be unequal to Homer. What wonder that so many prefer the Iliad or the Odyssey—aye, Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves—to the Aeneid?

359—360.

CRUDELES ARAS TRAIECTAQUE PECTORA FERRO
NUDAVIT CAECUMQUE DOMUS SCELUS OMNE RETEXIT

Our author having always used nudare elsewhere in its primary, and never even so much as once in its secondary sense, I think we are not at liberty to understand, with Forcellini, nudare as here applied in its secondary sense to *both*

objects. On the contrary, the application of nudare in its secondary sense to CRUDELES ARAS in this close conjunction with its application in the primary sense to TRAJECTA PECTORA, follows almost as a matter of course from Virgil's habit of thus uniting the same verb in its primary and secondary senses to different objects in the same sentence. For these reasons—as well as because it is, on the one hand, difficult to conceive how the ghost could have exhibited to Dido the CRUDELES ARAS; and, on the other hand, not only not difficult to conceive how the ghost might have exhibited his gored breasts, but required that he should so exhibit it, in order to render the picture complete—I have no hesitation in giving my adhesion to Wagner: “Proprie dictum PECTORA NUDAVIT, translate ARAS NUDAVIT.” Comp. 10. 13:

“exitium magnum atque Alpes immittet apertas.”

CAECUMQUE DOMUS SCELUS OMNE RETEXIT. Compare Aesch. *Agam.* 1087 (ed. Davies):

CASS. α ποι ποτ' ηγαγες με; προς ποιαν στεγην;
 CHOR. προς την Ατρειδων

 CASS. μισοθεν μεν ουν, πολλα συνιστορικα
 αυτονομια τε κακα κερτανας,
 ανδροσκηγιων και γονορριστηριων.

Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1227:

οιμαι γαρ ουτ' αν Ιστρον, ουτε Φασιν αν
 νηβαι καδαρμω τηνδε την στεγην, οσα
 κενθει.

Apul. *Met.* 8. 8 (of the ghost of Tlepolemus which has appeared to Charite): “Et addidit cetera, omnemque scenam sceleris illuminat.” Schiller, *Braut von Messina*:

“schwarze verbrechen verbirgt dies haus.”

AUXILIUM VIAE, viaticum. Compare Eurip. *Med.* 610: *πρυγης προσωφελημα*. Seneca, *Medea*, 538:

. . . “si quid ex soceri domo
 potest fugam levare, solamen pete.”

363.

IGNOTUM ARGENTI PONDUS ET AURI

IGNOTUM PONDUS, *an immense weight*. IGNOTUM, *such as had never before been known*; therefore, secondarily, *immense*. Compare Ausonius, *Act. Grat. ad Gratian.*: "Non possum ostendere imagines maiorum meorum, nec ignotas opes et patrimonia sparsa sub regnis;" also, Mart. *Libell. de Spectac.* 15:

"stravit et ignota spectandum mole leonem"

[a lion of unheard of, unparalleled size]. *Epist. ad Liv. August.* 19:

"ignotumque tibi meruit, Romane, triumphum"

[such a triumph as had never before been seen]. Ignotus, *not known*, comes to mean *very large*, in the same way as immensus, *not measured, such as never had been measured*, comes to mean *very large*. There is an exactly similar use of incognitus, Juv. 9. 34:

"nil faciet longi mensura incognita nervi,
quamvis te nudum spumanti Virro labello
viderit, et blandae assidue densaeque tabellae
sollicitent."

The corresponding English word *unknown* is occasionally employed in the same manner; Col. Eyre's *Report to the British Government, of the Insurrection in Jamaica, in 1865*: "The insurrection would have been universal throughout the entire island, and either the colony would have been lost to the mother country, or an almost interminable war and an unknown expense have had to be incurred in suppressing it" (*Galignani's Newspaper*, Nov. 22, 1865), where *unknown* is *which cannot be estimated*—a sense which will answer scarcely less well than that proposed above, for the IGNOTUM of our text: *a weight of gold and silver, nobody knows how much*; a sense almost identical with that of *αναγίγνωτος*, Procop. *Histor. Arcan.* 12: *ησαν γαρ*

αὐτῷ σταθμὸς τε ἀργυροῦ ἀναριθμητὸς καὶ χρυσώματα μαργαροῖς
τε καὶ σμαραγδοῖς καλλωπισθέντα—*Anglice*, untold treasures
of gold and silver.

367-368.

PORTANTUR AVARI

PYGMALIONIS OPES PELAGO DUX FEMINA FACTI

A greatly misunderstood passage, by myself ("Twelve Years' Voyage" and "Advers. Virgil.") no less than by others. The *OPES* which are carried over the sea by Dido are **not** "the strength and substance of Pygmalion"—that is to say, "not only the treasure revealed by the ghost, but men, ships and munitions of war in sufficient quantity to found a great city, and a rival empire" "Twelve Years' Voyage" and "Advers. Virg.")—**but** solid ingots of gold and silver; for we are expressly informed by Tacitus (*Annal.* 16. 1) that Nero was so deceived by representations made to him as to send commissioners to Carthage in search of the "*opes*" which Dido had brought with her to Africa in the shape of ingots of gold, and buried in a cave of immense depth lest her new people should be corrupted by too great abundance of money, or her neighbours make war upon her in order to obtain possession of the treasure ("repertum in agro suo specum altitudine immensa, quo magna vis auri contineretur, non in formam pecuniae sed rudi et antiquo pondere; lateres quippe praegraves iacere . . . ceterum ut coniectura demonstraret, Didonem Phoenissam Tyro profugam, condita Carthagine, illas *opes* abdidisse, ne novus populus nimia pecunia lasciviret; aut reges Numidarum, et alias infensi, cupidine auri ad bellum accenderentur"). There can be no doubt therefore that the interpretation of *opes* in my "Twelve Years' Voyage" and "Advers. Virgil." is false, and that the *opes* which Dido carries over the sea to Africa are solid ingots of gold and silver. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 1. 139:

"quasque recondiderat, Stygiisque admovent umbris,
effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum."

Georg. 2. 507:

"condit opes alius, defossoque incubat auro."

Again; this treasure, these ingots of gold and silver, have been generally—I believe I may say universally—understood to be the treasures of Sychaeus, revealed by the ghost to Dido, and denominated (verse 368) PYGMALIONIS OPES, **either** because coveted by Pygmalion ("Quas Pygmalion iam suas putabat," Servius. "Quod autem dixit PYGMALIONIS OPES non quia ex bonis Pygmalionis descenderent, sed quas arbitrabatur ad aviditatem suam mox esse venturas," Donatus. "Quas ille animo et spe iam praeceperat," Heyne.

. . . "fort schwimmen die güter,
welche Pygmalion giert"), (Voss).

or because become his by the murder of Sychaeus: "Pigmalion may not have actually taken possession of the treasures, but they were his from the time when he slew their owner. The epithet AVARI should be remarked. The wealth for which he has committed the crime is wafted away from him over the sea," Conington. This interpretation is as entirely erroneous as the preceding, the expression "PYGMALIONIS OPES" being no less than twice used by Ovid in a context in which there is no reference either to Sychaeus or the murder; and in which—although in one of the two cases only is opes wealth or treasure, while in the other it is power, the consequence of wealth—still in both cases "Pygmalionis opes" is the opes of Pygmalion (*Heroid. 7. 149*:

"hos potius populos in dotem, ambae remissa,
accipe, et advectas Pygmalionis opes").

Fast. 3. 574:

"sed timuit magnas Pygmalionis opes."

For another reason, too, the OPES PYGMALIONIS are not the treasures of Sychaeus, "quas Pygmalion iam suas putabat;" because nothing could be more out of place than the strong expression DUX FEMINA FACTI, to commemorate the mere act of Dido's running away from Tyre, and carrying with her the

treasure which had belonged to her own murdered husband. The "factum" of which a FEMINA is the DUX is a more arduous factum—nothing less than the robbing the robber, the transportation of the robber's own treasures across the sea:

PORTANTUR AVARI

PYGMALIONIS OPES PELAGIO.

AVARI. This word—reminding at one and the same time of the first cause of the murder of Sychaeus by Pygmalion (AURI CAECUS AMORE) and of the great amount of Pygmalion's accumulated treasure (IGNOTUM ARGENTI PONDUS ET AURI)—solicits and ensures our participation in the triumph of the high-spirited woman, the daring DUX FEMINA FACTI—who recoups and more than recoups her robbed and murdered husband's robbery by the robbery of his murderer and robber. **That** Alcimus Avitus (*de Transitu Maris Rubri, 332 et seqq.*) in his application of the Virgilian expression to the spoliation of Pharaoh by the fugitive Israelites--

"haec perturbata sed dum tractantur in aula,
Hebraei vatam studio, monitisque supernis,
optima quaeque sacris fiunt, epulisque requirunt,
vasaque solemnes quae poscunt plurima cultus,
ornamenta etiam, vestesque, monilia, gemmas,
ut reddenda petunt, nec tardus commodat hospes,
ditat et ignorans trepidam manus aemula plebem,
quae iam digna tuis pendantur laudibus ora,
summe pater, qui tam saevo sic uteris hoste?
annuit adversus, largitur munera nolens,
quae secum dimissa ferant; nec solvere tantum
sufficit oppressos, opibus ditantur euntes,
thesaurosque novos libertas reddita sumit,
inter ferventes inimica in sede furores
praedatur dominum fugiens, fallitque videntem,
praesentem vacuat, ne tam discedere pulsos
quam laetos migrasse putes. portantur avari
sic Pharaonis opes"—

should use opes in the sense, not of gold and silver treasure but of clothes, vessels, necklaces, gems, and valuable chattels in general, is neither a thing to wonder at, nor to prevent in any degree the reception of the above explanation of our text, such

being the flexibility and ambiguity of language, that a much better writer—a writer in many respects equal, and in one important respect at least, viz., clearness, and simplicity, very far superior to Virgil—the hapless bard of Sulmo I mean, uses this same word *opes*, in connexion too with this same Pygmalion—in one place, viz., in his *Heroides* (see p. 640), in the sense in which it is used in our text by Virgil, *i. e.* in the sense of treasure, wealth, riches; and in another place, viz., in his *Fasti* (see p. 640), in the very different sense of power.

DUX FEMINA FACTI. DUX = *ηγεμων*. Compare Aeschines *contra Timarchum*, 24 (ed. Steph.): . . . *οιζιαν πλουσιαν, και ουκ ευνομουμενην, ης ηγεμων μεν ην γινη μεγα φρονουσα, και νουν ουκ εχουσα*, . . .

NOVAE KARTHAGINIS. Compare Steph. Byzant. *s. v.* *Καρχηδων*: *Κ. μητροπολις Λιβυης . . . εκαλειτο δε και νη πολις, και Καδυμεια, και Οινουσσα, και Κακκαζη. τουτω δε, κατα την οικειαν αυτων λεξιν, ιππου κεφαλη δηλονται.*

FACTI DE NOMINE BYRSAM. Hygin. *Astron.* 2. 5: “Cum Liber ad eum locum venisset . . . coronam . . . deposuit in eo loco qui Stephanus et a *facto* appellatus.” Compare Theocr. *Idyll.* 25. 34:

αλλα συ περ μοι ενισπε, το τοι και κεφθιον αυτω
εσσειται, ου τινος ωδε χειρρημενος ειληλουθης,
ηε συ ;’ Αυγειην η και θυωων τινα κεινον
διζεται, οι οι εασιν. εγω δε κε τοι σαιγα ειδως
ατρεκτως ειποιμ’, επει ου σε γε γημι κακων εξ
εμμενα ουδε κακοισιν εοικωτα ημεναι αυτον,
οιον τοι μεγα ειδος επιπρεπει. η ρα νη παιδες
αθανατων τοιοιδε μετα θνητοισιν εασιν.

SUSPIRANS IMOQUE TRAHENS A PECTORE VOCEM. Compare Apollon. Rhod. 2. 207 (of Phineus):

. . . *μολις εξ υπατοιο
στηθεος εκπνευσας.*

378.

ANTE DIEM CLAUSO COMPONET VESPER OLYMPO

VAR. LECT.

COMPONET **I** *Med., Pal.* (COMPONAT, with E written over A by the first hand). **II** $\frac{3}{4}$ Cod. Canon. (Butler). **III** Nonius; Isidor., Ven. 1470; Bresc.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (1841, 1849, 1861); Thiel; Forb.; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

COMPONAT **I** *Rom.*: "In codd. aliquot antiquis non invenuste, COMPONAT," Pierius. **I** $\frac{1}{3}$ **III** Wagner (1832); Coningt.

O *Vat., Ver., St. Gall.*

ANTE DIEM CLAUSO COMPONET VESPER OLYMPO. A repetition of the thought with which our author so sweetly closes his sixth Eclogue:

"cogere donec oves stabulis, numerumque referre
iussit, et invito processit vesper Olympo."

Exactly as Silenus's song continues on until evening, Aeneas's story, Aeneas informs Venus, would, if told in full, not end before evening. The particularities of evening, and the unwillingness of Olympus that Silenus's song should end so soon, are as fit and proper in the eclogue, where the subject is pastoral, the thought the concluding thought, and the speaker not Silenus but Virgil, as similar particularities of description, or similar unwillingness on the part of Olympus, had been out of place in our text, where the subject is heroic, the thought not the concluding thought, and the speaker not Virgil but Aeneas. No fault is, therefore, to be found either with the brevity with which the thought is expressed in our texts in a single verse, or with the copiousness with which the same thought is dilated in the eclogue into two. In each place the thought has its appropriate ornament—in the text a little less, in the eclogue a little more. It is no disparagement to the Virgilian passages that Ovid's (*ex Ponto*, 2. 4. 12) "fuit brevior, quam mea verba,

dies" is so much terser and pithier than even the shortest of them; it is, on the other hand, no disparagement to Ovid's "fuit brevior, quam mea verba, dies" that it is so much less rich and ornamental than even the shortest of the Virgilian passages. The two poets are too essentially different to be compared with each other—the one plain and straightforward, never ambitious of novelty of expression, always content to have placed his thought before his reader in as few and as simple words as are capable of expressing it clearly and unmistakably; the other seldom either plain or straightforward, always ambitious of novelty of expression, and never weary of ornament; the one reminding you of a scrivener who has no further ambition than to present you with a fair, neat, clean, easily legible document, without erasure, blot, or disfigurement; the other of a scrivener who flourishes whirligigs and ornaments until the fair shape and lineaments of the letter disappear, either never to reappear, or to reappear only to some indefatigable decipherer, who, with the patience of a Servius, or a Scaliger, or a Heyne, has grubbed half a life, or the whole of a life, in the subterranean Herculaneum.

DIEM COMPONET: *will compose*, settle, the day, entirely and thoroughly, so that it is not to be disturbed again, *con-ponet* (see Rem. on 2. 59). Perhaps the idea might be expressed in English, "will put the day to bed." Compare Pliny, *Ep.* 2. 17 (of his villa near Laurentum): "Decem et septem millibus passuum ab urbe secessit; ut peractis quæ agenda fuerint, salvo iam et composito die, possis ibi manere." The meaning of Aeneas is not that it would be night before he should have finished his story, but that it would be evening—the day, *i. e.* the active business day, the day *par excellence* would be over, and evening have arrived; evening, when no Roman ever did anything but rest, or amuse, or refresh himself. This appears partly from the same expression, *compositus*, being applied by Pliny* (as above) to the day, when there yet remained

* San Jacop. May 18, 1868. I have examined the passage in Pliny again, and find "ibi manere" still doubtful. "Ibi" may be either *in the villa* or *in the city*.

sufficient of it to allow him to ride to his villa fifteen English miles from Rome, and partly from its being Vesper which is described as composing the day to rest, not Nox, the agent very properly employed by Silius, 15. 542, to shut up the bed-chambers both of gods and men; or, if I may be allowed to use the Virgilian figure, compose not the day alone, but the evening also—

“et thalamos clausit Nox atra hominumque deumque;”

with which and with our text compare Soph. *Trach.* 94:

ον αιολα νυξ αναριζομενα
τιπτε κατευναζει τε, φλογιζομενον
Αλιον Αλιον αιτω

[“Quem micans [stellis distincta] nox confecta gignit, sopitumque componit thalamo, flammantem solem te solem precor”]

D. Ambros. *Hymn.* 14 (Grimm, *Hymn. Vet. Eccl.*):

“iam sol urgente vespero
occasum suum graditur
mundum concludens tenebris,
suum observans ordinem.”

Ovid, *Met.* 1. 624 (of Perseus):

“iamque cadente die veritus se credere nocti,
constitit Hesperio, regnis Atlantis, in orbe:
exiguamque petit requiem, dum Lucifer ignes
evocet Aurorae, currus Aurora diurnos.”

Sir W. Scott, *Lord of the Isles*, 3. 20:

“the shades come down—the day is shut—
will you go with us to our hut?”

Some commentators have assigned a much stronger sense to *COMPONET* in this passage, and have understood it to be equivalent to *sepeliet*. “Dies componi ut mortuus, *i. e.* sepeliri, dicebatur,” says one of them, quoting Stat. *Silv.* 4. 6:

“iam moriente die, rapuit me coena benigni
vindictis,”

and Plaut. *Menaech.* 157 (ed. Ritschl):

“dies quidem iam ad umbilicum dimidiatus mortuost.”

He might have quoted besides, Stat. *Theb.* 10. 54: “Condide-

rant iam vota diem" [they had prayed and made vows till night], and—if he had not been dead before the author of the "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard" was born—

"the curfew tolls the knell of parting day."

I think, notwithstanding, that he is in error, and that CLAUSO OLYMPO shows as plainly as words can show that the componere spoken of in our text is not the final composing by death, but the temporary composing for rest or sleep, such composing as is spoken of *Georg. 4. 189*:

"post, ubi iam thalamis se composuere, siletur
in noctem, fessosque sopor suus occupat artus;"

where, as it happens, no less than in our text, the componere is the componere subsequent on Vesper and preceding night:

. . . "easdem
Vesper ubi e pastu tandem decedere campis
admonuit, tum tecta petunt, tum corpora curant,
fit sonitus, mussantque oras et limina circum."

A similar mistake to this has been made by Wagner (1861) with respect to "compostus," 1. 253, where see Rem.

CLAUSO OLYMPO. Olympus being closed, as verse 145, "clauso carcere," the prison being closed. Epigr. Alpei, *Anth. Græca*, 9. 526 (ed. Tauchn.):

Κλειε, θεος, μεγαλοιο πύλας ακηχτας Ολυμπον,
ηρουρει, Ζεν, ζαθταν αυθρος ακροπολιν.
ιδη γαρ και ποταος υπεξεκταται δορυ Ρωμης,
και χθον ουραννη δ' οίμος ετ' εστ' αβυστος.

as we have in our text the *shutting* up of Olympus (CLAUSO OLYMPO) in the evening ("Vesper"), so we have (10. 1) the *opening* of Olympus in the morning:

"panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi."

See Rem. on 10. 1.

"I could hardly tell you the whole story in the length of a day," is so natural a form of expression that we might expect to find, and accordingly do actually find, frequent examples of it, *ex. gr.*. Inc. Poet. Com. *Querol. 1. 2*:

LAR. FAM. "proinde quidquid exinde quereris, hodie totum expromito.
QUER. dies deficiet ante."

COMPONET VESPER. Vesper (or Hesper) is commonly represented by poets as doing whatever is usually done, or usually happens while he is shining. We have (*a*) Hesper throwing on the Moselle the shadow which is really thrown on it by the departing light of day. Auson. *Mosel.* 192:

. . . "seras cum protulit umbras
Hesperus, et viridi perfudit monte Mosellam."

(*b*), Hesper bringing on the twilight; Milton, *Par. Lost*, 9. 48:

"the sun was sunk, and after him the star
of Hesperus, whose office is to bring
twilight upon the earth."

(*c*), Vesper driving the birds from the mountains, *Georg.* 4. 474:

"Vesper ubi aut hibernus agit de montibus imber."

(*d*), Vesper bringing home the calves from the field, *Georg.* 4. 434:

"Vesper ubi o pastu vitulos ad tecta reducit,"

and (*e*), in our text Hesper composing the day, putting the day to rest.

381.

SUM PIUS AENEAS . . . FAMA SUPER AETHERA NOTUS

Compare Theocr. *Idyll.* 7. 93:

. . . τα που και Ζεφρος επι θρονον αγειτ' ημεα.

Charles James Fox, in a letter to his friend Trotter (Russell's *Memoir of Fox*, vol. 4. p. 465), having first observed: "Though the detached parts of the Aeneid appear to me to be equal to any thing, the story and characters appear more faulty every time I read it. My chief objection (I mean that to the character of Aeneas) is of course not so much felt in the three first books; but afterwards he is always either insipid or odious;

sometimes excites interest against him, and never for him;" adds in a postscript, and by way of example: "Even in the first book Aeneas says:

SUM PIUS AENEAS, FAMA SUPER AETHERA NOTUS,

[*sic*]," and inquires, "Can you bear this?" Trotter's answer not having come down to us, I beg leave to answer for him, Yes; why not? Why not as well as any other announcement of a person's real name, rank, dignity, and quality? why not as well as 'Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen,' or, 'By the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith,' prefixed by royal authority to royal rescript or proclamation, or impressed by royal authority on the coin of the realm? What difference does it make that in the one case the announcement is made personally *visâ voce* in the deserts of Africa, in the other case by the hand or order of a responsible minister in the city of London? There is no essential difference between the two cases. Each is justified and dignified at once by its simple, unvarnished, moral truth. We know not what Mr. Fox may have thought of such like candid expressions by royal personages in our own times, of their own good opinion of themselves, of their greatness and goodness, their faith and piety, their graciousness, excellence, and majesty; but Aeneas's "SUM PIUS AENEAS . . . FAMA SUPER AETHERA NOTUS" is intolerable to him. Aeneas, in Mr. Fox's opinion, should not have so plainly told the truth—should have prevaricated, whined about his unworthiness, and like the fiera'd "Servus Servorum" by whom he has been succeeded, professed himself the obedient servant at command of whoever pleased to command him. And no wonder. Mr. Fox professed himself so. Every English gentleman professes himself so, begins with "Dear Sir," and concludes with "your Most Obedient, Humble Servant," a letter every word of which, except these alone, manifests the writer's either total disregard for, or insolence towards, and assumption of superiority over, the person addressed. But why or whence this palpable contradiction, this point blank opposition between the body of Mr. Fox's, or my own, or my reader's letter, and its commencing and concluding words, be-

tween the Pope's "Servus Servorum" and the Pope's "Sua Sanctità," between the Queen's Coronation, Opening of Parliament, Drawing-room and Reception of ambassadors, and the Queen's professions of utter vileness, worthlessness and sinfulness in her responses on her knees in St. George's Chapel? whence the laughable, if it were less painful, incongruity between the silver basin, damask towels and splendidly dressed on-looking assembly, and the twelve beggars whose feet the Duke of Tuscany washed annually in the grand hall of the Pitti Palace (so long as that palace belonged to him), with his own royal white and perfumed hands. Whence, but from the necessity which we feel (or imagine we feel) ourselves under, of preserving the forms and phraseology of a religion which we have all long ago substantially and practically renounced. Before Christianity, while we were all pagans alike, humility was meanness. No one ever dreamed of depreciating himself either to his God or to his brother man. He that recommended himself to the favour of God, never thought of saying he was unworthy of that favour never thought of pleading against himself, on the contrary he put forward all his merits, all he had done, all he would do. To have underrated himself was the last thing in the world to occur to his mind, to his common human sense, and the surest way to prevent God from doing that which he might otherwise have been inclined to do, the surest way to foil himself in his object. In his dealings with man he proceeded on the same principle, always on the principle of his merits, always endeavoured to appear as well as he could, to impress every one with the best possible opinion of him, and so be treated in return by every one as an honest, truthspeaking, brave, generous, noble-minded and above all tender-hearted, "pius" (see Rem. on 1. 14) man.

The pagan was thus at least consistent, dealt with his God and his brother man on the same principle, always and upon all occasions standing up for, and never unless in some paroxysm of despair, like Oedipus's, turning upon, abusing and depreciating himself. The first Christians, too, were consistent, but their consistency was of an opposite kind. They recommended themselves to the favour of God and man, not on the

ground of merit, but on the ground of demerit. The more they sunk themselves, the more they expected to be exalted, the lower down at the table they took their seat, the higher up did they expect to be asked to sit. They washed the beggars' feet, without pomp and without ceremony, in the sure expectation that angels would in return wash their feet, and clothe them with surplices of spotless dazzling white. Humility and want of merit served the same purpose with them as transcendent merit, and a consciousness of it, served amongst the pagans, it was their way to honour among men, and honour with their God, their road to heaven, their "sic itur ad astra." Real humility, a really modest opinion of themselves, was their ladder to glorification, real humility I mean in every respect, except—and it is a startling exception—their religion. It never so much as once entered into their heads to extend their humility to their religion. To their *religious* pride there were no bounds. Humble and modest in all other respects, they were in respect of their new religion all Jews, as proud, overbearing, and intolerant, as ready to extirpate the Hittite, Gergashite, and Amalekite. With this one exception, however, they were consistent. Humble before heaven, humble towards each other, frugal, simple, self-denying, kind-hearted, and affectionate amongst themselves, ever ready to renounce this world, and all its pomps and pleasures, in order, by so doing, the better to secure for themselves what they called an eternal crown of glory hereafter. But these first Christians have all, long since, gone the way Jew and Pagan went before them, and we have now another Pharoah, who knows not Joseph—a Pharoah who has inherited not the real, living humility, sincerity, and simplicity of his forefathers, but the names, phrases, words, titles, and empty sounds, and who palms these off, in place of the qualities themselves, on all with whom he has dealings, whether terrestrial or celestial, on his brother man, as on God. Your correspondent, therefore, is your dear sir, and you are your correspondent's most obedient, humble servant, at the very moment you are reprimanding or cashiering him. If a police officer, you touch your hat as

you are making an arrest; a judge, you weep when you are passing sentence of death; a hangman, you beg pardon of the culprit about whose neck you are putting the rope. Unworthy to stand before your God, you kneel, and from a crimson velvet cushion pour forth your regularly returning tide of devotion, your unmeasured praise of him, your equally unmeasured dispraise of yourself. Your unaffected contrition, humiliation, nothingness; your love, hope, faith, and gratitude, all fresh gushing from your heart every Sunday at least, if not every day of the year, at precisely the same hour, precisely the same moment, or precisely the same spot, unaffected, unstudied, unpremeditated, in the ready cut and dry words of the printed formularies read or intoned for you by a paid substitute.

In Aeneas's introduction of himself to Venus there is none of this paltry double-dealing, of this vile compound of ours, of verbal humility and real pride, of this our so fashionable seasoning of insolence with compliment. Without any even the least prevarication, he presents himself in his real and true character, the character in which he is so often, so invariably, presented to the reader by the author, viz., as Aeneas, the tender-hearted (the gentle knight of chivalrous times), seeking with his Penates, and surviving compatriots, a new land in place of that out of which he had been expelled by a victorious invader. I should hardly have dwelt so much at length on this subject, if I had not felt convinced that the offence taken by Fox, and with Fox by the great majority of Virgil's readers, to Aeneas's introduction of himself to Venus, is part and parcel of their offence at the "*pietas*," which formed so broad a feature in Aeneas's character. Wholly misunderstanding the term, and, of course, the character ascribed by it, and not doubting at all but that the Latin *pius* is exactly represented by the English *pious*, and piety, although the very character of which a man is most ambitious, being by convention the very character which he is least allowed to claim for himself in plain and direct terms, Aeneas's SUM PIUS AENEAS, was to Mr. Fox, and is to the majority of Virgil's readers at the present

day, much more intolerable than would have been “sum justus Aeneas,” “sum aequus Aeneas,” “sum fortis Aeneas,” *sum* anything else, except precisely *pius*; and, accordingly, where Aeneas claims for himself *virtus* (8. 131):

“sed mea me virtus, et sancta oracula divum,
cognatique patres, tua terris dedita fama,
coniungere tibi,”

no objection, so far as I know, has ever been made by any one.

384—385.

ITALIAM QUAERO PATRIAM ET GENUS AB IOVE SUMMO
BIS DENIS PHRYGIUM CONSCENDI NAVIBUS AEQUOR

Not *PATRIAM meam* QUAERO ET *est* MIHI GENUS, *origo*, AB IOVE SUMMO, but *PATRIAM ET ortum* AB IOVE SUMMO GENUS QUAERO. First, on account of the *ET*, on the one hand established by the MSS., and on the other, incapable of uniting QUAERO and *est*; and secondly, because it is in the very words of our text the descent of the Ausonians from Jove has been celebrated by Avienus; *Descript. Orb. Terrae*, 114:

. . . “indomito tellus iacet Italia regno.
Ausonis haec regio est; pubi genus ab Iove summo.”

In which passage, as if in imitation of our text, mention is made, first of the Italian land, and then of the genus inhabiting it, the Ausones. Compare *Aen. 1. 534*:

“est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt
Oenotri coluere viri.”

GENUS, not genealogy (*i. e.*, not my genealogy), but a stock, a race, a people, as “genus Cyclopum,” 3. 675. It is

as if he said: "Et Ausones, genus ab Iove summo." Compare 3. 85:

. . . "da moenia fessis,
et genus et mansuram urbem."

Where not only have we genus joined with et, as in our text, but genus *prayed for*—"da, Thymbraee, genus," as in our text we have genus *sought for*—QUAERO GENUS. [Serv. ad. 8. 328. has "Ausones" as the accusative.]

BIS DENIS PHRYGIUM CONSCENDI NAVIBUS AEQUOR. "Conscendere aequor" is not to be confounded with "conscendere classem," 10. 155; while the latter is to ascend, mount-up on a fleet (the fleet being considered as a high object, an object above you), the former is to ascend, mount-up on the sea (viz., by means of a fleet), the sea itself being considered as a high object, an object above you. Why the sea was so considered it is not easy to say; **whether** it was for the not very intelligible reason assigned by Servius, who, commenting on our text, observes: "Bene CONSCENDI secundum physicos, qui dicunt terram inferiorem esse aqua, quia omne, quod continetur, supra illud est, quod continet; unde est: 'humilemque videmus Italiam;'" **or** from an observation of the downward inclination and descent of waves and in-flowing tides on the shore; **or** from the mere circumstance that the surface of the sea presents to a person standing on the shore the appearance of a continual gradual ascent terminating only in the sky. But, no matter; for, whichever of these reasons, or for whatsoever other reason it may have been, certain it is that the sea (and a portion of the ocean; Avien. *Descript. Orb. Terr.* 73:

"oceanus sic cuncta vago complectitur aestu,
undique sic unus terras interminus ambit,
innumerosque sinus cavat illabentibus undis
desuper")

was anciently regarded as higher than the land—as an ascent upwards from the land. Compare Hom. *ad.* 4. 780:

νηα μὲν οὖν παμπρωτον ἰλος βένθοσδε ἐρυσσάν
ἐν δ' ἴστον τ' ἐτιθέντο καὶ ἰστία νηὶ μέλαινῃ,
ἠρτυκάντο δ' ἱεῖσμα τροποῖς ἐν δερματὶ οἰσίν
τευχέα δὲ σφ' ἠνείκων ὑπερθυμοὶ θεραποντεῖς.
ὕψοι δ' ἐν νοτίῳ τὴν γ' ὠρμίσαν, ἐν δ' ἔβαν αὐτοί.

Accordingly *αναγεσθαι*, *to ascend*, is commonly **used** to express *going to sea*, leaving port (as, Hom. *Il.* 1. 478:

αι τοτ' ἐπειτ' ἀναγοντο μετὰ στρατον ευρον Λακων.

Xenoph. *Hell.* 1. 1. 2: οι δε ἀνιγαγοντο ἐπ' αὐτον εικοσι ναυσι; Epigr. Leonidae, *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 266:

ναυηγον ταφος εἰμι Μισκλέος· οι δ' ἀναγονται, [altum petunt],
γενετολμης! ἀπ' ἐμῶν πεισµατα λησµενοι.)

καταπλεῖν *to sail down* is used to express *returning to land*, entering port, and this, from habit and for the sake of convenience, even when no descent is imagined at all, as for instance when the sailing is not on the sea but only on a lake (*Erang. Luc.* 7. 26: και καταπλευσαν εἰς την χωραν των Γαδαρηνων, ητις εστιν ἀντιπεραν της Γαλιλαιας) and as *pronus* is applied by our author himself (5. 212) to the seas sloping down towards the shore, the seas *down* which Mnestheus's vessel runs, ("decurrit,") towards the port. The *CONSCENDI NAVIBUS AEQUOR* therefore of our text is literal, not figurative, and Aeneas is described as ascending the sea, not as ascending his ships. In like manner "*altum*," verse 38, is *the high sea*, not *the deep sea*, and "*alto prospiciens*," verse 130, is *looking out from the high sea*, not *from the deep sea*. See Remm. on those passages

388—392.

LIBYAE DESERTA PERAGRO

EUROPA ATQUE ASIA PULSUS NEC PLURA QUERENTEM

PASSA VENTUS MEDIO SIC INTERFATA DOLORE EST

QUISQUIS ES HAUD CREDO INVISUS CAELESTIBUS AURAS

VITALES CARPIS TYRIAM QUI ADVENERIS URBEM

LIBYAE—PULSUS. Compare Eurip. *Helen.* 88:

HELEN. τι δητα Νειλου ταςθ' επιστρεφει γυναι;

TEUCH. γυναι πατρωας εξεληλαμαι χθονος.

NEC PLURA QUERENTEM PASSA VENUS. There is no confusion. NEC PLURA QUERENTEM PASSA is the Greek, in place of the ordinary Latin form: *nec plura queri passa*; exactly as 2. 114, "Eurypylum scitantes oracula" is the Greek, in place of the ordinary Latin, form: *Eurypylum scitatum oracula*. In English we may say: "not allowing his saying more," as well as, "not allowing him to say more," or we may still further shorten the expression and say: "not allowing more," or "not allowing him more," exactly as Val. Flacc. 1. 174: "*nec passus rex plura virum*," *i. e.*, *virum plura dicentem or virum plura dicere*.

QUISQUIS—URBEM. "Etiam si hæc in te non sint, hinc tamen constat te esse felicem quod venisti Carthaginem," Serv. (ed. Lion.) "Diis propitiis constat te vitam tuam ducere quando post infinita adversa visurus es Carthaginem," Donatus. "O carum te superis, cum Carthaginem delatus sis!" Heyne, followed by Forbiger. And so Thiel: ("*QUI ADVENERIS est cum tu adreneris*"), Wagner (1861), explaining TYRIAM URBEM: "Quippe ipsam diis caram." This is neither the structure nor the meaning. The structure is QUISQUIS ES TYRIAM QUI ADVENERIS URBEM, HAUD CREDO INVISUS CAELESTIBUS AURAS VITALES CARPIS, and the meaning is: Whoever thou art who hast come to this city, I believe thou art no object of dislike to the gods. Venus amuses herself with using words of which it is impossible for Aeneas to understand the full import, which is not only that Aeneas is not an object of dislike to the gods, but that he is the object of their great and particular care, as shown by her coming there herself (one of the "caelestes") in person to help and protect him. It is with an inward smile at Aeneas's ignorance, and at the deception she has practised on him, that Venus says: HAUD CREDO INVISUS CAELESTIBUS AURAS VITALES CARPIS QUISQUIS ES QUI TYRIAM ADVENERIS URBEM. Words could not be more artfully contrived to convey clearly and unmistakably to the reader, and at the same time hide from Aeneas himself, the special care which his goddess mother was taking of him at the very moment he was making his bitter complaint of her to—he little knew it—herself. They are our

author's copy of the *double entendre* addressed to Telemachus by Minerva in the disguise of Mentor. *Od.* 3. 26:

. . . ἀλλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σῆσαι νοησέης,
ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ δαίμων ὑποθῆσεται, οὐ γὰρ οἶω
οὐ σὲ θεῶν ἀεχῆτι γενέσθαι τὲ τραχέμεν τε.

where δαίμων and θεῶν, general in the mind of Telemachus, are in the mind of Minerva, Minerva herself; exactly as in our text CAELESTIBUS, in Aeneas's mind general, is in Venus's mind, Venus herself. Compare Hom. *Od.* 4. 754:

. . . οὐ γὰρ οἶω
παγχ' ἑτοίς μακαρεσσι γόνην Ἀρχεῖσιμαίω
ἔχθισθ'.

the meaning is the same, except that there is no where *double entendre*.

Nor is it necessary to take the trouble to trace the passage to its Homeric original, in order to convince ourselves that the structure is not, with the commentators, *QUISQUIS ES HAUDINVISUS AURAS CARPIS (tu) QUI*, but as just explained, *HAUD INVISUS AURAS CARPIS QUISQUIS ES (tu) QUI*, no parallels of the former structure having been yet adduced, whereas parallels of the latter abound everywhere, 6. 388:

"quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis,
fare age, quid venias."

Pers. Sat. 1. 44:

"quisquis es, ô modo, quem ex adverso dicere feci."

Plaut. Rud. 1. 2. 20 (ed. Weise):

"tibi quidem hercle, quisquis es, magnum malum.
qui oratione hic [nos] occupatos occupes."

Plaut. Rud. 4. 4. 102 (ed. Weise):

"tunc tibi hercle deos iratos esse oportet, quisquis es,
quae parentes tam in angustum tuos locum compegeris."

In the last of which examples let the reader observe how unequivocally the structure is; "quisquis es quae," and how certainly the meaning, not *the gods are angry at you*, or you would

not have put your parents into so small a compass (corresponding to the meaning the commentators extract out of our text, viz., the gods are not angry at you or you would not have come to the Tyrian city), but the very opposite, the gods are angry at you for your having put your parents into so small a compass.

397—404.

ADSPICE BIS SENOS LAETANTES AGMINE CYCNOS
 AETHERIA QUOS LAPSA PLAGA IOVIS ALES APERTO
 TURBABAT CAELO NUNC TERRAS ORDINE LONGO
 AUT CAPERE AUT CAPTAS IAM DESPECTARE VIDENTUR
 UT REDUCES ILLI LUDUNT STRIDENTIBUS ALIS
 ET COETU CINXERE POLUM CANTUSQUE DEDERE
 HAUD ALITER PUPPESQUE TUAE PUBESQUE TUORUM
 AUT PORTUM TENET AUT PLENO SUBIT OSTIA VELO

VAR. LECT.

DESPECTARE I *Rom., Med.*; II $\frac{2}{0}$; III Donat. ad Ter. *Heaut.* 2. 3; Ven. (1470); P. Manut.; La Cerda; Phil.; Heyne; Pott.; Jahn; Wagn. (1841); Peerlk.; Haupt; Coningt.

RESPECTARE I *Pal.*; III Ribbeck.

DESPERARE III D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671); [qu. misprint].

The S. Gallen MS. exhibits only SPECTARE, a rent in the parchment having destroyed the two initial letters of the word following IAM.

O. *Vat., Ver.*

I analyse this passage in the following manner:—Yonder is a troop of swans (BIS SENOS CYCNOS) just returned (REDUCES) after having been pursued over the whole sky by an eagle (AETHERIA QUOS LAPSA PLAGA IOVIS ALES APERTO TURBABAT CAELO). See how happy and exultant they are (LAETANTES) now that they are united together again (AGMINE), how in long file, one after

another (LONGO ORDINE) they first (AUT) alight on the ground, (CAPERE TERRAS), and then (AUT) rising again on the wing, seem (VIDENTUR) already (IAM), to have forgot their trouble and to look down with contempt (DESPECTARE) on the ground from which, having barely alighted on it (CAPTAS), they have soared up again into the sky, where they sport on whirring wings (LUDUNT STRIDENTIBUS ALIS), have just made a circle of the heavens (COETU CINCERE POLUM), and while making that circle, sung their song of triumph (CANTUS DEDERE). Happily reunited after the storm, like that troop of swans, happily reunited after their dispersion by the eagle, your ships and ships' crews are now either in or entering port. The comparison is **not** (with Wagner, 1861) **of** the swans dispersed by the eagle and taking refuge on the ground, **with** the ships dispersed by the storm and taking refuge in port: "Hi [cygni] nunc ex fuga collecti LONGO ORDINE (ut naves unius classis, cum intrat portum) conspiciuntur partim TERRAS CAPERE—quod faciunt, qui in primo ordine volant—partim captas ab illis IAM DESPECTARE ex aere, quod faciunt extremi," **but of** the dispersed and re-assembled swans **with** the dispersed and re-assembled ships. The alighting of the swans on the ground, their rising again into the air and looking down with contempt on the ground on which only a moment previously they had alighted, their sporting about on whirring wings, their wheeling in a circle round the whole sky, and their singing as they wheel, are all only evolutions of the returned swans, necessary to distinguish and place vividly before the mind of the reader the swans REDUCES and LAETANTES, to contrast the glad return with the previous rout and confusion. Homer's similar comparison, *Il.* 2. 459, of the Grecian host before Troy, to geese, or cranes, or long-necked swans sporting in the Asian mead and about the Cayster

(των δ', ὡστ' ὀρνιθῶν λειτεῖρων εἶνεα πολλὰ,
 χηρῶν, ἢ γέρανων, ἢ κεκνων δουλιχοδείων,
 ἄσω ἐν λιμῶνι, Κανστίου ἀμυγρεῖθρα,
 ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα ποτῶνται ἀγέλλομενα πτερυγέσσει,
 κλαγγήδον προκαθίζοντων, σμαρκεῖ δὲ τε λιμῶν)

could hardly have been less present to our author's mind when

composing these verses, than when he was engaged in the composition (7. 699) of

“*ceu quondam nivei liquida inter nubila cyeni,*” &c.

Neither is there with the same commentator (1861)—preceded by Burmann, Weickert, and Forbiger, and followed by Conington—a division of the swans into two parties, the hindmost and the foremost. Both *CAPERE* and *DESPECTARE* are said of the whole twelve swans, whose two actions, alighting (*TERRAS CAPERE*) and rising again on the wing (*CAPTAS DESPECTARE*), are separated by the disjunctive attached to each; *either* alight *or* mount again on the wing, i. e. *first* alight and *then* mount again on the wing. Compare 4. 61: “*fundit aut spatiat*” — “*fundit et spatiat*,” at one time “*fundit*” and at another time “*spatiat*.”

TERRAS CAPERE. **Not** with Servius, Weickert, Wagner, (1848), Forbiger, “*eligere, oculis capere, oculis designare locum ubi consistant*” (I neither find authority for such sense of the expression, nor am able to perceive how, even were there authority for it, such sense is applicable here), **but** actually *considere*; *προκαθίειν* (Hom. *Il.* 2. 463), alight on the ground; **exactly as**: 9. 267, “*capere Italiam*,” 6. 754, “*tumulum capit*,” 5. 315, “*locum capiunt*,” Manilius, 4. 223, “*capiunt saltus*,” Caes. *B. G.* 4. 36, “*capere portum*,” **and especially** Livy, 7. 26, “*Tenuit non solum ales captam semel sedem, sed,*” etc.;—in all which phrases, no less than in our text, *capere* is the exact equivalent of the Italian *afferrare*. Ricciardi, *Vita di Garibaldi*. “*Afferrava Cetona.*” “*Afferrare Venezia.*” *La Nazione* (giornale quotid.), Feb. 8, 1862: “*Quand’ anche un corpo spedizionario afferrasse le coste del circolo di Fiume:*” and “*terras capere*” of the French “*prendre terre.*”

AUT CAPERE AUT CAPTAS DESPECTARE. So Manil. 2. 239:

“*nec capit, aut captos effundit Aquarius ortus.*”

DESPECTARE: *look down upon*. It being impossible for the swans to look down upon the place on which they had just alighted without first rising up from it, the notion of soaring upwards is contained in the expression *IAM CAPTAS DESPECTARE*.

as if Virgil had said: "Behold those swans whom we have just now seen first alighting, and then rising into the air again." But why, or with what feeling are the swans said: CAPTAS IAM DESPECTARE? No doubt with the feeling so generally contained in the expression despectare, viz., that of contempt. The swans look down from above with contempt on the earth, think little either of it or of their so recent danger and escape, give a loose to their feelings of joy and exultation, exactly as the swarming bees, *Georg.* 4. 103, despise their hive:

. . . "incerta volant caeloque examina ludunt,
contemnuntque favos et frigida tecta relinquunt."

and the rising Pleias, *Georg.* 4. 232, spurns the ocean:

. . . "os terris ostendit honestum
Pleias, et oceani spretos pede repulit amnes."

The following are examples of despectare used in the same manner. Tacit. *Annal.* 2. 43 (of Piso): "vix Tiberio concedere; liberos eius ut multum infra despectare;" Ammian. 14. 11: "Quam theologi veteres, fingentes Iustitiae filiam, ex abdita quadam aeternitate tradunt omnia despectare terrena." With which compare Statius, *Silv.* 2. 7. 107:

"at tu, seu rapidum poli per axem
famae curribus arduis levatus,
qua surgunt animae potentiores,
terras despicias, et sepulchra rides;"

and Milton, *Par. Lost*, 7. 420:

. . . "but feathered soon and fledge,
they summed their pens, and soaring th' air sublime
with clang despised the ground, under a cloud,
in prospect:"

and *ibid.*, 9. 1010:

"divinity within them, breeding wings
wherewith to scorn the earth."

VIDENTUR, although in the strict construction pertaining equally to CAPERE and DESPECTARE, is to be referred in the sense to DESPECTARE alone, as if Virgil had said: *Either*

alight or seem to look down, for Aeneas could see the swans actually alighting, although he could not see them actually looking down, but only *seeming* as if they looked down.

UT REDUCES ILLI LUDUNT STRIDENTIBUS ALIS, ET COETU CINCERE POLUM, CANTUSQUE DEDERE. **Not**, with Wagner (1861), "Ut cycni illi reduces ac liberati periculo nunc gestiunt, et ut iidem *ante istam dissipationem* congregati (COETU) et in orbem compositi (CINCERE) in alto cecinere, sic," &c.; **but**, as they now exult, and just now wheeled round the sky and sang, **both** the now exulting, and the just now wheeling round the sky and singing being subsequent to the dispersion, **and** consequent on the return, and REDUCES (returned from dispersion) belonging equally to LUDUNT and CINCERE.

REDUCES. Compare Prudentius (of the miraculous quails), *Cathem.* 5. 101:

"nec non imbrifero ventus anhelitu
crassa nube leves invehit alites,
quae difflata in humum cum semel agmina
fluxerunt, reduci non revolant fuga."

AUT PORTUM TENET, AUT PLENO SUBIT OSTIA VELO. Is either actually safe in port, or just arriving at port, she does not know which; Hom. *Odyss.* 15. 176 (Helen prophesying):

ὥς Ὀδυσσεὺς κακὰ πολλὰ πάθων, καὶ πολλ' ἐπαληθεὺς
οἰκαδὲ νοστήσει καὶ τίσειαί ηε καὶ ἤδη
οἴκοι, ἀτὰρ μνηστήρσιν κακὸν παντεσσι γέυεται.

406—408.

DIXIT ET AVERTENS ROSEA CERVICIS REFULSIT
 AMBROSIAEQUE COMAE DIVINUM VERTICE ODOREM
 SPIRAVERE PEDES VESTIS DEFLUXIT AD IMOS

AVERTENS. Turning her back on him (see Rem. on “avertere,” l. 42) neither, forbid it heaven! for want of politeness, nor in order to exhibit intentional disrespect, but simply because gods in their intercourse with mortals are apt to be chary of showing their faces, *Bibl. Sacr., Exod. 33. 23*: “Videbis posteriora mea; faciem autem meam videre non poteris.” So punctilious are gods in this respect that it is seldom one can be sure it is a god one is speaking to until he has already turned his back and is off. Compare *Hom. Il. 13. 70* (Ajax Oileus recognising Neptune only as he turns his back and departs):

οὐδ' οὔτε Κάλχας ἔσσι. θεολόφος οὐρανότης
 ἔχνη γὰρ μετολίσθαι πόδων ἡδὲ χερσίων
 οὐδ' ἔγνων Ἀλκίονος, ἀργυρότοιο δὲ θεοῖσι πέφ.

Stat. Theb. 10. 678 (of Menoeceus recognising the goddess Virtus only as she departs):

“ut vero aversae gressumque habitumque notavit,
 et subitam a terris in nubila crescere Manto,
 obstupuit.”

See Rem. on l. 412.

AMBROSIAEQUE COMAE DIVINUM VERTICE ODOREM SPIRAVERE. It is hardly to be doubted that these words are equivalent to COMAE DIVINO VERTICE (ζατος α.ι' αθαρατοιο) SPIRAVERE ODOREM AMBROSIAE, and that, whatever may have been the sense in which the word *αἰθροια* was applied to the *χαῖται* of Jove in the Homeric original, Virgil at least meant to say that the locks of Venus diffused the odour of ambrosia: *Philostr. Heroic.* (ed. Boissonad.), p. 12: *τα δερδα τε ως διαζυται λαρτα και ως αμ-*

βροστια η οσμη του χωριου. Hesiod, *Scut. Herc.* 7 (of Alcmena):

της και απο κρηθεν βλεφαρων τ' απο κυανεων
τοιον αηθ', οιον τε πολυχρυσου Αιροδιτης.

Eurip. *Med.* 835 (ed. Dind.):

του καλλινεου τ' απο κρημισου ροαν,
τιαν Κυπριν κληζουσιν αγνοσσεμεναι
χωρας καταπνευσαι μετρωις ανημων
ηδεπνοους αυρας, αι δ' επιβαλλομεναι [Venerem]
χαιταισιν ευωδη ροδιων πλοκων ανθειων,
τα σοφια παριδρους πεμπειν ερωτας,
παντοις αρετας ξυνεργους.

VERTICE, not VERTICE *capitis*, but VERTICE *Veneris*, i. e., *capite Veneris*. Catull. 66. 59 (ed. Ellis):

“hic iuveni Ismario ne solum in limine caeli
ex Ariadnaeis aurea temporibus
fixa corona foret, sed nos quoque fulgeremus
devotae flavi verticis exuviae,”

Prudent. *Peristeph.* 10. 871:

“fortasse cervix, si secundam iussero
flecti sub ense, non patebit vulneri;
vel amputatum plaga collum dividens.
rursus coibit ac reglutinabitur,
humerisque vertex eminebit additus.”

Ibid., 10. 1044:

“ostentat udum verticem, barbam gravem,
vittas madentes atque amictus ebrios.”

And compare Hom. *Il.* 1. 530, κρατος απ' αθανατοιο, and Hesiod. *Scut. Herc.* 7, Της και απο κρηθεν, &c., quoted above.

SPIRAVERE. Compare Manil. 4. 673 (ed. Jacob):

“odoratae spirant medicamina silvae.”

CRUDELIS TU QUOQUE. Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 48, and again *ibid.* 5. 50:
“Crudelis tu quoque, mater.”

412-416.

CUR DEXTRAE IUNGERE DEXTRAM
 NON DATUR AC VERAS AUDIRE ET REDDERE VOCES
 AT VENUS OBSCURO GRADIENTES AERE SEPSIT
 ET MULTO NEBULAE CIRCUM DEA FUDIT AMICTU

CUR—VOCES. The same picture, viz., that of a mortal speaking with an immortal face to face, as a friend speaks to a friend, has been well drawn by Prudentius, in the case of the Deity and Moses, *Apotheos.* 32:

“ipse dator legis divinae accedere coram
 iussus, amicitiae collato qui stetit ore
 cominus, et sacris coniunxit verba loquelis:”

The original from which Prudentius drew being, however, not Virgil, but Moses, *Exod.* 33. 11: “loquebatur autem Dominus ad Moysen facie ad faciem, sicut solet loqui homo ad amicum suum.” Curious that no less in the Pagan picture than in the Jewish, the sight of the divinity’s face was withheld, and only that of the hinder parts vouchsafed:

DIXIT, ET AVERTENS ROSEA CERVICIS REFULSIT.

Prudent. *ubi supra*, verse 42:

“respondit dominus: mea. non me, cernero iustis
 posteriora dabo.”

The imitation almost *in ipsissimis verbis* of *Exod.* 33. 23: “Videbis posteriora mea: faciem autem meam videre non poteris.” See Rem. on verse 406.

DEXTRAE IUNGERE DEXTRAM. Compare Aristoph. *Thesm.* 954: *χειρὶ σπαραττε χεῖρα.*

AUDIRE ET REDDERE VOCES, *λογοῖς ἀμειβεσθαι* (Eurip. *Hippol.* 85).

VENUS OBSCURO GRADIENTES AERE SEPSIT, theme; MULTO NEBULAE CIRCUM DEA FUDIT AMICTU, variation. See Rem. on 1. 550.

OBSCURO AERE. The ancients believed that the air was without light in itself, *i. e.*, dark, unless illuminated by the sun's or other light, Hom. *Hymn. in Lunam*, 3:

ης απο αἴγλη γαίαν ἐλίσσεται οὐρανοδείκτος
χρᾶτος ἐπ' ἀθανάτοισι, πολλὸς δ' ὑπο κόσμος οὐρώθεν
αἴγλης λαμπροσύνης· σιτίζει δὲ τ' ἀλαμπύτος αἴηρ,
χρυσέον ἀπο στήθεσσι, ἀκτῆρες δ' ἐνδιώκονται.

Aristot. *de Mundo*, 2: Ἐξίς δὲ ταύτης [aether] ὁ αἴρ ὑποκε-
χεται, ζοφώδης ὢν καὶ παγετώδης τὴν φρεσὶν ἔτιο δὲ κινήσεως
λαμπρομενός ἀμα καὶ διαλαίμενος λαμπροτερός τε γίνεται καὶ
αλλεεινός. Ovid, *Met.* 1. 16:

"sic erat instabilis tellus, innabilis unda.
lucis egens aër."

Hence their aer used as equivalent for *darkness*. Lucret. 5.
650 (ed. Lachm.):

"at nox obruit ingenti caligine terras,
aut ubi de longo cursu sol ultima caeli
impulit, atque suos ecllavit languidus ignes
concussos itere, at labefactos aere multo."

Lucret. 5. 695:

"aut quia crassior est certis in partibus aer,
sub terris ideo tremulum iubar haesitat igni,
nec penetrare potest facile, atque emergere ad ortus."

And our author's own (6. 888) "Aeris in campis latus." Com-
pare Dante, *Infern.* 2. 1:

"Lo giorno se n' andava e l' aer bruno
toglieva gli animai, che sono in terra,
dalle fatiche loro."

Nor is this, at first sight, somewhat strange notion of the substantive darkness of an object invisible *per se*, so very irreconcilable with our more philosophical modern views, inasmuch as darkness being, according to these views, neither more nor less than absence of light, absence of impression on the retina, an invisible object is dark, as dark and black as, if not darker and blacker than, the darkest and blackest visible object. Hence the darkness of an underground cave, the darkness on closing

the eyes, and our author's *OBSCURO AERE SEPSIT*, *fenced him round with dark air*, i. e., unilluminated air, air on which no light fell, the *NEBULAE AMICTU* of the next verse.

A goddess makes Ulysses invisible to Ajax (Soph. Ai. 69) in another way. She averts the rays of light reflected from the person of Ulysses, and so they make no image on the madman's retina.

CIRCUM DEA FUDIT AMICTU.—*DEA* explains why *Venus* was able to envelope them in darkness. Compare Propert. 2. 1. 11 (ed. Hertz):

"seu cum poscentes somnum declinat ocellos,
invenio causas mille poeta novas,"

where "poeta" explains why Propertius was able to invent so many explanations. See Rem. on 5. 721.

419—421.

SUBLIMIS ABIT SEDESQUE REVISIT

LAETA SUAS UBI TEMPLUM ILII CENTUMQUE SABAEQ

THURE CALENT ARAE SERTISQUE RECENTIBUS HALANT

SUBLIMIS. "Divino incessu," Serv. (ed. Lion); Cynth. Cenet., P. Manut. Certainly not the meaning. *SUBLIMIS* is here *aloft, on high*, i. e. through the air, through the sky, in contradistinction to Aeneas's going on foot, walking, verse 414: *GRESSUMQUE AD MOENIA TENDIT*. *Venus*, in our text, goes from the coast of Carthage to Cyprus *SUBLIMIS*, exactly as in the *Hymn. in Vener.*, verse 67, she goes from Cyprus to Troy: *εἴθε μετὰ νεφεσσοῖσι*:

χαρσὰ κοσμηθεῖσα, γέλομενίδης Ἀφροδίτη
συνα' εἰς Τροίην, ἀρόλιονδ' ἐνδοῖα Κελύπον,
εἴθε μετὰ νεφεσσοῖσι θοῶς πηρῆσσανα χέλεσθον.

That on both occasions she goes in her chariot, is of course to be understood. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 5. 648 (of Triptolemus):

“iam super Europen *sublimis* et Asida terras
vectus erat iuvenis,”

i. e. was carried *sublime*, or aloft, over Europe and Asia, viz., in the chariot of Ceres; verse 645:

“atque levem currum Tritonida misit in arcem
Triptolemo.”

SABAEO THURE CALENT ARAE, SERTISQ., &c. Compare Colum. *de Cultu Hort.* 260:

“et ingenuo confusa rubore
virgineas adaperita genas rosa præbet honores
caelitibus, templisque Sabaeum miscet odorem.”

where “*rosa*” corresponds to the SERTIS, and “*Sabaeum odorem*” to the SABAEO THURE, of our text, and where the meaning is as in our text, *roses and frankincense blend odours in the temples.*

425.

MAGALIA.

VAR. LECT.

MAGALIA III “*loca deserta Punica*,” Probus, *ad Georg.* (Keil’s ed.) p. 63, l. 15.

MAGALIA III P. Manut.

O *Ver.*, *St. Gall.*

MAGALIA, Sp. *majada*, shepherd’s hut.

STRATA VIARUM — *stratas vias*, the levelled streets, as 6. 633, “*opaca viarum*” — *opacas vias*; 2. 332, “*angusta viarum*” — *angustas vias*; Lucret. 2. 113, “*opaca domorum*” — *opacas domos*.

427—429.

PARS DUCERE MUROS

MOLIRIQUE ARCEM ET MANIBUS SUBVOLVERE SAXA

PARS OPTARE LOCUM TECTO ET CONCLUDERE SULCO

VAR. LECT.

OPTARE I *Vat., Pal., Med.* II $\frac{3}{6} \frac{7}{9}$. III Serv. (who, besides, viz., at 4. 655, thus quotes the verse:

PARS OPTARE LOCUM, TECTA ET CONCLUDERE SULCO);

Donatus; Pr. Ven. (1470, 1471, 1475); Mil. (1475, 1492); Bresc.; Mod.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671, 1676, 1704); Philippe; Heyne; Pott.; Dorph.; Wagn. (1832, 1841); Thiel; Haupt; Ribb.; Coningt.; Weidner.

APTARE I *Rom.* $\frac{0}{6} \frac{2}{9}$ (AITARE), II $\frac{3}{6} \frac{2}{9}$. III Pierius ("In veteribus fere omnibus exemplaribus legi AITARE"); Junta Ven. (1472); Jul. Scal. *Poet.* 3. 17; H. Steph.; Bask.; Burmann ("APTARE etiam omnes fere Heinsio inspecti; et excerpta nostra, et Graevianus, Francianus, Pugetianus").

O *Ver., St. Gall.*

PARS APTARE LOCUM TECTO.* The reading APTARE is preferable to OPTARE, **first**, because the latter could not be seen, afforded no picture; **secondly**, because there should be mention of the building of houses as well as of the "arx." TECTO is the ablative case, APTARE LOCUM TECTO, *furnish the place with houses, build houses*. Compare Hirt. *Bell. Aler.* (Elzev., 1670, p. 687): "omnes oppidi partes, quae minus firmae viderentur, testudinibus atque musculis *aptantur*." Plin. *Pancg.* 18: "Instant operibus, adsunt exercitationibus, arma, moenia, viros *aptant*." Stat. *Theb.* II. 100 (Tisiphone addressing Megaera):

. . . "ipsae odiis, ipsae discordibus armis
aptemur."

* Dr. Henry marked this comment in his MS., "very doubtful." He here dissents, in a manner unusual to him, from the unanimous testimony (for such it virtually is) of the first-class MSS. (Editor's Note).

Ibid. 10. 309:

. . . "aptatamque cava testudine dextram
percutit."

MUROS, ARCEM, TECTO. The three essential constituent parts of an ancient city: see the same parts again united in the view given of ancient Pallanteum, *Aen.* 8. 98:

"cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum
tectata vident."

SULCO. "Fossa; civitas enim, non domus, circumdatur sulco," Servius; and so Heyne, Wagner, Lersch, and Ladewig. Incorrect; SULCO refers not to the immediately preceding TECTO, but (as shown by the word CONCLUDERE) to the whole work: the work is completed, *closed in*, by the usual plough-furrow.

430.

IURA MAGISTRATUSQUE LEGUNT SANCTUMQUE SENATUM

VAR. LECT.

SI IURA—SENATUM I *Val., Rom., Pal., Med.* II § 1. III Servius; Donatus; Ven., 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mod.; Mil. 1475, 1492; R. Steph.; Junta; Jul. Scal., *Poet.* 3. 17; P. Manut.; H. Steph.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671); Brunck; Wakof.; Pott.; Phil.; Wagn. (1832, 1841).

IURA—SENATUM OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED II § 1. III Peerlk.; Heyne; Lad.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Lect. Virg. & Praest.*); Ribb.

O *Ver., St. Gall.*

Conington well urges in support of this verse that legislation is mentioned in a similar connexion at 3. 147, and 5. 758.

431.

ALTA THEATRIS

VAR. LECT.

ALTA **I** *Rom., Pal., Med.* **II** $\frac{1}{2}$. **III** P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (1832, 1841); Lad.; Haupt.

LATA **I** *Val.* **III** Ribbeck.

O *Ver., St. Gall.*

THEATRIS **I** *Val., Rom., Pal.* THEATRIS **II** $\frac{1}{2}$. **III** P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671); Philippe; Heyne; Wakef.; Wagn. (1841, 1845); Ribb.

THEATRI **I** *Med.* **III** Brunck; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.; *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt.

O *Ver., St. Gall.*

434—440.

QUALIS APES AESTATE NOVA PER FLOREA RURA
EXERCET SUB SOLE LABOR QUUM GENTIS ADULTOS
EDUCUNT FETUS AUT QUUM LIQUENTIA MELLA
STIPANT ET DULCI DISTENDUNT NECTARE CELLAS
AUT ONERA ACCIPIUNT VENIENTUM AUT AGMINE FACTO
IGNAVUM FUCOS PECUS A PRAESEPIBUS ARCENT
FERVET OPUS REDOLENTQUE THYMO FRAGRANTIA MELLA

Compare Quint. *Declam.* 13. 4: "Quin ipse spectator operis . . . processeram, sperans fore ut viderem quemadmodum aliae [apes] libratae pennis onera conferrent, aliae deposita sarcina in novas prorumperent praedas, et quanquam angusto festinaretur aditu, turba tamen exeuntium non obstaret intransibis, aliae militari-bus castris pellerent vulgus ignavum, aliae longum permensae iter fatigatae anhelitum traherent, haec ad aestivum solem por-rectas panderet pennas."

ADULTOS FETUS. I search in vain in the commentators for any account of the sense in which our author has here used the word *adultus*. Is it merely *mature, ripe, full grown*, in the ordi-

nary sense in which the offspring of any animal (or even plant) is said to be *adultus* when it has passed through the infantile period, or is it *having undergone the transformations of an insect and become an image or perfect bee*? Disappointed in the commentators, I turn to Virgil himself, in his *Georgics*, and find that even Virgil himself not only has no notion at all of insect transformation, but is so ill-informed on the subject of that special nature bestowed by Jupiter himself on bees in grateful appreciation of the services those insects had rendered him in the Dictæan cave (*Georg.* 4. 149:

"nunc age, naturas apibus quas Iupiter ipse
addidit, expediam: pro qua mercede, canoros
Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera secutæ,
Dictæo coeli regem pavere sub antro")

as to represent each succeeding race or generation of bees not to be generated at all, or produced by parents, but to be gathered by the elder bees off leaves and flowers; *Georg.* 4. 197:

"illum adeo placuisse apibus mirabere morem,
quod nec concubitu indulgent, nec corpore segnes
in Venerem solvunt, aut fetus nixibus edunt;
verum ipsæ e foliis natos et suavis herbis
ore legunt."

Such being our author's ignorance of insect transformation, there can be no reference in our text to that remarkable phenomenon; ADULTOS FETUS must simply mean *grown up*, young, and Forbiger's (*ad Georg.* 4. 162) "nova examina" is not so very far from the mark as at first sight it may appear to be.

GENTIS FETUS. Why FETUS GENTIS, and not FETUS *matrum* or *parentum*? Because the younger bees (FETUS) being not born, but found on leaves and sweet grass and flowers (*Georg.* 4. 200:

. . . "ipsæ e foliis natos et suavis herbis
ore legunt").

have no other parents than the community: (*Georg.* 4. 153:

"solæ communes natos, consortia tecta
urbis habent").

FERVET OPTUS. The metaphor, common in all languages, is expressed in Italian in the same two words, little altered:

“allor che l' opra ferve, allor che 'l mele
sparge di timo d' ogni intorno odore.”

Caro.

“L' opera ferve sempre e si continua con alacrità.”—Report of speech of Tecchio (*guardasigilli*) in Italian Chamber of Deputies. (*Nazione* Newspaper, Florence, 17th May, 1867); the “opera” spoken of being the allotment of pensions to the deprived monks, under the law “per la soppressione delle corporazione religiose.” *Fervere*—applied in our text to the bees' work, and by Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 379:

“iussa facit pastor, fervent examina putri
de bove”

to the bees themselves,—is a very much stronger expression than *busy*, so often applied by us to the working bee. It is possible to be busy, but it is not possible *fervere* without having the whole heart and soul engaged.

OPUS, viz., *mellificandi*. Compare Apollon. Rhod. 3. 1035:

λεβων ex δειπας σιμβληια εργα μελισσων,

where σιμβληια εργα μελισσων = honey.

REDOLENTQUE THYMO FRAGRANTIA MELLA. Facciolati remarks in *roce Redoleo*: “Frustra est Diomed. qui (l. 1, p. 304, Putsch.) putat THYMO ad FRAGRANTIA referri, non ad REDOLENT, nam et *oleo* ablativum habet. Sic Valer. Max. in fin. c. 6, l. 1: ‘mons Hymettus thymi flore redolens,’” and the quotation is no doubt very apt, nor is there to such analysis any grammatical objection. But there is an objection of a different kind, viz., that honey being of itself and in its own nature redolent or strong-smelling, the REDOLENT of our text **does not** require any casual ablative; whereas honey, not being of itself or in its own nature fragrant (emitting an agreeable perfume), FRAGRANTIA **does** require a casual ablative. Compare Quint. *Decl.* 13. 13: “Prata silvaeque vel maturae fructibus vites, et fragrantés thymo colles (quantum coniectura suspicari potest) pabulum [apibus] ministrant” (where, hills not being of themselves or in their own nature fragrant, “fragrantés” requires a casual ablative, and not only has a casual ablative, but the very same casual ablative as the FRAGRANTIA of our text, viz., “thymo.” Diomedes, therefore, is right; the structure in-

tended by Virgil is REDOLENTQUE MELLA, FRAGRANTIA THYMO; and the sense: *there is a strong smell of honey perfumed with thyme*. REDOLENT MELLA, in the latter end of the verse, is thus the counterpoise of FERVET OPUS in the beginning, and in order to make it *down weight*, has THYMO FRAGRANTIA added to it by a hand which is rarely either niggardly or prodigal.*

THYMO. Compare Prudent. *Cathem.* 3. 73:

“mella recens mihi Cecropia
nectare sudat olente favus;
haec opifex apis aërio
rore liquat, tenuique thymo.”

Palladius, *de Re Rustica*, 1. 37: “Primi saporis mella thymi succus effundit. Secundi meriti timbra [thymbra], serpyllum, vel origanum. Tertii meriti rosmarinus, et satureia. Cetera ut arbutus, et olera, saporem rustici mellis efficiunt.”

442—445.

AENEAS AIT ET FASTIGIA SUSPICIT URBIS
INFERT SE SAEPTUS NEBULA MIRABILE DICTU
PER MEDIOS MISCETQUE VIRIS NEQUE CERNITUR ULLI
LUCUS IN URBE FUIT MEDIA LAETISSIMUS UMBRAE

FASTIGIA SUSPICIT URBIS. SUSPICIT, not merely *looks up to*, but *looks up to with admiration*. Compare 6. 667:

“medium nam plurima turba
hunc habet, atque humeris extantem suspicit altis;”

Mart. 11. 56:

“vis animum mirer suspiciamque tuum;”

and see Comm. 1. 397, Rem. on “despectare.”

LAETISSIMUS UMBRAE: *most happy in its shade, taking the*

* Ovid goes right against the whole of above Rem., *Met.* 15. 79:

“nec vobis acteus humor
cripitur, nec mella thymi redolentia florem.”

greatest delight in its own shade, luxuriating in its shade,
exactly as Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 1. 359:

“mens erit apta capi tunc, cum laetissima rerum
ut seges in pingui luxuriabit humo”

(where “luxuriabit” explains the meaning not only of “laetissima” in the preceding verse [viz., luxuriating; “rerum,” in things, *i. e.* in the world], but of the term laetus in its so common application to crops, viz., that it means not *gladdening the eye* of the observer, but *happy in their own feelings*, not *luxuriant*, but *luxuriating*, exactly our *glad*); 2. 73:

. . . “quas illi lacta laborum
ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido
fecerat.”

On the other hand we find Sil. 14. 475:

“et lactus scopulis audivit iubila Cyclops.”

and Mart. 4. 77:

“nunquam divitias deos rogavi,
contentus modicis meoque lactus.”

448.

CAPUT ACRIE EQVI SIC NAM FORE

VAR. LECT.

SIC NAM I *Vat., Rom., Med.* (SIGNAM, the G is cancelled and C written over it). III *P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.* (1670); *Phil.; Heyne;* *Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn.* (1832, 1841, 1861); *Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.*

Cod. Pal. reads SIGNAFORE

SIGNUM III *Pierius*: “SIGNUM in abrasis tantum codd. animadverti. In integris autem: sic NAM.”

O *Ver., St. Gall.*

ACRIE EQVI. Owing to that capital defect of the Latin language, the absence of the article, there is a certain ambiguity

here which can only be cleared up *ex ratione*. “Acer equus” cannot here be—as it is, 4. 156:

“at puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri
gaudet equo”—

a spirited horse, for the plain reason that it was impossible for the finders of the head to determine whether the individual horse to which it belonged was spirited or not, as compared with other horses. Neither can “acer equus” here be a horse of a spirited breed or species, it being equally impossible for the finders to determine to what breed or species the particular head belonged. “Acer equus” therefore can only be *the* spirited horse, the horse regarded generically as a spirited animal. The same observations apply to the “bellator equus” of Silius, 2. 410:

“ostentant caput offossa tellure repertum
bellatoris equi, atque omen clamore salutant”

[not *a* warrior or war horse, but *the* warrior or warlike war-loving horse]; *Aen.* 3. 539:

. . . “bellum, o terra hospita, portas;
bello armantur equi, bellum haec armenta minantur.”

Georg. 2. 145:

“hinc bellator equus campo sese arduus infert.”

449.

BELLO EGREGIAM ET FACILEM VICTU GENTEM

FACILEM VICTU. “Subsidiis victus copiosissima,” Donatus. “FACILEM autem, copiosam, divitem,” Servius. “Fore Poenos gentem bellicosam et rerum copiis (ex agricultura, navigatione, et commerciis populorum) affluentem,” Heyne. “Mihi quidem illud FACILEM VICTU latiore sensu de omnis generis felicitate dictum, Virgilioque illud Homericum *θεοῖς*

φεια ζῶοντες obversatum fuisse videtur," Wagner (1832), and again, *ibid.*, "Sic nostro loco *faciles victu* Carthaginienses vocantur propter opes et omnium rerum affluentiam." "‘Leicht hin (ohne mühsal) lebend,’ wohlhabend, nach dem Homerischen *θεοι φεια ζῶοντες*," Süpfle. "Wealthy," Coningt. "*Νιχητιχη, νιχηφορον*," La Cerda, following Hortensius and Germanus. "FACILEM VICTU, *siegreich*, ... Andere leiten *victu* von *vivere* ab, und erklären: ‘gesegnet an allem lebensgut:’ allein *facile vivere* wird nur von denen gesagt, die keine noth leiden, aber nicht von denen, die im überfluss leben, auch ist das pferd nicht symbol der fruchtbarkeit und der fülle," Ladewig. "Dieses zeichen deute darauf hin, dass hier ein kriegsmuthiges und (durch den reichthum des bodens) cultivirtes oder gebildetes volk hervorgehen werde," Weidner. The explanation of FACILEM VICTU given by Hortensius, Germanus and La Cerda, and lately revived by Ladewig, viz., that *victu* is the supine of *vincere*, and FACILEM VICTU, equivalent to *νιχητιχη, νιχηφορον*, *siegreich*, is inadmissible, (1) because FACILEM VICTU in this sense not only adds nothing to BELLO EGREGIAM, but is an arbitrary rendering of words actively which have an equal grammatical claim to be rendered passively, viz., so as to afford the exactly opposite sense: *easy to be conquered*, a sense wholly incompatible with the context; (2) because FACILEM VICTU too nearly resembles "*facilem victum*," *Georg.* 2. 460, to allow of its being referred to a totally different root and meaning; and (3) because the very expression "*facilis victu*" occurs in Seneca (*Epist.* 90: "*Sapiens facilis victu fuit*") in such a context as to leave no doubt that the *victu* of the phrase *facilis victu* belongs not to *vincere* but to *vivere*. On the other hand Servius's explanation, "*copiosam, divitem*"—and still more Donatus's, "*subsidiis victus copiosissima*" is liable to the no less weighty objections, **first**, that it is altogether inconsistent with the use which Seneca has made of the expression; **secondly**, that it is not supported by the usual meaning of *facilis* elsewhere, either when standing in ordinary adjectival construction, or when forming part of the similar expressions "*facile dictu*," "*facile visu*," "*facile scitu*," "*facile factu*:" **and thirdly**, that

no sufficient reason has been assigned why the head of the spirited war-loving horse should preindicate or be ominous of exuberant fertility, *üppigkeit*; *ρεια ζωοντες*.

Weidner's explanation being a mere *réchauffé* of Servius's, with the addition that the richness of the soil indicated civilization, the consequence of abundance, is liable not only to the objections to which Servius's explanation itself is liable, but to the further objection that it was as little likely that the omen should point to—that the colonists should trouble themselves about—a consequence altogether secondary both in time and importance, a consequence of a consequence. In order to find the true meaning of the passage, we have only to follow the direction pointed out to us by the ordinary signification of the word *facilis* itself, viz., *easy*, without trouble or labour, and therefore *simple*, and by the special signification of Seneca's identical expression of "*facilis victu*," and the very similar expression of Virgil himself in the second Georgic. Now Seneca's "*sapiens facilis victu fuit*" can only mean "the wise man was easy in his food," i. e., moderate and simple in his mode of living (*εγκολος την διατην*), did not use a costly, expensive diet; and the "*facilem victum*" of the second Georgic is a *living*, diet, or food of the same kind—that kind of living, diet, or food which the earth produces with little labour, and almost of itself, and which those who live in a primitive state of simplicity are always sure of obtaining with little or no trouble, or to use our author's own word, with *facility*, from the soil, from the "*iustissima tellus*," that tellus which is so perfectly just as always to provide a sufficiency of simple food for all its children. Nor let any one allege that the "*fundit*" of the second Georgic necessarily indicates abundance, pouring forth in superfluity or even in quantity. That no such notion forms an integral part of the notion expressed by *fundere* is shown by the exact parallel, *Georg. 1. 12*:

. . . "tuque o, cui prima frementem
fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti,
Neptune"

(where the same earth is described as *fundens* the single

limited object, the horse), as well as by the common use of the verb *fundere*, to signify *to bring forth*, to produce, to give birth to, even in the case where the production is so difficult as to be technically denominated *labour*; *Æn.* 8. 138:

. . . . "quem candida Maia
Cyllenae gelido conceptum vertice *fulit*."

The "fundit" of the second Georgic therefore denotes not pouring forth in superfluity, or even in abundance, but merely *bearing, producing*; and "fundit facilem victum" is: produces, bears *easy* (and therefore of necessary consequence, *simple*) food or living. That this is the meaning of the "fundit facilem victum" of the second Georgic appears further from an examination of the whole bearing and extent of that second Georgic. The first Georgic having been devoted to the laborious tilling of the ground, to the life of the agriculturist properly so called, —the "avidus colonus" who forces the ground to work against its will ("parere cogit")—that subject is bid farewell to in the very first words of the second: "hactenus arborum cultus," and a new subject entered upon, that of the vineyard, oliveyard, and nursery, and towards the end of the book a contrast drawn between the simple easy life of those agricolae, who are satisfied with little, and the complicated anxious operose life of the townsman:

"O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
agricolas! quibus ipsa procul discordibus armis
fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus,"

the agricolae meant, being **not** those agricolae who, like so many of the agricolae of the present day, either tilled the ground without possessing it, or who, if they possessed it, raised crops for the market or for exportation, and in order to obtain such disproportionate crops were obliged both to force the ground and to work hard themselves, **but** agricolae who possessed the ground and subsisted upon its produce, and having but few wants and desires, thankfully accepted that "facilem victum," that easy, plain, and simple food, which the "iustissima tellus" cheerfully afforded

“quos rami fructus, quos ipsa volentia rura
sponte tulere sua, carpsit.”

It is with an idyl descriptive of this “facilis,” this simple, life, Virgil closes his second Georgic. Take away from his description the idyllic, the ideal, and you have the life of every commencing people; the simple, primitive, patriarchal life to which every nation loves to look back as the life of its first founders:

“hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini;
hanc Remus et frater; sic fortis Etruria crevit
scilicet, et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma.”

Nothing can be more proper than that this simple life, this “facilem victu”—separated, of course, from its idyllic—should be held out to the colonising Tyrians. (1) because it is, as we have just seen, the life of all commencing nations, even of Rome itself; (2) because Virgil, prophesying after the fact, should keep close, not merely to verisimilitude, but to the record which informed him that the life of the Carthaginians was a simple primitive life for ages (PER SÆCULA) after the foundation of Carthage, and before its martial colonists had become effeminated by the riches slowly acquired through conquest and commerce. Hear Silius, of Hannibal’s soldiers and Hannibal himself at Capua, 11. 282:

. . . “stupet inconsuetus opimae
Sidonius mensae miles, faciemque superbi
ignotam luxus oculis mirantibus haurit.
vescitur ipse [Hannibal] sileus, et tantos damnat honores
esse epulis, facilesque coli tanto agmine mensas”

(where in “faciles mensas” we have, as nearly as the structure of the sentence allows, the FACILEM VICTU of our text); **and** (3) because no character could better agree than that of simple livers with the other character, viz., that of warriors prognosticated to them by the same omen. The lives of the Spartans, Athenians, Macedonians, Persians, Sabines, Etrurians, Gauls, Britons, and Jews, were simplest during that period of their history during which they were most martial. We have just had the testimony of Silius concerning the Car-

thaginians; and the following is that of the same witness respecting the Romans themselves (1. 609):

“concilium vocat augustum, castaque beatos
paupertate patres, ac nomina parta triumphis
consul, et aequantem superos virtute Senatum.
facta animosa viros, et recti sacra cupido
attollunt, hirtaeque togae, neglectaque mensa,
dexteraque a curvis capulo non segnis aratris;
exiguo faciles, et opum non indiga corda,
ad parvos curru romeabant saepe penates,”

where the table of the Romans in their warlike times is formally stated to have been “neglecta,” and themselves to have been “exiguo faciles,” the two expressions which together make up the *FACILEM VICTU* of our text.

FACILEM, *easy*, i. e., easily procurable, and therefore simple, *einfach*, *sine apparatu*; Senec. *Ep.* 95: “Medicina quondam paucarum fuit scientia herbarum, quibus sisteretur fluens sanguis, vulnera coirent: paulatim deinde in hanc pervenit tam multiplicem varietatem. Nec est mirum tunc illam minus negotia habuisse, firmis adhuc solidisque corporibus, et *facili* cibo, nec per artem voluptatemque corrupto: qui postquam coepit non ad tollendam, sed ad irritandam famem quaeri, et inventi sunt mille conditurae, quibus aviditas excitaretur; quae desiderantibus alimenta erant, onera sunt plenis.” Falisc. *Cyueget.* 306 (of the rearing of dogs):

“lacte novam pubem, *facili*que tuerere *maria*;
nec luxus alios avidaeque impendia vitae
noscant: haec magno redit indulgentia damno.”

Sen. *Herc.* *Oet.* 655:

“carpet [pauper] faciles vilesque cibos,
sed non strictos respicit enses.
aurea miscet pocula sanguis.”

Mart. 10. 47:

“vitam quae faciunt beatiorum,
iucundissime Martialis, haec sunt:
.....
convictus facilis, sine arte mensa,
nox non ebria, sed soluta curis.”

Sil. 8. 559 (ed. Rup.):

“Martia frons, facilesque comae, nec pone retroque
caesaries brevior”

[*uncared hair, hair as it grew by nature, hair about which no great trouble was taken in the dressing*]. Claud. *in Ruf.* 2. 108 (ed. Corpus):

“illinc Armeniae vibratis crinibus alae
herbida collectae facili velamina nodo”

[*with a simple string, a mere string*]. Tacit. *Annal.* 3. 9 (of Drusus): “Incallidus alioqui et facilis iuventa, senilibus tum artibus uteretur” [*simple, owing to his youth*]; and FACILEM VICTU = “facile viventem” (compare Tacit. *Hist.* 2. 63: “Sabinus . . . ubi formido incessisset, facilis mutatu . . . ne allevasse videretur, impulit ruentem”), *simple in their living, living simply*—exactly as Seneca, *l. c.*, “sapiens facilis victu fuit;” *Georg.* 2. 460:

“fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus”—

the kind of life meant being as much removed from the “dives, copiosa” of Servius, and the “subsidiis victus copiosissima” of Donatus, and the Homeric *ρεα ζωορτες* of Wagner, and the Homeric *ρηιδιως αιωρα . . . ενζηλοι διαγονσιν ενι σφειτεροιαι δομοισιν* (*Hymn in Vulc.*), **on the one hand**, as it is from the “asper victu” of 8. 318, the “victu maligno” of Sil. 3. 280 (ed. Rup.) (of the Adyrmachidae):

“sed mensis asper populus victuque maligno;
nam calida tristes epulae torrentur arena,”

the *σκληρα διαιτα*, of Procopius [*de Bell. Goth.* 3. 14: *διαιταν δε σκληραν τε και ανημελημενην, ωσπερ οι Μασσαγειται, και αυτοι* [viz., Antae et Selaveni] *εχουσι*], the *σκληρον της διαιτης* and the *εντελεστατα και τοις πενεστατοις των στρατιωτων ενμαρη* of Herodian, 3. 8 [(of Severus): *πρωτος τε εκεινος το πανν αυτων* [populi Romani] *ερρωμενον, και το σκληρον της διαιτης, το τε ενπειθες προς τοις πονοις, και ενταχιον μετ' αυδους προς αρχοντας, ελανευρειθε χορημειων τε επιθρμειν διδασας, και μεταγαγων εις το αβροδιαιτον*, and 4. 7, of Caracalla (ed. Boeckler): *τραπεζαν τε*

εντελῇ παρειιθέτω, εσθ' οὐκὶ καὶ ξύλινους ἐς ποτόν καὶ ἐδεσμάτα χρόμενος σκευεσίν. αἶσιον τε προσεφερετο αὐτοσχεδίων. σίτον γὰρ ἀλγίστας τῇ ἐαυτοῦ χειρὶ, ὃ ἡρξαι μόνον, μάζαν τε ποιήσας, καὶ εὖ ἀνθρακῶν ὀπιήσας, ἐσιεῖτο. καὶ παντῶν μὲν τῶν πολυτελέων ἀπειχείτω· ὅσα δὲ ἐντελέσιατα, καὶ τοῖς πενεστῆταις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐμμάρι, τοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς.] and the βίος ἀσχυμῆρος of Lucian, *de Salt. 1*: βίω ἀσχυμῆρῳ σνῶζον καὶ μόνον το σκληρὸν ἀγαθὸν ἡγούμενος, **on the other**; and holding the middle place between the two extremes, exactly as *facilis* holds the middle place between *abundant* and *scanty*, between *copiosus* and *malignus*; in other words, answering as exactly as need be to the *μετρία διαίτα* of the Persians in the time of Cyrus (Xenoph. *Cyrop. 1* (ed. Hutchins. p. 9): *Καὶ νῦν δὲ εἰ ἐμμενεῖ μαρτυρία καὶ τῆς μετρίας διαίτης* [the simple but sufficient subsistence which is the reward of labour]); and to the “*parvus et parabilis victus*” emblemized at the marriage feasts of the primitive Macedonians by a loaf of bread cut in two with a sword, and one half given to the bride, and the other half to the groom: Q. Curt. 8. 4: “*Rex medio cupiditatis ardore iussit afferri patrio more panem. Hoc erat apud Macedones sanctissimum coeuntium pignus, quem divisum gladio uterque libabat. Credo eos, qui gentis mores condiderunt, parco et parabili victu ostendere voluisse iungentibus opes, quantulo contenti esse deberent.*”

Facilis, being thus a middle term, runs like every other middle term easily and readily each way—on the one side towards *copiosus*, on the other towards *malignus*. In the *ρεῖα ζῶοντες* and the *ρηιδίως αἰὼνα ἐνζήλου διαφέροντι* of Homer, we have the example of the one; the ease of life expressed by those words being the utmost degree of ease, perfect easiness, *i. e.* abundance; and in Silius's (6. 308) “*durus facilem per inhospita ducere vitam.*” an example of the other. In our text, and in the second Georgic, the word seems to preserve its true character of mean between the two extremes, and to signify *enough*, neither too much nor too little, the golden mean of simplicity and moderation. Compare Capitol. *Vita Anton. Pii*, 2: “*ob nimiam libertatem et vivendi facilitatem*” [*too easy a manner of life*] (where “*nimiam*” is added to “*facilitatem*” in

order to express prodigality), and Xenophon, *Cyrop.* 2 (ed. Hutchins. p. 55): *Αζονόαντες δε οι Περσαι εφομισαν, ει παρακαλουμενοι ωστε ια ομοια ποροντες των αυτων τυγχανειν, μη θελησουσι ιαβια ποιειν, δικαιοσ αν δια παντος τον αυτος αμυχανοντες βιοτειν* [*omnem deinde aetatem in rerum inopia et egestate acturos*] (where *αμυχανοντες βιοτειν*, the exact equivalent of *in-facilem*, i. e. *difficilem victu*, expresses *poverty*, “*res angusta domi*”). But why did the horse’s head signify simple food, a primitive patriarchal life? Plainly because the horse’s own food is simple, that which is supplied by nature, that most *facilis* of all the victus which the “*iustissima tellus fundit*,” viz., grass; plainly because the horse lives by nature in, and loves, grassy plains, Hor. *Epist.* 1. 7. 41:

“non est aptus equis Ithacae locus, ut neque planis
porrectus spatii, neque multae prodigus herbae.”

The horse’s head, therefore, while on the one hand indicating (see below) that the Tyrian settlers would there become a nation *EGREGIAM BELLO*, indicated on the other hand that their life there would be simple and patriarchal, rather among grassy pastures than rich cornfields; and we find such patriarchal, such pastoral life, of the Carthaginians actually depicted on the shield of Hannibal, Sil. 2. 437:

“lactior at circa facies, agitata ferarum
agmina venatu, et caelata mapalia fulgent.
nec procul usta eufem nigri soror horrida Mauri
assuetas patrio mulcet sermone leaenas,
it Liber campi pastor, cui sine sine ullo
invetitur saltus penetrat pecus: omnia foenum
armenti vigilem patris de more sequuntur:
gaesaque, latratorque Cydon, fectumque, forique
in silicis venis et fistula nota iuvenis.”

Compare the simple-living patriarchal Scythians of Hom. *II.* 13. 1:

Ζεὺς δ' εἰπε οὐρ Τρώας τε καὶ Ἑκτορα νηῶσι πελάσας,
τοὺς μὲν καὶ παρὰ τῆσι λόφοις ἵ' ἔχουσιν καὶ οἴκων
πολλῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μέλλιν τρέφουσιν οὐκ κτήνῳ,
νοσφίην ἐφ' ἑλλοπόλοισιν ἄρουρα καὶ βοσκήματα κτήν,
Μυῖον τ' ὠχρεμέζον, καὶ ὠκύναντα Παιονόεσσιν,
γλαυτομέζον, ἱππὸν τε, δεικνύσμενον ἀνθρώποις,

and observe how like (and as if Virgil, while painting his picture, had Homer's before him), are Jupiter turning his "bright eyes" from Greek and Trojan hosts, and fixing them on equestrian Thracians and hand-to-hand fighting Mysians, and milk-eating Hippemolgi, and Jupiter (verse 227) surveying sea and land from the height of heaven and at last fixing his eyes on the new Libyan kingdom, the BELLO EGREGIAM ET FACILEM VICTU PER SAECULA GENTEM. Further, that the connexion of the horse in the minds of the Romans was not with cornfields, abundant harvests and riches (how could the emblem of war be at the same time the emblem of abundance?) but with grass and grassy uncultivated pastures is placed beyond doubt by the fact that not the horse and cornfields or corn, but the horse and grassy fields or grass, were sacred to Mars; and that Thrace, a grassy, not a corn-producing country, was famous for its horses, its mounted Amazons, its chariot of Mars, and was even the country of Mars himself. Compare Liv. 2. 5: "Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti, Martius deinde campus fuit;" Dionys. Halicarn. *Antiq. Rom.* 5. 13: *Τορτο* [the Campus Martius] *δε Ἀρεὸς ὑπαρχεῖν ἱερὸν οἱ προτερον ἐψηφισαντο, ἡλετοῖς τε λειμῶνα, καὶ νεοῖς ἀσχοῦσι τὰς ἐνοπλίους μελείας γυμνασίον ἐπιτιθέονται. εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦτου ἱερὸν ἦν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε [Martis]. Ταρκυνίος δὲ σφειτερισάμενος ἐσπείρεν αὐτό. μεγίστον δ' ἡγοῦμαι τοῦτου τεμμηρίου εἶναι τὸ παραχθέν ὑπο τῶν ὑπατῶν τότε περὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ καρπούς. ἀπαντὰ γὰρ ἐπιτρεψάντες τῷ δήμῳ τὰ τῶν τιραννῶν ἀγεῖν τε καὶ φερεῖν, τὸν ἐν τοῦτω γενομένον τῷ πεδίῳ σίτον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀλώσιν ἐπὶ κείμενον, τὸν τ' ἐπὶ τοῖς καλαμοῖς καὶ τὸν ἤδη κατειργασμένον, οὐκ ἐπείρυσθαι οὐδενὶ φερεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξαγίστον τε καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἐπιτιθέειν εἰς οἰκίας εἰσενεχθῆναι, εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καταβάλλειν ἐψηφισάντο.*

BELLO EGREGIAM GENTEM. The horse's head indicated a warlike people, **not** merely because the horse is in general emblematic of war (3. 539:

. . . "bellum, o terra hospita, portas:
bello, armantur equi; bellum haec armenta minantur."

Georg. 2. 115: "Bellator equus." *Aen.* 9. 777:

"semper equos atque arma virum pugnascue canebat."

Ovid, *Heroid.* 16. 351 (Paris to Helen):

"finge tamen, si vis, ingens consurgere bellum;
et mihi sunt vires, et mea tela nocent;
nec minor est Asiae, quam vestrae copia terrae,
illa viris dives, dives abundat equis."

Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 97: θυμοειδὲς καὶ πολεμικὸν καὶ Ἀργίον
ο ἵππος ἐστὶ), **but** because the head found was the head of
a war horse—ACRIS EQUI. (Compare 8. 3:

"utque acres concussit equos, utque impulit arma."

Ovid, *Met.* 3. 704:

"ut fremit acer equus, cum bellicus acre canoro
signa dedit tubicen, pugnaeque adsumit amorem."

Appian, *de Venat.* 1. 194:

τοιοὺς μοι βίαντοι κρατερὴν θηρίων ἐννῶ
θυμῶν, στυγερὸς, ἀρητός, οὐβριμὸς ἵππος.)

The horse, then, being the emblem both of war and of a simple pastoral life, and the "acer equus" the emblem of war—the CAPUT ACRIS EQUI pointed out to martial, and, at the same time, pastoral settlers, that the place they had found was just the place for them: that there they would thrive and be happy PER SÆCULA. But Festus informs us that the Romans, who were indeed a martial, but had long, long ceased to be either a simple or a pastoral people, offered up a horse in sacrifice in the Campus Martius annually at "harvest-home," and I am asked, "Does not this practice of the Romans, connecting as it does the horse with the harvest, show that the horse is not the emblem of 'facilis victu' in the sense in which I have taken the words, as expressive of a simple, patriarchal, pastoral life, but in the sense assigned to them by Servius, viz., as expressive of fulness, richness, plenty, 'divitem, copiosam?'" A glance at the words of Festus will show that this is not the case, and that this sacrifice by the Romans of a horse annually at "harvest-home" only goes to confirm, and very strongly too, the explanation I have just given of the omen presented to the Tyrian settlers (*in voce "Panis"*): "Panibus redimibant caput equi immolati Idibus Octobribus in Campo Martio quia id sacrificium fiebat ob

frugum eventum quod hic bello, bos frugibus pariendis est aptus.” The conclusion deducible from these words is not that the Romans offered up a horse in gratitude for their harvest, but that being a warlike people they offered up a horse (“quod hic bello aptus”) and that they crowned the horse’s head with loaves of bread, as a sign of the warlike people’s thankfulness for the abundant harvest (“bos frugibus pariendis est aptus”). The horse alone had signified, as in our text, martial valour, and easily provided, *i. e.*, simple, pastoral food; but the Romans had received not simple pastoral food, but a rich harvest, and to signify this they crowned the horse’s head with loaves of bread.

450—451.

HIC TEMPLUM IUNONI INGENS SIDONIA DIDO
CONDEBAT DONIS OPULENTUM ET NUMINE DIVAE

TEMPLUM IUNONI INGENS. Compare Prosper. Aquitan. *de Promiss. et Praedict. Dei*, 3. 38: “Apud Africam Carthagine Caelestis inesse ferebant templum* nimis amplum, omnium deorum suorum aedibus vallatum. Cuius platea lithostrata, pavimento ac pretiosis columnis et moenibus decorata, prope in duobus fere millibus passuum protendebatur. Cum diutius clausum incuria, spinosa virgulta circumseptum obruerent, velletque populus Christianus usui verae religionis vindicare, dracones aspidesque illic esse ob custodiam templi gentilis populus clamitabat. Quo magis Christiani fervore succensi, ea

* The temple was dedicated by Aurelius (Pontifex) after the year A.D. 399, in which year Honorius published his edict giving all the Pagan temples over to the Christian Church. See Admon. prefixed to the alleged work of Prosper, in which *admonitio* it is stated that this work, *de Promissionibus et Praedictionibus Dei*, is not by Prosper Aquitanus, but by some other hand, “incerti auctoris.” It is, however, assigned by Cassiodorus to Prosper. The author of the “Admonitio” thinks the work was written about 450 A.D. by some one whose name has been entirely lost.

facilitate omnia amoverunt illaesi, qua templum suo vero caelesti regi et domino consecrarent. Nam cum sancta Paschae sollemnis ageretur festivitas, collecta illic et undique omni curiositate etiam adveniens multitudo sacerdotum multorum, pater et dignae memoriae nominandus antistes Aurelius, Caelestis iam patriae civis, cathedram illic loco Caelestis et habuit et sedit. Ipse [viz., Prosper Aquitanus] tunc aderam cum sociis et amicis, atque (ut se adolescentium aetas impatiens circumquaque vertebat) dum curiosi singula quaeque pro magnitudine inspicimus, mirum quoddam et incredibile nostro se ingressit aspectui, titulus aeneis grandioribusque literis in frontispicio templi conscriptus: AURELIUS PONTIFEX DEDICAVIT. Hunc legentes populi mirabantur. Praesago tunc spiritu acta quae praescius dei ordo certo isto fine concluderat," &c.

CONDEBAT. "PRO CONDEBAT fortasse malis scriptum *condiderat*; et tum iam exaedificatum fuisse id templum persuadent ea, quae praeterea de eo commemorat poeta. Nempe posuit CONDEBAT respiciens ad praegressa. Ad ea relatum *condiderat* significaret conditum esse hoc templum *ante* effossum caput equi; CONDEBAT significat *propter* effossum Didonem cepisse consilium eius condendi; ergo ista res effecit, ut ibi conderet templum," Wagner (1861). This is—like so many of Wagner's explanations (see *Quaest. Virgil.* passim)—a mere fine drawing, a splitting of hairs. CONDEBAT, and **not** *condiderat*, merely because the temple was not yet finished, because Dido was (still) building it; and so Dietsch: "In quo condendo occupata erat Dido." Compare 11. 246:

"ille urbem Argyripam, patriae cognomine gentis,
victor Gargani condebat Iapygis arvis."

DONIS OPULENTUM ET NUMINE DIVAE. "Aut simulacrum quoque aureum fuit, et *numen* pro *simulacro* posuit [which is the opinion of Heyne: 'NUMINE cum Servio accipio de simulacro deae ex auro aliave pretiosa materia facto, quod *to* OPULENTUM postulare videtur'], aut ostendere vult plenum esse praesentia numinis templum," Servius. This latter is the opinion of Wagner (1861): "NUMINE, per numen ad ferendam opem scilicet praesentissimum; DONIS, per dona propterea

oblata." Numen is never *simulacrum*, is always, when applied to godhead, either the godhead's self-originating, irresponsible will and pleasure, or by abstraction the godhead itself, denominated numen from its principal character, viz., that of a self-originating, irresponsible will and pleasure. See Rem. on "quo numine laeso," 1. 12; and "numine Iunonis," 1. 52, and "numine nostro," 2. 396. It being impossible that the word should have this latter meaning in the present instance, being in the present instance joined with DIVAE, and "the deity of the deity" being nonsense, it remains that numen, in the present instance, is the quality or character, *i. e.* the self-originating irresponsible will and pleasure, DIVAE, of the goddess; and Servius's second explanation is the only true one. Nor does the junction of NUMINE with OPULENTUM present any obstacle to this interpretation; for, on the one hand, the junction of the second substantive with the adjective need not be so very strict (compare verse 535:

. . . "potens armis atque ubere glebae."

where "potens" is joined so much less strictly in the sense with "ubere" than with "armis"); and, on the other hand, opulentus is a term of very general application, and by no means limited to opulence in precious metals and stones (Sall. *Bell. Jug.* 57 (ed. Dietsch): "Id oppidum [Zama], in campo situm, magis opere quam natura munitum erat, nullius idoneae rei egens, armis virisque opulentum." 8. 475:

"sed tibi ego ingentes populos opulentaque regnis
iungere castra paro."

Stat. *Theb.* 6. 91:

"silva . . . largae qua non opulentior umbrae
Argolicos inter saltusque educata Lycaeos
extulerat supra astra caput"

(where the opulence is only of shadow). Paulin. *De Vit. S. Martini* (of Saint Martin refusing the royal presents):

. . . "sed nil de mundi sumere censu
mens opulenta Deo voluit, terrena relinquens
praemia, et aeterni recondens munera Christi."

where we have, precisely, the *OPULENTUM NUMINE* of our text and even the two sorts of opulence). Nor let the reader be so simple as to imagine an incongruity between *DONIS* and *NUMINE*. On the contrary, no two things in the world are more congruous, go more invariably together: where there is no numen there are no dona, where there are no dona there is no numen. Shrines, temples, and even systems of religion, are worldly rich in the direct ratio of their spiritual richness, and spiritually rich in the direct ratio of their worldly richness. Juno especially drove a good trade; if she was prodigal of her numen it was not for nothing. Hear Apuleius (*Florid.* 2. 15), of her temple in Samos: “*Enimvero fanum Iunonis antiquitus famigeratum. . . . Ibi donarium deae perquam opulentum: plurima auri et argenti ratio, in lancibus, speculis, poculis et cuiuscemodi utensilibus. Magna etiam vis aeris, vario effigiati, veterrimo et spectabili opere.*” And who doubts that Juno’s temple at Samos was not as “*opulentum numine*” as it was “*opulentum donis?*” who does not from the very bottom of his heart pity the Phineus of Apollonius Rhodius (2. 236:

. . . ο πρην ποτ’ επικλυτος ανδρασι Φινευς
ολβω μαντοσυνη τε),

whom the ugly Harpies would not allow to enjoy the riches which the numen he interpreted brought flowing to him in such abundance (2. 184:

. ου δε γανυσθαι
εια απειρεσιωσιν ονειασιν, οσσα οι κει
θεσφατα πευδομενοι περιναυεται οικαδ’ αγειρον)?

—Who blames heathen Titus for consulting the Jewish oracle in the rich temple in Syria (*Tacit. Hist.* 2. 4: “*Titus spectata opulentia donisque regum, quaeque alia laetum antiquitatibus Graecorum genus incertae vetustati adfingit, de navigatione primum consuluit. Postquam pandi viam, et mare prosperum accepit, de se per ambages interrogat, caesis compluribus hostiis. Sostratus (sacerdotis id nomen erat) ubi laeta et congruentia exta, magnisque consultis annuere deam videt, pauca in praesens et solita respondens, petito secreto, futura*

aperit")? or does not find in the refusal to have anything to do with the numen of the bare walls of the Libyan Ammon (Lucan, 9. 519:

"pauper adhuc deus est, nullis violata per aevum
divitiis delubra tenens; morumque priorum
numen Romano templum defendit ab auro")

a new proof of the good sense of Cato? Nor let the reader precipitately condemn this mutual attraction, this *entente cordiale*, between "numen" and "dona." Have we not the same, and no less strong, between *Αρετη* herself and the universal magnet? Callim., *Hymn. ad Ior.*, concludes with the words:

οὐτ' ἀρετῆς ἀτερὸς ὀλβος ἐπιστάται ἀνδρῶς ἀξέειν,
οὐτ' ἀρετῇ ἀγένοιο. δίδου δ' ἀρετῇ τε καὶ ὀλβον.

And where is the virtuous philosopher, legislator, jurisconsult, diplomatist, captain, scholar, poet, or patriot, who does not feel himself as incomplete, as but half a man, without wealth, as the augur, pontifex, or divine?

With *OPULENTUM NUMINE* compare also Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 29 (ed. Brunck):

. . . μέλας δ'
ἀδῆς στενωγμοῖς καὶ γούσις πλουτιζέται.

Prudent. *Peristeph.* 3:

"proximus occiduo locus est,
qui tulit hoc decus egregium [Virginem Eulaliam],
urbe potens, populis locuples;
sed mage sanguine martyrii,
virgineoque potens titulo,"

and our author's own (10. 201) "Mantua, dives avis," and (4. 36) "Africa terra triumphis dives," and Ovid's (*Met.* 6. 451):

"ecce venit magno dives Philomela paratu,
divitior forma."

And with *DONIS OPULENTUM ET NUMINE*, Callim. *Hymn. in Dian.* 248 (of the temple of Diana at Ephesus):

κείνο δὲ τοι μετεπειτα περὶ βροτῶς εὐρυ θεμεθλον
δωμηθή. του δ' οὐτι θεωτερον οἴσεται ἤως
οὐδ' ἀγνείοτερον· ρεῖα κεν Πυθωνα παρελθού,

where *θεωτερον* corresponds to the *OPULENTUM NUMINE*, and *αφνειοτερον* to the *OPULENTUM DONIS* of our text. And with *HIC TEMPLUM CONDEBAT OPULENTUM*, Hom. *Hymn. in Apoll.* 52: *θεοθαί τ' ἐν πλοῦσι νηὶν*.

NUMINE DIVAE. Had there been no *DIVAE*, it might have been doubted whether the "numen" spoken of was the numen of the place itself (as Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 295:

. . . "niger illius umbra,
quo posses viso dicere, numen inest."

Val. Flacc. 3. 428:

"utque metum numenque loco, sacramque quietem
addidit."

Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3. 353:

"inde timor numenque loco nemorisque senectae
parcitur")

or the numen of Juno. The addition of *DIVAE* removes all doubt.

452-453.

AEREA CUI GRADIBUS SURGEBANT LIMINA NEXAEQUE
AERE TRABES FORIBUS CARDO STRIDEBAT AENIS

VAR. LECT.

* *NEXAE* I *Rom.*, *Pal.*, *Med.* II § 3. III *Rome*, 1469, 1473; *Ven.* 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; *Mil.* 1475, 1492; *P. Manut.*; *D. Heins.*; *Phil.*; *Burm.*; *Heyne*; *Pott.*; *Jahn*; *Thiel*; *Dorph.*; *Wagn.* (1832, 1841, 1845); *Ribb.*
VINCTAE II § 3, viz. *Aug. A.*

* I have satisfied myself by the most careful examination that the reading of the *Vat. Fr.* is *NEXA*, not *NEXAE*, as erroneously represented by Bottari. Misled by the erroneous representations of Bottari, that the reading of this manuscript was *NEXAE*, I wrote, in favour of that reading, that long diatribe in the *Classical Journal* (No. xx.), London, July, 1848, which has unfortunately been but too well received, and made too many converts.

NIXAE III Probus (Keil's ed., p. 9, l. 29): "Multi NIXAE legunt, non NEXAE;" Servius; Burm. (in MS.); Catrou; Voss; Forbiger (3rd. ed.); Ladewig; Peerlk.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Lect. Virg.*, and *Praest.*).

NIXAE. The mistake has arisen from the circumstance that the horizontal strokes of the E—always, and especially the bottom one, very short in the ancient letter—have become, by long process of time, and by much rubbing, so obliterated, that the letter, except upon very close examination indeed, presents quite the appearance of I. Many E's in this MS. have become equally indistinct, through the operation of time and use, and would be equally mistaken for I's, if the mistake were not rendered impossible, *either* by their occurring where no I can have place, as in Acathes, l. 660, *or* by the effaced parts of the letter having been restored by a later hand, as in ET, l. 683, "labores," l. 601, *or* by both causes operating together, as in "Phoenissa," l. 674. and "Cythera," l. 684, where the E first effaced, so as to appear to be I, is yet never mistaken for I—first, because the word requires E; and, secondly, because the effaced parts have been restored.

The reading NIXAE recommended in 1848 in the *Classical Museum*, and in 1852 in my "Twelve Years' Voyage," has been generally adopted by editors posterior to those dates. I have to express my regret for the injury which I have thus been the means of inflicting on the Virgilian text. Deceived myself, viz., by the representation of Bottari, that the reading of the Vatican Fragment was NIXAE, I did not hesitate to adopt that reading; nay, I went farther, and recommended it to editors and readers of Virgil, as the only reading out of which an appropriate sense could be elicited. My example and my arguments produced only too much effect, and the editions of Forbiger (1852), Haupt, Wagner (1861), and Conington all read NIXAE, several of them not merely quoting

Immediately on the publication of that article NIXAE was adopted by Forbiger, who was then publishing his third edition; soon after by Ladewig; then by Haupt; then by Wagner: "NIXAE recepit Ladewigius, item Hauptius, nunc ego quoque desero Medicei auctoritatem in quo est NEXAE" (*Lect. Virg.*) of course and as usual, ignoring me altogether; and very lately by Conington. Since the above observations were written, I have again, December, 1864, examined the MS., and am again convinced that the reading is NEXAE.

NIXAE as the reading of the Vatican Fragment, but referring specially to the article in my "Twelve Years' Voyage." Having since that date, on two different occasions—namely, in 1857 and 1864—collated the Vatican Fragment, and satisfied myself by a very careful examination of each line, that the reading of that MS. is NEXAE, **not** NIXAE, and that what has been mistaken by Bottari for an I is in reality an E worn down by time, I feel bound thus openly, and without disguise, to acknowledge my **mistake**, and, as far as I can, make amends for it by proposing an interpretation on the basis of the reading NEXAE. The two lines contain a description of the *ianua*, *door*, or *entrance* of the temple. I use the three words, *ianua*, *door*, or *entrance*, because there is no word in any language with which I am acquainted to express the general idea of *entrance*, definitely and explicitly, without resting on the parts, and for want of such specific word for the whole compound, a word which properly expresses a part (*ex. gr.* postes, *ianua*, *door*, *entrance*, *thür*, *uscio*; *ἑρμα*, *οὐδός*, *πύλη*) is used to express the whole. The two lines, I say, contain a description of the whole door or entrance. The passage, or opening into the building, being the essential thing—the *sine qua non*—inasmuch as equally affording *entrata ed uscio*, whether there is any means of temporarily closing it or not, is placed first. It is called LIMINA, from the limen, or sill, which formed the line of separation between inside and outside, and which, being always elevated, had to be stepped over by the person entering or coming out. From this limen the whole opening, the whole ostium, comprehending the two sides, or sideposts and lintel, came to be called limina, a term sometimes extended, so as to mean not only the whole door, with all its parts, but the whole house; but in our text used to express the portal alone, *i. e.*, sill, sideposts, lintel, and included opening, considered as a whole. Compare 8. 362:

. . . "haec," inquit, 'limina victor
Alcides subiit; haec illum regia cepit,'"

came in at this door; passed under this lintel—the meaning, as

there can be no doubt, the words being the words of Evander to Aeneas as he led him into his palace, 8. 359:

“talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
 pauperis Evandri

 ut ventum ad sedes: ‘Haec,’ inquit, ‘limina victor
 Alcides subiit; haec illum regia cepit.’

 Dixit, et angusti subter fastigia tecti
 ingentem Aeneam duxit.”

Ovid, *Met.* 12. 44 (of the palace of Fame):

“innumerosque aditus, ac mille foramina tectis
 addidit, et nullis inclusit limina portis,
 nocte dieque patent”

[the portals stand open day and night, inasmuch as they have no valves, postes or fores, stops or impediments of any kind wherewith to close those parts]. The real essential **entrance**, the LIMINA, are described as AEREA, and as raised on steps (GRADIBUS)—AEREA CUI GRADIBUS SURGEBANT LIMINA. The picture thus presented to us is that of a brazen portal elevated on steps—in other words, of a building elevated on steps, and having a brazen portal. Not one word has yet been said of closing this portal. We see the steps going up to the building, we see the building at the elevation of the steps, and we see its brazen portal. Exactly similar at the present day is the great portal of the Baptistery in Florence; threshold, lintel, and side-posts, all of solid brass. The steps alone are wanting, a want to be accounted for by the elevation of the level of the piazza outside, at present so much above the level of the floor of the church that you actually *descent* from the piazza into the interior.

But it is not enough that a building should have a limina, an entrance, a way in and out—there should be means of occasionally closing this entrance. These means are described in the next clause; they are NEXAE AERE TRABES—TRABES, put together with brass, *i. e.* wooden TRABES; planks united together with brass, brass-plated (“*aeratas*,” 11. 481); a stop or barricade for the passage, made of wooden planks, strengthened with brass. We have now the LIMINA, the open passage, portal, or entrance,

and we have a brass-plated planking for temporarily closing or stopping it up. But neither is this enough; the means of stopping it up are not yet in their place; the door is not yet hung, nor do we yet know what shape it is, or whether large or small. It is the business of the next clause to inform us of this. This clause informs us by its *CARDO* that the stop or impediment was hung; by its *FORIBUS*, that it was in the shape of folding doors, as we say, *i. e.* that it had a right hand and a left hand *flügel* meeting each other in the middle; and by its *STRIDEBAT*, not merely that these *fores* turned on hinges, but that they were in actual use, and not merely in actual use, but of great size and weight, and so making a loud jarring noise (*STRIDEBAT*) when they were opened or closed. Compare 2. 479:

“ipse inter primos correpta dura bipenni
limina perrumpit, postesque a cardine vellit
aeratos; iamque excisa trabe firma cavavit
robora, et ingentem lato dedit ore fenestram”

(where we have the “*limina*” (entrance) closed with its stop or impediment, and therefore “*dura*,” and requiring to be broken open (“*perrumpit*”); the stop or impediment itself (“*postes*”) (the *FORES* of our text) filling up the “*limina*,” and described as “*aeratos*” (the *NEXAE AERE* of our text), and requiring to be torn away (“*vellit a*”); the *trabes* of which the stop or impediment (the “*aerati postes*”) consisted; and finally the material the “*robora*” (hard wood), of which the *trabes* themselves consisted). Apollon. Rhod. 1. 784 (of Jason):

... ο δ' ἐπὶ χθονος ὁμματ' ἐφείσας
νίσσεται ἀπ' ἡλεγεῖως, οὐδ' ἀγλαὰ δομαθ' ἰκάνεν
εὐρηπύλης· ἀνέσαν δὲ πύλας προφανεῖντι θεοαἰνῶναι
δίκλιδας, εὐτυχεῖοισιν ἀρηρεμέναις στανιδέσσιν

(where *πύλας* (*portam, ianuam*) corresponds as nearly as possible to the *LIMINA* of our text, *δίκλιδας* to the *FORIBUS*, and *στανιδέσσιν* to the *TRABES*). Hom. *Il.* 12. 120:

... οὐδὲ πύλησιν
εὐρ' ἐπιτεκλιμέναις στανίδας καὶ μακρὸν ὄχηα,
ἀλλ' ἀναπτεπταμένας ἔχον ἀνέρες

(where again we have the *πυλῆσιν*, the gate, doorway, or opening; the *σανίδας*, trabes—constituting the stop or impediment—and these *σανίδας*, not *επιτεκλεισμενας*, *closed*, but *αναπεπταμενας*, *wide open*). Hom. *Il.* 12. 453:

ὡς ἔκτωρ ἰδὺς σανίδων φερε λααν αἰρας,
αἰ ρα πύλας εἰρυντο πνυκα στιβαρῶς κραρνιας,
δικλιδάς, ὑψηλάς· δοιοι δ' ἐντοσθεν ὄχης
εἶχον ἐπημοῖβοι, μίᾳ δὲ κλῆις ἐπαρῇ.
στῆ δὲ μάλ' ἐγγυς ἰων, καὶ ἐρείσασμενος βάλε μέσσης,
εὐ διαβας
ῥηξέ δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρους θύκρους· πέσι δὲ λίθος εἰσω
βριθουσνῆ, μέγα δ' ἀμφοῖς πύλαι μύκρον, οὐδ' ἀρ' ὄχης
ἐσχέθειν, σανίδες δὲ διετμαγεν ἀλλυθὺς ἀλλῇ
λαὸς ὑπαι ῥιπῆς

(where we have the *σανίδες* (trabes) of the closed *πύλας* *δικλιδάς* (limina, fores) forcibly separated from each other, and torn from the hinges). See also Hom. *Il.* 18. 275; 21. 535; *Od.* 2. 344; 21. 164; 22. 174; in all which places there is further mention of these *σανίδες*.

NEXAE AERE TRABES, planks twined round with bronze, planks round which strips of bronze were twisted or twined—whether in a circular form, like bracelets, or in a spiral form, no matter. In either form they served the double purpose of ornamenting and strengthening; Ovid, *Met.* 3. 664:

“impediunt hederæ remos, nexuque recurvo
serpunt.”

Ibid. 15. 659:

“hunc modo serpentem, baculum qui nexibus ambit,
perspice.”

Ibid. 4. 490:

. . . “Erinnys,
nexaque vipereis distendens brachia nodis
caesariem excussit.”

The first question which presents itself to the student of this is: what is LIMINA? Hardly, he says to himself, the *sill* or *threshold* proper, else it had been not LIMINA but limen. It can only be the doorcase, or parts forming the portal or entrance, and consisting of the two LIMINA (the limen infe-

rum and limen superum, and two postes). **A reference to 2. 479:**

. . . "correpta dura bipenni
limina perrumpit;"

4. 202:

. . . "variis florentia limina sertis;"

3. 351:

. . . "Scaeeaeque amplector limina portae;"

Claud. *Nupt. Honor. et Mar.* 90:

"beryllo paries, et iaspide lubrica surgunt
limina, despectusque solo calcatur achates"

[the lofty doorcase is slippery with jasper, *i. e.* is of smoothly-polished jasper; the epithet "lubricus," peculiarly proper for the limen inferius or limen properly so-called, being extended to the whole four limina constituting the opening or entrance] **establishes** the conjecture. These LIMINA, we are informed, were of bronze (AEREA), and not only were of bronze, but on the top of a flight of steps (GRADIBUS SURGEBANT). The next question which presents itself is: what are the TRABES? With Heyne and Conington, the doorposts? No; for **first**, the doorposts have been already spoken of under the general term LIMINA; and **secondly**, the trabes are very expressly distinguished from the postes by Statius, *Silv.* 1. 3. 34 (of the villa of Vopiscus):

"quid primum, mediumve canam; quo fine quiescam?
auratasne trabes, an Mauros undique postes,
an picturata lucentia marmora vena
mirer, an emissas per cuncta cubilia lymphas?"

The trabes are the *girders*, the great *cross-beams* supporting the roof; Hor. *Od.* 2. 18:

"non trabes Hymettiae
premunt columnas ultima recisas
Africa."

Claud. *in Rufin.* 1. 162:

. . . "et niveae (mirum!) coepere columnae
ditari, subitoque trabes lucere metallo."

Claud. *Nupt. Honor. et Mar.* 88:

. . . "trabibusque smaragdis
supposuit caesas hyacinthi rupe columnas."

Sil. 3. 17 (of the temple of Hercules in Libya):

“vulgatum, nec cassa fides, ab origine fani
impositas durare trabes, solasque per aevum
condentum novisse manus.”

Sen. *Thyest.* 645:

. . . “fulget hic turbae capax
immane tectum, cuius auratas trabes
variis columnae nobiles maculis ferunt.”

Lucan. 10. 3 (of Cleopatra's banqueting room):

“ipse locus templi, quod vix corruptior aetas
exstruat, instar erat; laqueataque tecta ferebant
divitias, crassumque trabes absconderat aurum.”

Virg. *Aen.* 2. 448:

“auratasque trabes, veterum decora alta parentum,
devolvunt.”

And especially Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 1. 242:

. . . “trabibus solidatur aenis
culmen,”

—in all which instances, “trabes” are, very plainly, the great cross-beams supporting the roof; and in the last instance, as in our text, are of bronze.

But why are the girders NEXAE AERE, while the portal, the LIMINA, are simply AEREA? NEXAE AERE is descriptive of the structure of the girders, viz., that they are not solid beams of bronze, but hollow, and consisting of bronze plates riveted together. And why is the NEXAE to be so understood? why are the TRABES not solid beams of bronze, but hollow, and consisting of bronze plates riveted together, viz., so as to form (each of them) a three-sided open, or four-sided closed, canal or tube? For the simple reason that such precisely was the structure of the trabes or girders of the portico of the Pantheon in Rome (Platner, *Beschreibung Roms*, p. 508 (speaking of the girders of the portico of the Pantheon, taken down by Pope Urban VIII., in order to melt them, and form out of the bronze the *baldachino* over the high altar in St. Peter's, and cannon for the castle of

St. Angelo): "Ueber diesen gewölben erhob sich ein dachstuhl mit 40 fuss langen balken [*trabes*] von vergoldetem erz, von denen jeder, nach dem bericht von augenzeugen, aus drei starken, mit nägeln verbundenen platten bestand und daher gewissermassen wie ein canal gebildet war." Guhl und Koner, *Das Leben der Griechen und Römer*, 2. 32 (of the Pantheon of Agrippa in Rome): "Das dach der vorhalle wurde von balken getragen, die aus erz bestanden und einer zeichnung des Serlio zufolge nach einem in der heutigen zeit zu grosser bedeutung gelangten princip construiert gewesen zu sein scheinen, indem sie nicht massiv, sondern aus erzplatten zu jenen viereckigen röhren zusammengenietet [*riveted together*, ΝΕΧΑΕ] waren, welche die neuere mechanik in grösserem massstabe ausführt und zu brücken u. s. w. verwendet"), and the Pantheon being either just built, or in process of building, at the time Virgil was writing his Aeneid, opportunity was taken by the poet to compliment, not only Agrippa, the builder, but through Agrippa, Augustus himself, the builder's father-in-law, by allusion to the new building with its bronze limina, its bronze fores, approached by a flight of steps, and its bronze girders, the latter consisting of bronze laminae, riveted together so as to form (open or closed) canals of bronze.

ΝΕΧΑΕ ΑΕΡΕ, not united *with* bronze, *i. e.*, by means of bronze rivets or clasps, or other joinings of bronze, but united *of* bronze, *i. e.*, consisting of plates of bronze riveted or otherwise united together. Compare Epigr. Agathiae Scholastici, *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 204:

ουκετι που, τλημον, σκοπελων μεταναστρια περδιξ,
πλεκτος λεπταλευς οικος εχει σε λυγοις

[πλεκτος οικος λυγοις, cage, dwelling, interwoven of withes, *viminibus*, *i. e.*, interwoven of withes]. Ovid, *Heroid.* 19. 134:

"et nondum nexis angue Medusa comis"

[not Medusa's hair knotted *with* snake, but Medusa's hair knotted *of* snakes, Medusa's hair of knotted snakes]. Ovid, *Met.* 7. 412:

. . . "nexis adamante catenis,
Cerberon abstraxit"

(where "adamante" is the adamant, not which bound the chains together, but of which the chains consisted, and where "nexis adamante catenis" is the translation of Aeschylus's *αδαμαν-τοδετοισι*, *Prom. Vinc.* 148). Aesch. *Prom. Vinc.* 450 (ed. Schütz):

κοιτε πλινθιναις
δομους προσειλους ησαν

where *πλινθιναις* is "textae ex lateribus," not "*cum lateribus*." Prudent. *Peristeph.* 10. 886:

"iam nunc secandi doctus adsit artifex,
qui cuncta norit viscerum confinia,
vel nexa nervis disparare vincula"

(where "nervis" is the nerves of which the bonds are made, the nerves which form the substance of the bonds). Also Claud. *Laus Serenae*, 3:

"vile putas donum, solitam consurgere gemmis,
et rubro radiare mari, si floribus ornes
reginae regina comam"

[the hair dressed so as to seem to be a tower of gems, to rise above the head; all of gems, a structure of gems.] And finally compare Lactantius's riddle, Catena (*Sympos.* 5):

"nexa ligor ferro multos habitura ligatos,"

where "nexa ferro" is not linked *with* iron, but linked *of* iron, consisting of iron links.

The structure is not: CUI AEREA LIMINA GRADIBUS SURGEBANT NEXAEQUE [*erant*] AERE TRABES, but: CUI AEREA LIMINA NEXAEQUE AERE TRABES SURGEBANT GRADIBUS. The several parts of the temple at Carthage, viz., portal, door, and roof timbers, are set before the reader's eye by our poet for the same reason for which the several parts of the temple of Aesculapius, and even the statue of the god within, are mentioned by Ovid in his account of the shaking of that temple by the present deity, *Met.* 15. 671:

"adventuque suo signumque arasque foresque
marmoreumque solum fastigiaque aurea movit,"

for the same reason for which the several parts of his house are set before the eyes of the pontifices by Cicero in his oration, *pro domo* (ed. Lamb. p. 413): “non existimo . . . illos tam cupidos liminum meorum et columnarum et valvarum fuisse;” and again, *ibid.*: “qui parietibus, qui tectis, qui columnis, ac postibus meis, horrificum quoddam et nefarium omnique imbutum odio bellum intulistis,” viz., for the sake of graphic effect.

To the objection made by Conington to the foregoing elucidation of our text, viz., that it “introduces a particular about the rest of the building between two particulars about the door,” a sufficient answer will be found in the “introduction” by Cicero in his *Oratio pro domo sua*, quoted above, of a particular about the rest of the building, viz., the columns, not merely “between two particulars about the door,” but between the selfsame “two particulars about the door,” viz., between the particular of the limina and the particular of the fores.

459—460.

ARTIFICUMQUE MANUS INTER SE OPERUMQUE LABOREM
MIRATUR

VAR. LECT.

MIRATUR I *Med.* (Fogg.) II cod. Canon. (Butler). III Nonius; Serv., as appears from his gloss: “habebat artificum comparisonem;” Venise (1470); Aldus (1514); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Wakef.; Jahn; Wagn. (1832, 1841, 1861); Thiel; Süpfle; Forb.; Ribb.; Coningt.

MIRANTUR III Peerlk. (coni.).

It is of small consequence that I omitted to take, when I had the opportunity, the MS. readings of the word. There can be no reasonable doubt that they are unanimously MIRATUR.

Compare Plaut. *Mostell.* 101 (ed. Ritschl):

“aedes quum extemplo sunt paratae, expolitae, factae probe examussim, laudant fabrum atque aedis probant: sibi quisque inde exemplum expetant.”

ARTIFICUM MANUS, *i. e.* "pingendi rationem cuiusque artificis propriam, ergo varias variorum artificum picturas; INTER SE *sc.* comparans. Ab his distingues OPERUM LABOREM, aedem ipsam magnifice exstructam," Wagner (1845, 1849); "*opera* cum vulgo dicantur, quae statuariorum et caelatorum labore effecta sunt: MANUS ARTIFICUM picturas hic dici cum Servio putabimus," Wagner (1861). Both explanations are alike erroneous. ARTIFICUM MANUS is not specially the paintings, nor is OPERUM LABOREM **either** the sculptures and carvings **or** the temple itself. ARTIFICUM MANUS is the workmen's handiwork, *i. e.* the results of the workmen's handiwork, and OPERUM LABOREM is the labour these results cost. Compare *Georg.* 2. 155:

"adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem"

(where "operum laborem" is not a labour different from the "urbes" in the preceding part of the verse, but the labour of building those very urbes); *infra* 511:

. . . "operumque laborem
partibus aequabat iustis"

[*divided the labour of the works in fair proportions*]. The construction of the verse is thus, as the construction of Virgil's verses so often is, in the highest degree antithetical, OPERUM being opposed to ARTIFICUM and LABOREM to MANUS. It is as if Virgil had said: "The laborious execution of the works of the artists, or the laboriously executed (MANUS LABOREM) works of the artists (OPERUM, ARTIFICUM). Virgil does not enter into the minutiae; does not say whether the works were sculptures, or paintings, or architectural; speaks of them in the verse in the same general and indefinite manner (*viz.*, as works (OPERUM) the execution of which (MANUS) had cost much labour (LABOREM)) in which he had spoken of them in the word SINGULA in the verse but one preceding. Whilst Aeneas is going over the several masterpieces (SINGULA), admiring the execution of the artists, and the labour they had spent on their works, he sees (VIDET) *viz.*, among the works, of which he is admiring the laborious execution, and, no doubt, on the walls, a painted representation (PICTURA) of the Ilian battles, &c.

MANUS. The *hands*, i. e. the handiwork (compare Tacit. *Annal.* 1. 61: "Prima Vari castra lato ambitu, et dimensis principiis, trium legionum *manus* ostentabant") exactly as in Greek, *χειρ* and *παλαμη* (Pausan. 7, pp. 403 and 404: *η εν Σαμω Ηρα, και εν Αργει Σμιλιδος χειρες*. Compare Soph. *Philoct.* 1206:

. . . ως τινα δη ρεξης παλαμαν ποτε;)

and in English, *hand*. (Milt. *Par. Reg.* 4. 55:

"many a fair edifice besides
 thou may'st behold
 outside and inside both, pillars and roofs,
 carved work, the *hand* of famed artificers,
 in cedar, marble, ivory, or gold,"

(where "hand of famed artificers" seems to be Milton's translation of our author's ARTIFICUMQUE MANUS). Milton, *Par. Lost* 9. 437:

"among thick-woven arborets and flowers
 imbordered on each bank, the *hand* of Eve").

MANUS and moles are applied by Tacitus (*Germania*, 37) on a somewhat similar occasion, pretty nearly in the same manner as "manus" and "operum labor" by Virgil in our text: "Castrā ac spatia quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris *molem manus-*que gentis, et tam magni exitus fidem," where "molem" is the greatness and importance of the people, and "manus" the works they were able to execute.

INTER SE belongs to MANUS—exactly as, 9. 457, "inter se" belongs to "spolia;" exactly as, 2. 454, "inter se" belongs to "tectorum;" and exactly as, Liv. 29. 28 ("a meridie nebula ocepit, ita ut vix concursus navium inter se vitarent"), "inter se" belongs to "navium."

MANUS INTER SE, the *various hands*, the *several*, or *respective hands*, i. e., the handiworks of the respective artists, just as (α) "spolia inter se," several or respective spoils, viz., the belt of Remulus, the phalerae of Rhamnes, the helmet of Messapus and other spoils not particularly mentioned; (β) "tectorum inter se Priami," the several premises of Priam, those in which Priam himself and the several members of Priam's

family, dwelt respectively, viz., the house in which Priam dwelt himself, the house in which Hector dwelt, the house in which Paris dwelt, the house in which Polites dwelt, &c., **and** (c) "navium inter se," the several ships. In the whole three instances as well as in our text, the expression "inter se" is applied to *objects* forming a group, and indicates a certain relationship between those objects, precisely as in 8. 452:

"illi inter sese multa vi brachia tollunt,"

—and Sil. 8. 197: "dumque inter se mirantur," it is applied to *subjects* forming a group, and implies a certain relation between those *subjects*. The structure, therefore, is no unusual structure, the sense afforded by the text as it stands is appropriate, and there is **as little** occasion for MIRANTUR—the conjecture of Peerlkamp (DUMQUE INTER SE MIRANTUR), aiming to reduce the expression to the category of *subjects* connected with INTER SE, and for the attainment of this aim not hesitating to introduce a plural where only a singular is being talked of (AENEAS AUSUS, LUSTRAT, OPPERIENS, VIDET, CONSTITIT LACRYMANS, INQUIT; therefore also MIRATUR. Compare verse 498:

"haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur,
dum stupet, obtutuque haeret defixus in uno")

as there is for "intrans" the wholly arbitrary, not even so much as attempted-to-be-justified *sic placitum* of Ribbeck.

462.

ATRIDAS

VAR. LECT.

ATRIDAS III P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Wakef.; Wagn. (1861); Ribbeck.

ATRIDEM III Seneca (*Ep.* 104); La Cerda.

O Ver., St. Gall.

ATRIDAS. The two Atridae considered as one party. Compare Aesch. *Agam.* 40:

. . . Ηριамου
μεγας αντιδικος
Μενελαος αναξ ηδ' Αγαμεμνων

465—468.

SUNT HIC ETIAM SUA PRAEMIA LAUDI
 SUNT LACRYMAE RERUM ET MENTEM MORTALIA TANGUNT

 ANIMUM PICTURA PASCIT INANI

SUNT ETIAM HIC LACRYMAE, *i. e.* miseratio, RERUM; deflentur res, *i. e.* casus humani; sunt hic pectora quae lacrymas imper-
 tiant casibus et calamitatibus aliorum. ET MENTEM MORTALIA
 TANGUNT, et res humanae casusque, quibus iactari solent mor-
 tales, afficiunt hominum qui has terras inhabitant animos mise-
 ratione," Heyne, followed by Wagner, Voss, Jahn (who com-
 pares 2. 784, "lacrymas dilectae pelle Creusae"), and Forbiger.
 So the commentators, understanding SUNT, SUNT, to be co-ordi-
 nates, and supplying to the second SUNT the HIC ETIAM of the
 first. I object, firstly, that I know of no instance in which res
 without adjunct signifies res adversae, casus, and that we
 find "afflictis" added to it only ten lines previously, in order to
 give it such sense; secondly, that if this had been the meaning
 intended by our author, we should have expected the HIC ETIAM
 to be repeated; and, thirdly, that the words where they occur
 again, Venant. Fortun. *Poem.* 4. 26 (Epitaph. Vilithutae):

"heu lacrymae rerum, heu sors inimica virorum!
 cur placitura facis quae dolitura rapis?"

can by no possibility signify tears for misfortunes, but must
 signify tears of the world. And so I understand our text—
 "Tears are universal (RERUM), belong to the constitution of
 nature, and the evils of mortality (MORTALIA) move the human
 heart."

The verse SUNT LACRYMAE RERUM, ET MENTEM MORTALIA TAN-
 GUNT is thus **not** a further enunciation of the particular sym-
 pathy of the Tyrians with the Trojans, **but** a general reflec-
 tion concerning human sympathy, viz., that tears are part of
 the constitution of nature, and to be met with wherever there

are men. It is as if Æneas had said: "Behold Priam! Even *here* the misfortunes of the brave meet with sympathy, for sympathy is a part of human nature." Compare Coripp. *de Laud. Justin.* 1. 49:

"quid fundis lacrymas? rerum quid gaudia defles?"

[*the joy of the world*]: "Why do you lament that which all the world rejoices at?" viz., the death of your father, and your succession to the crown.

RERUM, *the world*. Compare Hor. *Sat.* 1. 9. 4: "dulcissime rerum" [sweetest man in the world]. Ovid, *Met.* 1. 213: "pulcherrime rerum" [finest man in the world]. Ovid, *Heroid.* 9. 107 (Dejanaira to Hercules): "maxime rerum" [greatest man in the world]. Ovid, *Met.* 13. 508 (Hecuba, of herself):

. . . "modo maxima rerum,
tot generis natisque potens"

[*the greatest woman in the world*]. Ovid, *Met.* 12. 502:

. . . "quid, quod fortissima rerum
in nobis natura duplex animalia iunxit?"

[*the bravest animals in the world*]. Ovid, *Met.* 11. 623:

"Somne, quies rerum; placidissime, Somne, deorum"

[*quiet of things, of the whole world*]. *Ibid.* 1. 380 (Pyrrha and Deucalion):

. . . "mersis fer opem, mitissima, rebus"

[*drowned world*]. Ovid, *Fast.* 6. 273 (of the earth):

"cumque sit in media rerum regione locata"

[*in the middle of things, i. e., of the world or universe*]. Ovid, *Met.* 15. 736:

"iamque caput rerum Romanam intraverat urbem."

Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 2. 2. 12:

"in rerum dominos, movimus arma deos."

Virg. *Aen.* 1. 286:

"Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam."

MENTEM TANGUNT. Compare *φρονος ανθρωπων*, Eurip. *Med.* 54:

MORTALIA, *the troubles of men*, of mortals; the incidents

of mortal men, of humanity, *τα θνητα* (Eurip. *Ion*, 969). The expression is a sufficiently common one. Compare Lucan, 2. 13: "et habent mortalia casus" [*al.* "et habet mortalia casus"]; Ovid, *Met.* 7. 525:

"dum visum mortale malum, tantaeque latebat
causa nocens cladis, pugnatum est arte medendi"

[as long as the disease was believed to be natural, not a visitation from heaven]. Immortalia is used similarly by Lucretius (5. 122):

"immortalia mortali sermone notantes"

[immortal things, *i. e.*, things not pertaining to humanity, nor subject to death, chance, decay, &c.]

ANIMUM PICTURA PASCIT INANI.—INANI, *unsubstantial*, of no use, which was nothing more than a picture. See Rem. on 5. 673; and compare *Georg.* 2. 285:

"non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem,"

where the sense is: "gratify the sight, and no more; afford no more substantial service than mere gratification of the sight."

474—475.

PRIMO QUAE PRODITA SOMNO

TYDIDES MULTA VASTABAT CAEDE CRUENTUS

"PRIMO SOMNO: prima parte noctis, ut (*Georg.* 1. 208) 'Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerat horas,' ut graviores ostenderet somnum. Aut: prima nocte, quia antea in Troia Rhesus non fuerat," Servius. The first of these interpretations has been adopted by Thiel, Wunderlich, Peerlkamp, and Forbiger; the second by La Cerda and Wagner (1861); the latter of whom observes, "PRIMO SOMNO, non prima parte noctis, qua somnus sane est altissimus (cui explicationi adversatur Homerus, *Il.* 10. 251, 253), sed prima nocte postquam ad Troiam venit et prius-

quam equi eius pabula gustassent Troiae.” Both interpretations are, as it seems to me, erroneous; the picture which Virgil wishes to place before his readers being that of Rhesus and his army asleep (Hom. *Il.* 10. 474: *Πησος δ’ ἐν μεσῶ εὐδε*), and, while asleep, attacked and slaughtered by Tydides. It is this picture, viz., that of Rhesus attacked and slain in his sleep by Ulysses and Tydides, which has been copied by Claudian in the comparison he has instituted (6 *Cons. Honor.* 477) between the open, manly, daylight exploits of Stilicho—

. . . “taciti qui nulla fraude soporis
ense palam sibi pandit iter”—

and the stealthy midnight maraudings of the two Greek chieftains (*ibid.* 470):

“nunc mihi Tydiden attollant carmina vatum,
quod iuncto fidens Ithaco patefacta Dolonis
indicio, dapibusque simul religataque somno
Thracia sopiti penetraverit agmina Rhesi,
Graiaque rettulerit captos ad castra iugales”

—a picture in which the sleep of Rhesus constitutes so important a feature that the painter immediately proceeds to set it a second time before your eyes, informing you that even if Rhesus had not been asleep, but wide-awake, he had still afforded to Tydides and Ulysses a much easier victory than Alaric afforded to Stilicho:

“adde quod et ripis steterat munitior hostis,
et cui nec vigilem fas est componere Rhesum.”

Add to all which, that even so plain a writer as Tryphiodorus has thought it necessary in his matter-of-fact account of the killing of Rhesus to add to the “stratagem-favouring night” the “fetters of sleep” (v. 28):

και θολην υπο νυκτα κακῶ πεπεδημενον υπνω,
Ρησον μεν Θρηϊκες εκωκνον.

SOMNO, therefore, is not used for *nocte*, but is to be understood literally, exactly as in its similar junction with *primo*, Phaedrus, 3. 10. 29:

. . . “simul adspexit filium,
sanctamque uxorem dormientem cubiculo,
sopita primo quae nil somno senserat;”

and Propert. 1. 3. 1:

“qualis Thesea iacuit cedente carina
 languida desertis Gnosia littoribus,
 qualis et accubuit *primo* Cephēia somno
 libera iam duris cautibus Andromede,
 nec minus assiduis Edonis fessa choreis
 qualis in herboso concidit Apidano:
 talis visa mihi mollem spirare quietem
 Cynthia non certis nixa caput manibus”

—in both which passages, as in our text, the force of the painting lies, in the first place and essentially, in “*somno*,” literally understood. *SOMNO* once rightly understood, viz., that it is used in its literal and primary, not in its secondary and derived sense, *PRIMO SOMNO* presents no difficulty: *PRIMO SOMNO*, the first sleep of Rhesus and his army after their arrival in Troy; equivalent to: “scarcely were they well asleep, after their arrival”—exactly as, 5. 857, no sooner had Palinurus fallen asleep—

“*vix primos inopina quies laxaverat artus*”

—than he was thrown overboard by Somnus. That this was actually the case, viz., that they had scarcely fallen asleep before they were attacked by Tydides and Ulysses, appears from a comparison of the two accounts we have of the transaction—Homer informing us (*ubi supra*) that the two Greeks did not set out upon their expedition until two-thirds of the night had been already spent; while it appears from the account given by Euripides, that Rhesus did not arrive at the Trojan camp until about the same hour; for (1), in the very opening scene it is already the fourth watch, and Rhesus has not yet arrived (*Rhesus*, verse 1, chorus of night-watchmen):

βαθὴ πρὸς εἴνας τὰς Ἑκτορείους
 τὶς ὑπασπιστῶν ἀγρυπνὸς βασιλεῶς,
 εἰ τευχόφορων δεξαίτο νύων
 κληθὼνα μύθων,
 οἱ τετραμοῖρον νύκτος ἡρῶν
 πάσης στρατίας προκαθῆνται.

(2), (verse 41) the Greeks have had their fires burning *πασαν ἀν' ὀρῶν*, still Rhesus has not yet arrived:

πυρραϊθει στρατος Ἀργολας,
 Ἐκτορ, πᾶσαν ἀν' ὀρηγαν,
 διπλετη δὲ νέων πυρσοῖς σταθμα.
 πᾶς δ' Ἀγαμέμνονιαν προσεβα στρατος
 ἐννεχιος θορυβῶ σκηναν,
 νεαρκῶν τιν' ἐγχειμενοι βαξιν·

(where *πᾶσαν ὀρηγαν* is not merely the whole dark or darkness, but the whole night, *i. e.*, the whole night long, as is shown by the use of the word *νυκτα* in place of *ὀρηγαν*, verse 95:

αἰθοῦσι πᾶσαν νυκτα λαμπαδῆς πυρος,
 καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐ μένειν ἐς αὐριον).

(3), verse 138, the whole Trojan army is asleep, and Rhesus not yet arrived:

ΕΚ. στειχῶν δὲ κοσμεῖ συμμαχούς· ταχ' ἂν στρατος
 κίνοιτ' ἀκουσας νυκτερούς ἐκλήσας.

(4), verse 285, the march of Rhesus is by night:

νυκτος γὰρ οὐτὶ φανῶν ἐμβαλεῖν στρατον,

and, verse 289:

. . . δρυμον νυκτος ἐνθηρον μολων.

(5), verse 518, Rhesus arrives, and Hector appoints him his quarters, and gives him the watchword:

νῦν μὲν καταυλίσθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὐφρονη.
 δειξῶ δ' ἐγὼ σοὶ χωρον, ἐνθα χρὴ στρατον
 τὸν σὸν νυχεῦσαι, τοῦ τεταγμένου διχα.
 ξινηθῆμα δ' ἡμῖν Φοῖβος,

and Rhesus has but just retired to his appointed quarters, when a watchman (a watchman, it must be borne in mind, of the Trojan camp; for, as it will soon appear, Rhesus sets no watch) informs us that morning is fast approaching, and that it is time for the fourth watch to be relieved by the fifth, verse 528:

τινος α φνλακα; τις ἀμειβεῖ
 ταν ἐμῶν πρώται;
 δίνεται σημεῖα καὶ ἐπαποροῖ
 Πλεισθὲς αἰθεριαι·
 μεσὰ δ' αἰετος οὐρανοῦ ποταται.
 ἐγρεσθε (τι μέλλετε;) κοίταν,
 ἐγρεσθε εἰς φνλακαν.
 οὐ λειψσετε μνησθος αἰγλαν;

αως δη πελας, αως
γιγνεται.

verse 544:

ουκουν Λυκιους πεμπτην φυλακην
βαντας εγειρειν
καιρος κληρον κατα μοιραν.

(6), only after all this has happened, and therefore at a late hour of the night indeed, does Minerva warn Ulysses that Rhesus must be killed before the morning light, verse 600:

. . . ανδρα δ' ου πεπυσθε συμμαχον
Τροια μολοντα Ρησον ου φανλω τροπω;
ος ει διοισι νυχτα τηνδ' ες αυριον,
ουτε σφ' Αχιλλεως, ουτ' αν Αιαντος δορι,
μη παντα περσαι ναυσταθμ' Αργειων, σχεθοι,
τειχη κατασκαυαντα και πυλων εσω
λογχη πλατειαν εσδρομην ποιουμενον.
τουτον κατακτας, παντ' εχεις.

And (7), it is immediately announced that Rhesus has been killed, whereupon the play, having occupied the entire night, closes with the daybreak, verse 988: *φως γαρ ημερας τοδε*.

This late arrival of Rhesus—after a fatiguing march, and when the night was already far spent—serves **not only** to explain the words PRIMO SOMNO, viz., that he had barely fallen asleep when he was fallen upon by the two Greek marauders, **but** at the same time to disembarrass the story of some of its very obvious difficulties, (1) showing how it happened that Ulysses and Diomedes found Rhesus and his army asleep without any watch set, viz.: because, arriving only just before daybreak and greatly exhausted by their journey, they had not yet been received within the Trojan lines, nor had encamped, but had merely thrown themselves on the ground for a short rest, and without taking the usual precautions, verse 616:

αλλ' εκτος αυτον ταξτων κατενυκασεν
Εκτωρ, εως αν νυξ αμειψηται φως:

verse 765:

. . . ενδομεν πεδοστιβεις,
κοπω θαμεντες, ουδ' εφρουρειτο στρατος
φυλακαισι νυκτεροισιν, ουδ' εν ταξισιν
εκειτο τευχη, κληθρα τ' ουκ επι ζυγοις
ιππων καθηρμοσθ', ως αναξ επευθετο

κρατοῦντας ἡμᾶς κατεδρευοντάς νύκτων
 πρηνάουσιν ὑαυλῶς δ' εὐδομεν πεπτωκοτές,

and (b), explaining how it happened (viz., owing to the extreme lateness of the hour and the fatigue of the soldiers) that the horses had not yet tasted the grass of Troy nor the water of the Xanthus—a thing which could not have happened if Rhesus and his army had arrived the preceding day, or even the preceding evening; the very first thing necessary to do in such case being, to do-up the horses for the night, and give them drink and fodder. Nay, over and above all this, the arrival of Rhesus so late at night, and so fatigued, adds point and interest to the narration, inasmuch as it enables us to see how within a hair's breadth of failing was an expedition on which the final fate of Troy depended; for if Rhesus had arrived a little earlier in the night, or if Ulysses and Diomedes had delayed their expedition but a very little longer, the fatal horses would have been foddered, the expedition of Diomedes and Ulysses would have failed, and the whole fate of Troy been different, verse 602 (Minerva speaking):

ὅς ἐε δοῖσσι νύκτα τῆνδ' ἐς αὐριῶν,
 οὔτε σὴν Ἀχιλλεύως, οὐτ' ἂν Ἀϊάντος δορυ,
 μὴ πάντα περὶ οὐκ ἀνισταθμ' Ἀργείων, σχεθοί.

The arrival of Rhesus so late at night, and with his soldiers worn out with fatigue, was therefore no accidental or indifferent, but a very essential, part of the story, and present to the mind of Virgil when he wrote these words, no less than it was present to the minds of Homer and Euripides.

PRIMO SOMNO therefore **neither** means, with those commentators who have followed Servius's first interpretation, *in the beginning of the night*, **nor**, with Servius's second interpretation, and La Cerda and Wagner, *on the first night after Rhesus had arrived at Troy*; **but** it means, simply, plainly, and literally, *in the beginning of Rhesus's sleep*, not long after Rhesus had fallen asleep (*Ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ καθεύδειν*, Philostr. *Imag.* 1. 2. "Vix toto corde quierat," Claud. *in Rufin.* 2. 327), PRIMO joined with SOMNO having the same force which prima has when joined with quies (compare 8. 407):

“inde (ubi *prima quies* medio iam noctis abactae
 curriculo expulerat somnum, cum femina primum,
 cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva
 impositum, cicerem et sopitos suscitāt ignes)”

(where the adjective “*prima*” in the first line corresponds exactly to the adverb “*primum*” in the second; and where the sense is, not “when the first *quies*,” but “when *quies* first,” *i. e.*, as soon as *quies* had expelled *somnus*). 3. 69:

“inde ubi *prima quies* pelago, placataque venti
 dant maria”

[as soon as there was rest to the sea; as soon as ever the sea had become quiet, when first the sea became quiet]. Liv. 21. 5: “Hannibal praelio abstinuit; castrisque super ripam positis, quum *prima quies* silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, amnem vado traiecit.” Ovid, *Met.* 8. 81:

“talī dicenti [Scyllae] curarum maxima nutrix
 nox intervenit, tenebrisque audacia crovit.
prima quies aderat, qua curis fessa diurnis
 pectora somnus habet. thalamos taciturna paternos
 intrat.”

Virgil, *Aen.* 1. 723: “postquam *prima quies* epulis mensaeque remotae” [as soon as ever they ceased eating; no sooner had they ceased eating than, &c.]. Ovid, *Met.* 8. 83: “*prima quies* aderat” [he was in his first sleep; as we say in English, “had just fallen asleep”]]; and the Latin expression *primus somnus* (and scarcely less, the Latin expression *prima quies*) being the translation and equivalent of the Greek expression *πρωτος υπνος* (Thucyd. 7. 43: *Αυτος μεν απο πρωτου υπνου . . . αναλαβων την πασαν στρατιαν, χωρει προς τας Επιπολας* [after the first sleep, *i. e.*, about midnight; or, explained by Bekker, Valla, and Portus, *post primam vigiliam*]. Thucyd. 2. 2: *Θηβαιων ανδρες ολιγω πλειους τριακοσιων . . . εισηλθον περι πρωτου υπνου ξυν οπλοις ες Πλαταιαν της Βοιωτιας . . . Επιγαγοντο δε και ανεωξαν τας πύλας Πλαταιων ανδρες, Ναυκλειδης τε και οι μετ’ αυτου* [Plataea therefore was “*prodita primo somno*”]. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 31 (Sosia speaking):

*εδοξε μοι περι πρωτου υπνου εν τη Πικνη
 εκκλησιαζειν προβατα συγκαθημενα,
 βακτηρις εχοντα και τριβωνια).*

Compare Macrob. *Somn. Scip. 1. 3*: "*Φαντασμα* vero, hoc est visum cum inter vigiliam et *adultam quietem* in quadam ut aiunt *prima somni nebula* adhuc se vigilare aestimans, qui dormire vix coepit, adspicere videtur irruentes in se vel passim vagantes formas, a natura seu magnitudine seu specie discrepantes" (where the "adult quies," the full and deep sleep, and the "prima somni nebula," the first dimness of sleep, the first forgetfulness of sleep, are specially contrasted). Quint. *Decl. 10. 7*: "Iam totam domum ac familiam *quies prima* sopiverat, et tacentibus tenebris venerat tempus dulcissimum matri" [*not* the first of more sleeps than one, *but* the beginning of sleep]. Val. Flacc. 8. 79:

"ille haud Aeolio discedere fessus ab auro,
nec dare permissae (quamvis iuuet) ora quieti
sustinet, ac *primi* percussus *nube soporis*
horruit, et dulces excussit ab arbore somnos."

Sidon. Apoll. *Ep. 1. 2* (of the habits of Theodoric): "Cum surrexerit [a coena], inchoat nocturnas aulica gaza custodias, armati regiae domus aditibus assistunt, quibus horae *primi soporis* vigilabuntur." Sil. Ital. 9. 90:

"ecce sub adventum noctis *primumque soporem*,"

—the "primus sopor" of which three last passages, like the "primus somnus" and the "prima quies" of the passages previously quoted, is the beginning or early part of sleep; exactly as (1), Arat. *Phaenom. 41*:

πολλή γαινομένη Ελική πρωτης απο νυκτος,

πρωτη νξ is the beginning or early part of night; (2), Ovid, *Amor. 2. 19. 37*:

"at tu, formosae nimium securo puellae,
incipere iam *prima* claudere *nocte* forem."

Mela, 1. 8: "Fons media nocte fervet, mox et paullatim tepescens, fit luce frigidus; tunc ut sol surgit, ita frigidior subinde; per meridiem maxime riget. Sumit deinde tepores iterum, et *prima nocte* calidus, atque ut illa procedit, ita calidior; rursus cum est media perfervet." Stat. *Theb. 5. 195*:

"conticuere chori: dapibus ludoque licenti
fit modus, et *primae* decrescunt murmura *noctis*,"

and Auson. *Ephem.* 1. 1:

“mane iam clarum reserat fenestras;
iam strepit nidis vigilax hirundo;
tu velut *primam* mediamque noctem,
Parmeno, dormis,”

“prima nox” is the same; (3), *Aen.* 6. 453:

. . . “qualem *primo* qui surgere mense
aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam,”

“primus mensis” is the beginning or early part of the month;
(4), Lucan, 2. 21:

. . . “sic *funere primo*
attonitae tacuere domus, quum corpora nondum
conclamata iacent, nec mater crine soluto
exigit ad saevos famularum brachia planctus;
sed quum membra premit fugiente regentia vita,
vultusque exanimes, oculosque in morte natantes,
necum est ille dolor, sed iam metus,”

“primum funus” is the beginning, or first moments, of death;
(5), *Aen.* 1. 545:

. . . “*primaque* vetant consistere terra,”

“prima terra” is the edge of the land, the shore; (6), Ovid,
Amor. 3. 2. 63:

. . . “potes, si forte iuvabit,
cancellis *primos* inseruisse pedes,”

“primi pedes” are the tips of the legs, *i. e.* the feet (see Rem.
on “vestigia primi alba pedis,” 5. 566); (7), *Aen.* 6. 255,
“*primi* sub lumina solis et ortus;” and Calpurn. *Ecl.* 8. 6:

“incipi, dum salices haedi, dum gramina vaccae
detondent, viridique greges permittere campo
et ros et *primi* suadet clementia solis,”

“primus sol” is the early sun; **and** (8), *Aen.* 7. 414: “*mediam*
nigra carpebat nocte *quietem*,” “media quies” is the middle of
sleep, sleep far on in the night, *nigra nocte*. Not that the
Italians of the present day do not use their corresponding ex-
pression *primo sonno* in both senses; or that we have not on
the one hand the statement of the Della Crusca: “*Primo sonno*,
prima giovanexxa, e simili, vagliono ‘il principio del sonno,’ ‘il
principio della giovanexxa,’ e simili;” and on the other hand,
Petrarch’s (*Canzon.* 3, pr. parte):

“e non mi stanca *primo sonno* od alba,”

and Villani's (8. 109): "Di notte, quasi al *primo sonno*, apparve in aria un grandissimo fuoco;" but that no argument can be drawn from the Italian practice, until it is first shown that a similar practice prevailed among Latin writers, or at least until it is shown that, in the Virgilian passage, the expression, *figuratively* understood, affords a better sense than understood *literally*. In conclusion, let me warn the reader against the physiological dogma of Servius, repeated with so much confidence by Wagner, that the *first* sleep, or sleep in the beginning of the night, is the heaviest, deepest, and least easily disturbed ("Der erste schlaf ist der tiefste; daher PRIMO QUAE PRODITA SONNO," Thiel. "Cum Wunderlich, *Observ. in Tibull. 1. 10. 8*, Thielio et Peerlkamp. interpretor: *alto sonno*; primus enim somnus altissimus," Forbiger); on the contrary, the *first* sleep is the least sound, the most disturbed by startings, both body and mind continuing for a long time after the commencement of sleep to feel and remember more or less distinctly the impressions of the previous day; and it is only as the night advances ("adulta nocte," Ammian.), and the sleep continues, and body and mind become gradually more and more tranquilized and rested, that the sleep becomes profound and deep, and involves the whole being (Stat. *Achill. 1. 619*:

"scandebat roscos medii fastigia caeli
luna iugo, totis ubi somnus inertior alis
defluit in terras, mutumque amplectitur orbem"),

whence, no doubt, the so generally received opinion, that morning dreams are true, the sleep being then less disturbed and broken, and the dreams consequently more consistent, less mixed up with the real transactions and impressions of the preceding day; consequently, are less referred to past events, and more to future, *i. e.* are regarded as more prophetic. Compare Mosch. *Europa, 1*:

Ερωπη ποτε Κυπρις επι γλυκυν ηεν ονειρον,
νεκτος οτε τριτατον λεχος ισταται, εγγυθη δ' ηως
εανος οτε γλυκυν μελιτος βλεφαροισιν εχιζον,
λευσιμελης, πεδνα μαλακω κατα ηαια δεσμων,
εντε και ατροχειων ποιμαινεται εθνος ονειρων

(where we have not only the morning sleep, but its sweetness,

and the truthfulness of its dreams—the *sonnellino*, *sonnerello d'oro* of the Italians). Also, Hom. *Od.* 4. 840:

. . . γίλον δὲ οἱ ἦτορ ἰανθή,
ὥς οἱ ἐναργεῖς οὐνερον ἐπέσσυτο νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ.

Hor. *Sat.* 1. 10. 32:

. . . "Quirinus
post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera."

Ovid, *Heroid.* 19. 195:

"namque sub auroræ iam dormitante lucerna,
somnia quo cerni tempore vera solent."

Old ballad:

"one April morn reclined in bed,
just at the hour when dreams are true,
a fairy form approached my head,
smiling beneath her mantle blue."

The physiological *rationale* of Rhesus's deep sleep is to be sought in his want of sleep, a want produced by his fatiguing march and his having been up all night—causes sufficient to make him sleep sound, even on his first lying down; and, when joined with the absence of the usual night watch, quite sufficient to account for his being so easily surprised by the astute and audacious enemy.

PRODITA. "Subaudi a *Dolone*," La Cerda. No, no! **not** betrayed in his sleep by Dolon, **but** betrayed to Dolon by his sleep. It is never by your enemy you are betrayed. If you are betrayed at all, it must be by your friend. Compare 9. 373:

"et galea Euryalum sublustri noctis in umbra
prodidit immemorem, radiisque adversa refulsit."

10. 502:

. . . "nulla tuos currus fuga segnis equorum
prodidit, aut vanæ vertere ex hostibus umbræ."

And especially Ovid, *Heroid.* 10. 5 (Ariadne to Theseus):

"in quo me somnusque meus male *prodidit*, et tu,
per facinus somnis insidiate meis,"

and *ibid.* 10. 117:

"in me iurarunt somnus, ventusque, fidesque;"

and, placing the matter beyond all doubt, *ibid.* 1. 39:

"rettulit et ferro Rhesumque Dolonæque caesos;
utque sit hic somno *proditus*, ille dolo;"

also, *Metast. Artas. 1. 3*:

. . . "oh dio!
svenato il padre mio
giace colà su *le tradite piume*"

[betrayed, viz., by those who should have guarded it, by the guards]; and *Evang. Math. 26. 48*: *Ο δε παραδιδους αυτον εδωκεν αυτοις σημειον, λεγων· ον αν φιλησω, αυτος εστι κρατησατε αυτον.*

478—482.

PARTE—HASTA

Compare *Sil. 4. 254* (ed. *Rup.*), of Tarius dragged along the ground by his runaway horse:

"volvitur ille solo; nam pronum effundit in armos
fata extrema ferens abies, rapiturque pavore
tractus equi, vinctis connexa ad cingula membris.
longa cruor sparso liquit vestigia campo,
et tremulos cuspis ductus in pulvere signat."

Compare, also, Hippolytus dragged by his runaway horses and chariot, *Eurip. Hippol. 1236*; and the fabricated story which the messenger tells Clytemnestra of the death of Orestes, *Sophocl. Elect. 748*.

Millingen (*Peintures de Vases Grecs*, planche 17) gives us a representation from a Greek vase, of the sepulchral monument of Troilus, authenticated by the inscription of his name upon the *σινιλη*, and states that it is the only known artistic memorial of Troilus in existence.

483-486.

INTEREA AD TEMPLUM NON AEQUAE PALLADIS IBANT
 CRINIBUS ILIADES PASSIS PEPLUMQUE FEREBANT
 SUPPLICITER TRISTES ET TUNSAE PECTORA PALMIS
 DIVA SOLO FIXOS OCULOS AVERSA TENEBAT

SUPPLICITER.—“SUPPLICITER TRISTES,” Wagner. Wrong. “FEREBANT SUPPLICITER,” Heyne. Nearly right, but not quite. SUPPLICITER belongs both to FEREBANT and IBANT, but principally to IBANT—PEPLUM FEREBANT being secondary to and expletory of IBANT CRINIBUS PASSIS; and the sense being: *went (with dishevelled hair, carrying the peplus, sad and beating their breasts) to supplicate the goddess*. See *Aen.* 2. 334, and Rem.

I know no example anywhere of suppliciter joined to an adjective, while, on the contrary, examples of its junction with a verb are frequent, as Ammian. 30. 6: “Post haec Quadorum venere legati, pacem cum praeteritorum obliteratione suppliciter obsecrantes.”

SUPPLICITER is the emphatic word of the whole sentence, and should be separated from the context by a pause in the recitation both before and after. See Rem. on 2. 247. There is a similar picture in Petronius (ed. Hadr. 1669): “Antea stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in clivum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et Iovem aquam exorabant.” Compare 10. 841: “ferabant flentes.”

487-490.

TER CIRCUM ILIACOS RAPTAVERAT HECTORA MUROS
 EXANIMUMQUE AURO CORPUS VENDEBAT ACHILLES
 TUM VERO INGENTEM GEMITUM DAT PECTORE AB IMO
 UT SPOLIA UT CURRUS UTQUE IPSUM CORPUS AMICI

RAPTAVERAT HECTORA, not “corpus Hectoris,” because Hector

was still living; VENDEBAT CORPUS, not "Hectora," because Hector was not now dead. The distinction had been already made by Attius, who (see Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* 1. 44) causes his Achilles to say:

"immo enimvero *corpus* Priamo reddidi, *Hectorum* abstuli."

Those who disregard my words and arguments will, at least, not disregard those of Wagner, who (copying, as usual, in his *Praestabilior* from my "Twelve Years' Voyage" and "Advers. Virgil.") says: "Raptavit *spirantem* adhuc, *corpus* mortui vendidit." I had not at that time lit upon the fragment of Attius, else you would have had that too in the *Praestabilior*.

RAPTAVERAT, VENDEBAT. Had furiously dragged, and was now selling. The *dragging* is not represented in the picture, only the *selling*. Compare Tacit. *Annal.* 3. 14: "Effigiesque Pisonis *traxerant* in Gemonias, ac *divellebant*" (where the *dragging* had been previously done, and only the *tearing to pieces* was then a-doing). *Aen.* 8. 430: "addiderant, *miscebant*" (where the adding had been previously done, and only the mixing-in was then a-doing). 12. 944: "straverat, *gerebat*" (where the overthrowing had been already done, and only the wearing was then a-doing). Our author follows not the Homeric narrative of the death of Hector, but that other account which represents Achilles as having killed Hector by dragging him round the walls of Troy, an account followed also by Sophocles, *Ajax*, 1029 (ed. Brunk):

Ἐκτωρ μὲν, ὡ δὴ τοῦδ' ἐδωρηθῆ παρὰ,
ζῶσθηναι πρὸς θείας, ἐπιπικρὼν ἐξ ἀντιγῶν,
ἐγυῖαν τετ' αἶεν, ἐς τ' ἀπειψύξεν βίον,

and by Quintus Curtius, 4. 6 (ed. Bipont.) in his history of the killing of Betis by Alexander the Great: "Per talos enim *spirantis* lora traiecta sunt, religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi; gloriante rege, Achillem, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse poena in hostem capienda." See Rem. on "tumentis," 2. 273.

CURRUS, not the chariot, but the chariot and horses. See Rem. on "curru secundo," 1. 160. Still further, not the *currus*

of Achilles, but of Hector himself, as shown by the climax,
 SPOLIA (*amici*) CURRUS (*amici*) IPSUM CORPUS AMICI.

PENTHESILEA. See Rem. on 11. 868.

497.

AUDETQUE VIRIS CONCURRERE VIRGO

VIRIS is opposed to VIRGO, as, Ovid, *Met.* 4. 680, “virum” to “virgo:”

. . . “nec audet
 appellare virum virgo.”

Query: is *virgo* a derivative of *vir*, as *woman* of *man*? and query: is *woman*, not *wif-man*, or *man* the *weaver* (see *Encycl. Metr. in voce*), but *ve-man*, the *little man*, the *inferior man*? See Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 448: “Veiovis,” and Aul. Gell. *in v.* “vescus.”

498—499.

HAEC DUM DARDANIO AENEAE MIRANDA VIDENTUR
 DUM STUPET OBUTUQUE HAERET DEFIXUS IN UNO

“Sed video totum te in illa haerere tabula quae Troiae halosin ostendit,” Petron. p. 324 (ed. Hadrian.) Dante, *Parad.* 3. 7:

“ma visione apparve, che ritenne
 a sè me tanto *stretto*, per vedersi,
 che di mia confession non mi sovvenne.”

DARDANIO AENEAE.—Observe the delicate propriety with which the term *Dardan* is applied to Aeneas, at the moment when, by the sudden presentation to him, in a strange land, of his own and his country’s history, his mind is filled with, and overwhelmed by, *Dardan* recollections.

500—506.

REGINA AD TEMPLUM FORMA PULCHERRIMA DIDO
 INCESSIT MAGNA IUVENUM STIPANTE CATERVA
 QUALIS IN EUROTAE RIPIS AUT PER IUGA CYNTHI
 EXERCET DIANA CHOROS QUAM MILLE SECUTAE
 HINC ATQUE HINC GLOMERANTUR OREADES ILLA PHARETRAM
 FERT HUMERO GRADIENSQUE DEA SUPEREMINET OMNES
 LATONAE TACITUM PERTENTANT GAUDIA PECTUS

VAR. LECT.

DEA **I Rom.** (thus: DEA. SUPER. EMINET.), *Pal.* (thus: DEASUPEREMINET), *Med.** (thus: DEASSUPEREMINET, the second *s* in red, over the first). **II** $\frac{3}{8}$. **III** Pierius: "In Romano codice et nonnullis aliis antiquis legere est DEA SUPEREMINET OMNES, ut DEA sit $\kappa\alpha\tau'$ $\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\chi\eta\nu$. Nam ipse locus syllabam omnino communem reddit; ceterum hoc in medio sit."

DEAS **I Vat.** **II** $\frac{6}{9}$. **III** Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 13; Rome, 1469; Ven., 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Milan, 1475, 1492; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Philippe; Heyne; Pott.; Jahn; Dorph.; Wagn. (1832, 1841); Forb.; Ribb.; Bresc.; Haupt; Coningt.

O *Ver., St. Gall.*

Even in face of the difficulty presented by the short *A*, and the nearly unanimous negative both of the secondary MSS. and the editions, I feel **almost** certain that Virgil wrote DEA, and not DEAS, (*a*) because such exactly is his usual style (compare verse 415:

"at Venus obscuro gradientes aere sepsit
 et multo nebulae circum dea fudit amictu."

verse 695:

"at Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem
 irrigat, et fotum gremio dea tollit in altos
 Idaliae lucos");

(*b*) because there is a peculiar propriety in the connexion of DEA with GRADIENS, the step or gait being one of the most distin-

* At 4. 168, *Pal.* has *ss*. At 12. 831, VOLVISSUB, *Med.*, where the insertion of the second *s* above proves that in this MS. [*Medicean*] one *s* never stands for two; also 7. 52, TANTASSERVABAT; and so also as regards the Vatican MS.

guishing attributes of a goddess; verse 409: "et vera incessu patuit dea;" (c) because in the corresponding passage of Ovid, (*Met.* 3. 181) it is "dea":

. . . "tamen altior illis
ipsa dea est, colloque tenuis supereminet omnes;"

(d) because in the Homeric original (*Od.* 6. 107) it is not *πασαων θεαων* and *πασαι θεαι*, but simply *πασαων* and *πασαι*:

πασαων δ' υπερ η γε καρη εχει ηδε μετωπα,
ρεια τ' αριγνωτη πελεται, καλαι δε τε πασαι.

(e) because OMNES without DEAS is the exact equivalent of "totum agmen" in that verse of Claudian which informs us that Cyane overtopped all the other Naiads, companions of Proserpine, *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 61:

. . . "Cyane totum supereminet agmen;"

(f) because we have the very expression "gradiente dea" in Silius, 7. 458:

"dumque hic aligeris instat Cytherca, sonabat
omne nemus, gradiente dea;"

(g) because the naturally short A of DEA can, in its position in the text, be as properly lengthened, as it can stand in verse 409,

"et vera incessu patuit dea. ille ubi matrem,"

before a vowel without suffering elision; and it is more usual for scribes and editors to correct than to invent such apparent sins against prosody [see 1. 672, and 687 (and Rem.), where the scribes have inserted *ex* and *que* in order to remove the difficulty presented by the short "tur" and short "que:" also 1. 655, where the scribes have inserted *n* before the *t* in "peteret" in order to lengthen the final syllable of that word; ("Vulgati habent *peterent*, quod et ad numeros aptius, et ad invidiam atrocius")]; (h) because to a scribe writing from dictation, as no doubt the more ancient scribes generally wrote, DEA SUPEREMINET would sound, and almost certainly be understood to be DEAS SUPEREMINET; (i) because it is DEA in the *Roman* and *Palatine*, and *a pr. m.* in the *Medicean*; (k) and because the signifying epithet is not becomingly attached to the inferiors, while the superior ("ipsa dea," Ovid) is designated by the simple

pronoun. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 6. 144 (of Arachne turned into a spider):

. . . "de quo [ventre] tamen illa remittit
stamen, et antiquas exercet aranea telas."

E contra, DEAS and not DEA; (a) because almost all the secondary MSS., and almost all the editions, read DEAS SUPEREMINET; (b) because such lengthening of the final A is, to say the least of it, very unusual; and (c) because (6. 856) we have "viros supereminet omnes" exactly corresponding to DEAS SUPEREMINET OMNES:

"aspice ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
ingreditur, victorque viros supereminet omnes."

REGINA AD TEMPLUM FORMA PULCHERRIMA DIDO INCESSIT. Our author, according to his wont (see Remm. on 2. 18, 49), especially on occasions when he wishes to be more than usually impressive, presents us, first, with the single principal idea, and afterwards adds those which are necessary for explanation or embellishment. *The queen comes to the temple; she is of exquisite beauty; and her name is Dido.* REGINA contains the principal idea, because it is the queen, as queen, whom Aeneas is expecting and recognizes; it is, therefore, placed first: PULCHERRIMA follows next, because the queen's beauty was almost of necessity the immediately succeeding idea in Aeneas's mind; and the name DIDO is placed last, as of least importance, and serving only to identify and connect with the narrative of Venus.

REGINA AD TEMPLUM.—Parallel, but (as usual in Shakespeare, and to his great honour) without imitation (*Henry VIII.*, Act 4, Sc. 1):

. . . "the rich stream
of lords and ladies, having brought the quoon
to a prepared place in the choir, fell off
a distance from her, while her grace sat down
to rest a while, some half an hour or so,
in a rich chair of state, opposing freely
the beauty of her person to the people."

Gruppe (*Minos*, p. 213) rejects the eight verses between CATERVA and SETA ARMIS, on the ground that Dido, surrounded by her soldiers, should not be compared with Diana surrounded by her

nymphs: "Wenn man sich die unverkennbare lage der dinge klar macht, muss das bild in hohem grade verkehrt erscheinen, denn Dido geht unter bewaffneter mannschaft, und diese wird mit den Oreaden zusammengestellt. Diana überragt die Nymphen, das lässt man gelten, hier Dido die krieger! und in diese soll Aeneas sich verlieben." The objection is as unfounded as the inference is illogical. In order that the comparison of Dido to Diana should be correct, it is not necessary that the persons by whom Dido was surrounded, and whom she overtopped, should be of the same sex as those by whom Diana was surrounded, and whom Diana overtopped. In a simile it is enough that there should be one or more striking points of resemblance. The compared objects need not resemble each other in all points. There should be a dissimilitude as well as a similitude, and the similitude is only the more remarkable and striking, the less the objects resemble each other in other respects. The comparison (2. 355) of Aeneas and his party to a flock of ravenous wolves, and (7. 699) of the troops of soldiers singing as they march, to a flight of singing swans, and (6. 469) of this very Dido's ghost in Hades, unmoved by Aeneas's prayers, to Mount Marpessa, is not the less, but the more striking for the same reason, viz., on account of the utter dissimilarity in all respects between the objects compared except alone in the precise particular with respect to which they are compared. **Even** supposing the objection well founded, and the comparison of Dido surrounded by her Tyrian youths, to Diana surrounded by her Oreads, faulty, either because the persons by whom Dido was surrounded were males, and those by whom Diana was surrounded, females, or because Dido, overtopping so many men, was somewhat of the virago and giantess—an objection to which few will allow much force who recollect how inseparable from the ancient notion of dignity, whether of male or female, were portliness of figure and tallness of stature—**still**, the inference, from such defective comparison, that the passage has been interpolated is illogical until the suppressed proposition of the enthymeme be established, viz., that whatever writing is defective cannot be Virgil's. There is,

besides, a propriety in Virgil's comparison of Dido to Diana, which is absent from Homer's comparison of Nausicaa to the same goddess, viz., that Dido has something masculine in her character. She is acting for herself, not in the usual dependence of the woman on the man; she is the leader of a colony from Phoenicia to Libya ("dux femina facti"), the founder of a city, nay, of an empire, and in this respect the rival of Aeneas himself; she is the layer of the first stones of a city, which is to contend for supremacy even with Rome. This brave, this commanding woman, who

IURA DABAT LEGESQUE VIRIS, OPERUMQUE LABOREM
PARTIBUS AEQUABAT IUSTIS, AUT SORTE TRAHEBAT,

with whom could she in her character of queen and founder of a great colony be, with more propriety, compared than with Diana in the midst of her Oreads—Diana, the bold huntress, queen of the forest? The bold and daring Dido, like the bold and daring huntress, should be tall and strong, masculine and athletic, should overtop all about her. **Why should Nausicaa?** *Why is a lion?*

LATONAE TACITUM PERTENTANT GAUDIA PECTUS. Compare Hom. *Od.* 6. 106: γεγηθε δε τε φρενα Αητω. Hom. *Hymn. in Apoll.* 12:

. . . χαιρει δε τε ποτνια Αητω,
ουνεκα τοξοφορον και καρτερον υιον ετιχεν.

Milton, *Par. Reg.* 1. 227:

"these growing thoughts my mother soon perceiving,
. inly rejoiced."

The opposite sentiment is thus expressed by Euripides (*Med.* 36):

στυγει δε [Medea] παιδις ουδ' ορωσ' ευφραίνεται,

where ορωσ' ευφραίνεται is Virgil's PLACIDUM PERTENTANT GAUDIA PECTUS, only more brief and vigorous.

A statuary group of Latona and her children by Praxiteles is mentioned by Pausanias, *Attic.* 44.

507-510.

TALIS ERAT DIDO TALEM SE LAETA FEREBAT
 PER MEDIOS INSTANS OPERI REGNISQUE FUTURIS
 TUM FORIBUS DIVAE MEDIA TESTUDINE TEMPLI
 SEPTA ARMIS SOLIOQUE ALTE SUBNIXA RESEDIT

VAR. LECT.

ALTE I *Vat., Rom., Pal., Med.* II $\frac{3}{4}$. III *Auson. Cent. Nupt.*; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Philippe; Wakef.; Pottier; Haupt; Ribb.

ALTO III *Pierius* ("vetera quaedam exemplaria ALTO legunt. In codd. tamen probatoribus, *Mediceo* et aliquot aliis, ALTE est").

O *Ver., St. Gall.*

Compare Constantine the Great's entry into the Council of Nicaea, as described by Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3. 10: *αυτος δη λοιπον διεβαινε μεσος, οια θεου τις ουραnios αγγελος, λαμπραν μεν ωσπερ φωτος μαρμαριγαις εξαστραπτων περιβολην. . . . ταυτα μεν ον αμμι το σωμα. την δε ψυχην, θεου φοβω και ευλαβεια δηλος ην κεκαλλωπισμενος' υπεβαινον δε και ταυτ' οφθαλμοι κατω νεοντες, ερυθρημα προσωπου, περιπατου κινήσις, το τ' αλλο ειδος, το μεγαθος τε υπερβαλλον μεν τους αμφ' αυτον απαντας . . . επει δε παρελθων επι την πρωτην των ταγματων αρχην, μεσος πρωτος εστη' σμικρου τινος αυτω καθισματος υλης χρυσου πεποιημενου προτεθεντος, ου προτερον η τους επισκοπους επινενσαι, εκαθιζε.*

TUM FORIBUS DIVAE, MEDIA TESTUDINE TEMPLI, SEPTA ARMIS SOLIOQUE ALTE SUBNIXA, RESEDIT. "INSTANS *raecipue* FORIBUS; et hoc loco distinguendum est; magno enim studio et labore templorum fores fiebant, quas quibusdam insignibant historiis," &c., *Servius*; an interpretation which, I should think, requires no comment. "Man stösst bei FORIBUS und MEDIA TESTUDINE an. Im vorigen ist gesagt, was sie *ausserhalb* des tempels that: nun folgt TUM, 'darauf,' FORIBUS DIVAE, 'im innern, *innerhalb*, hineingegangen;' MEDIA TESTUDINE, 'mitten inne des tempelgewölbes,'" *Thiel*. Scholars will, I think, require the produc-

tion of some authority for the use of *FORIBUS* in the sense of "innerhalb, im innern," before they accept an interpretation which assigns to this word a sense diametrically opposed to its ordinary *primâ facie* sense "ad ianuam."

MEDIA TESTUDINE TEMPLI; i. e. *medio templo*, Latino usu, quatenus *intra fores* consederat. . . . In templis senatum cogi, ad fores tribunalia poni, notus Romanorum mos, ad quem poeta hoc refinxit," Heyne. "Sub tecto templi testudinato in parte foribus propinqua resedit. . . . *MEDIA TESTUDINE* idem est quod *sub testudine*," Wagner (1845, 1849), Forbiger. If Dido sat, according to the view of these critics, inside the temple, and near its door, **first**, she must have sat either squeezed up in one of the corners on either hand, or else immediately within the entrance, and therefore in the way of those entering; and either with her *back* to them, in which case no more awkward and ungraceful position could have been chosen, or with her *face* to them, in which case the principal standing-room must have been behind her. **And, secondly**, in this position she could have been elevated only by the height of her seat or throne, which, unless so high as to have required for its ascent a flight of steps or a ladder, could not have afforded a sufficient elevation above the crowd. Let us therefore consider whether, adhering strictly to the words of the text, it is not perfectly clear that Virgil has placed Dido not only in an entirely different part of the temple, but in a position at once convenient, conspicuous, and dignified.

And, first, we must carefully distinguish between the *Cella* and the *Temple*: the former peculiarly the residence of the deity (whose image it contained), and, except on particular occasions, accessible to the priests only; the latter no more than the enclosure surrounding the former, sometimes roofed, and sometimes not (in the present instance roofed), and serving for the habitation of the priests and other officers as well as for the reception and accommodation of the people who came to worship *outside* the *Cella* (Pollux, 1. 1: "το μὲν χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ θεοῦ ἀπεικονίζοντο τοὺς θεοὺς, ἱερὸν καὶ ἁγίον [the Roman *Templum*, and Jewish *Court of the Tabernacle*], ἐνθα δὲ καθιζονοῦμεν, σιγῆς, τεμενός"

[the Roman *Cella*, and Jewish *Tabernacle*, σκηνος, this latter the first house or covered residence of the Deity of which we have any record]]. The *Cella* was **not only** the principal object, that on which all the other objects in the temple and the temple itself depended (Callim. *Hymn. in Dian.* 248 (of the temple of Diana at Ephesus):

κείνο δὲ τοι μετέπειτα περὶ βρετὰς ἐνρὺ θεμεθλον
 δωμηθῇ· τὸν δ' οὐτι θεώτερον οὐρεται Ἥως,
 οὐδ' ἀγνιστέον· ῥεῖα κεν Πυθωνα παρῆλθοι.

Lucian, *Amor.* 13: *Ἡ μὲν οὖν θεὸς ἐν μεσῷ καθιδρύται· Παιρίας δὲ λίθου δαιδαλμία καλλιστόν—ὑπερηφανὸν καὶ σεσηροῦ γε-λωτι μικρὸν ὑπομειδίσασα*), **but** at the same time the most conspicuous, occupying the middle of the nave in such a manner that its *façade* or entrance was directly opposite the entrance of the temple, and (not being immediately under the central opening of the roof, but a little further than it from the temple entrance) was illuminated by the light streaming down from the roof. Such was the conspicuous situation of the *Cella*, elevated above the floor of the temple, and approached by a flight of steps, the landing-place of which, sometimes adorned with columns in the manner of a portico, afforded a noble entrance to the *Cella*, visible from all parts of the temple, and even from the outside through the temple-door, and at the same time a convenient elevated platform or tribunal, from which the priest could address the multitude assembled in the area of the temple, and expound to them the mysteries of their religion. The entrance into the *Cella* from the temple was usually provided with grated iron doors, affording a view of the interior even while they remained shut; and a curtain (*velum*), for the purpose of excluding the view occasionally, and of protecting the interior of the *Cella*, and especially the image of the deity usually placed in a niche at the far end of it, from the weather, as well in those temples which were entirely hypaethral, as in those which, being roofed, had a central opening in the roof for the admission of light and air.

All these particulars can be made out satisfactorily, either from the descriptions given us by ancient writers, or from the

still existing remains of the buildings themselves. Particularly apt to our present purpose is that passage of Pausanias, where, speaking of the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, he informs us that the statue of the god was nearly under the middle of the roof of the temple, and that a portico elevated above the floor of the temple led to it (*Eliaca*, 1. 10): “*Λιος δε αγαλματος οατα μεσον πεποιημενον μαλιστα του αειου* [“signo Iovis imminet lacunaris vertex,” Siebelis]. *Εστηκασι δε και εντος του ναου κιονες και στοαι τε ενδον υπερωι, και προσοδος δι’ αιτων επι το αγαλμα εστι.*” Compare Varro, *L. L.* 5. 160: “*Domus Graecum, et ideo in aedibus sacris ante cellam, ubi sedes dei sunt, Gracchi dicunt προδομον, quod post, οπισθοδομον.*” Also Servius (ad *Georg.* 3. 16): “Quod autem dicit ‘in medio,’ eius [viz. Caesaris] templum fore significat. Nam ei semper sacratus numini locus est, cuius simulacrum in medio collocatur, alia enim tantum ad ornatum pertinent.” Also, Tabul. Cebet. 1: *Ετιγχανομεν περιπατοντες, εν τω του Κρονου ιερω, εν ω πολλα μεν και αλλα αναθηματα εθεωρουμεν, ενεκειτο δε και πιναξ τις, εμπροσθε του νεω, εν ω ην γραφη τις ξενη* (where the distinction between the containing *ιερων* and contained *νεως* is well marked). Apul. *Met.* 11 (ed. Flor. p. 250): “Ac cum ad ipsum iam templum perenimus, sacerdos maximus, quique divinas effigies progerebant, et qui venerandis penetralibus pridem fuerant initiati, intra cubiculum deae recepti, disponunt rite simulacra spirantia. Tunc ex his unus, quem cuncti Grammatea dicebant, pro foribus assistens, coetu Pastophorum, quod sacrosancti collegii nomen est, velut in concionem vocato, indidem de sublimi suggestu, de libro, de litteris fausta vota praefatus; Principi magno, senatuique, et equiti, totoque Romano pupulo, nauticis, navibus, quaeque sub imperio mundi nostratis reguntur, renuntiat, sermone ritum Graeciensi, ita: *ΛΑΟΙΣ ΑΦΕΣΙΣ*. Qua voce, feliciter cunctis evenire, signavit populi clamor insequutus. Exin gaudio delibuti populares, thallos, verbenas, corollas ferentes, exosculatis vestigiis deae, quae gradibus haerebant argento formata, ad suos discedunt Lares. Nec tamen sinebat me animus ungue latius indidem digredi: sed intentus in deae specimen, pristinos

casus meos recordabar" (where we have not only the temple containing the cell, and the cell containing the image, but the fores of the cell, and the suggestum before the fores). **Also**, Ovid, *Met.* 15. 403 (of the young phoenix carrying its dead parent's nest and body, and placing them before the sacred doors, *i. e.* before the doors of the cell in the temple of Hyperion):

"cum dedit huic ætas vires, onerique ferendo est,
[ponderibus nidi ramos levat arboris altae],
fertque pius cunasque suas, patriumque sepulcrum,
perque leves auras Hyperionis urbe potitus,
ante fores sacras Hyperionis aede reponit"

(where, whether we understand the structure to be "fores Hyperionis" or "aede Hyperionis," the sense is equally: *places them before the doors of Hyperion's cell in the temple of Hyperion*).

Also, Tacit. *Hist.* 1. 43: "Piso in aedem Vestae pervasit, exceptusque misericordia publici servi, et contubernio eius abditus, non religione, nec caeremoniis, sed latebra imminens exitium differebat. Cum advenere, missu Othonis, nominatim in caedem eius ardentes, Sulpicius Florus e Britannicis cohortibus, nuper a Galba civitate donatus, et Statius Murcus speculator: a quibus protractus Piso, in foribus templi trucidatur" (where it is "foribus templi," not, as in our text, "foribus divae," or as in Ovid, just quoted, "fores sacras," Piso having been dragged outside the temple ("protractus") in order that the sacred interior might not be polluted with blood). Tacit. *Annal.* 15. 29: "Tum placuit Tiridatem ponere apud effigiem Caesaris insigne regium, nec nisi manu Neronis resumere, et colloquium [Corbulonis et Tiridatis] osculo finitum. Dein paucis diebus interiectis, magna utrimque specie, inde eques compositus per turmas, et insignibus patriis; hinc agmina legionum steteri, fulgentibus aquilis signisque et simulacris deum, in modum templi. Medio tribunal sedem curulem et sedes effigiem Neronis sustinebat, ad quam progressus Tiridates, caesis ex more victimis, sublatum capite diadema imagini subiecit."

I saw, a few years ago, in the temple of Bacchus in Pompeii, and there are still to be seen there, in a state of con-

siderable perfection, the elevated Cella, the flight of steps leading to it, and the landing-place, which latter Fumagalli considers to be the tribunal described by Vitruvius. See, for a representation of the building, as well as for that of the temple of Isis in Pompeii, in which there are also the elevated Cella, flight of steps, and landing-place (converted by pillars into a portico), Fumagalli's *Pompeii*, vol. 1, Firenze, 1830.*

That it was in front of the peculiar residence of the goddess that Dido's throne was placed seems to admit of no manner of doubt: *first*, because we are informed it was placed FORIBUS DIVAE, *at the door of the goddess*, i. e. of the Cella which the goddess inhabited, where her image was kept; and MEDIA TESTUDINE TEMPLI, *under the middle of the vaulted roof or dome of*

* The transition from the Cella of the ancient pagan temple to the choir or chancel of the modern Christian church was through the ancient Christian sanctuary or *sacrarium*, called (1), *βημα*, because, like the Cella, it was elevated above the surrounding part of the church; (2), *το αγιον, αγιασμα ιερατειον*, and *sacrarium*, on account of its peculiar sanctity; (3), *το αβατον* and *το αδυτον* (names common both to the Cella and the sanctuary), because the laity were not permitted to enter it; (4), *το θυσιαστηριον*, because it contained the altar; (5), *πρεσβυτηριον* and *το διακονικον*, because the presbyters sat, and the deacons ministered, therein; and finally (6), *chancel* (*τα ενδον των κιγκλιδων*), because, like the Cella, separated by *cancelli* from the rest of the interior. See the description given by Eusebius, *Ecl. Histor.* 10. 4, of the church of Tyre, rebuilt by the Bishop Paulinus; and the plan in Potter's edition.

There were three entrances in the ancient Christian church, one after the other in a right line, so that when the doors of all were open there was an uninterrupted view from the street or outside to the very furthest end of the building. The first entrance was from the outside, through the vestibule and *μεγαλη νευαι* into the *ναυθη* or *quadriportico*. The second was from the *quadriportico* through the *ωραια νευαι* into the body of the church. The third was from the body of the church through the *αγια νευαι* into the sanctuary. It was this last entrance which corresponded to the FORIBUS DIVAE of our text.

As in pagan times the tribunals or thrones of distinguished personages were for greater honour placed on the landing-place in front of the elevated Cella, so in early Christian times the bishop's throne (often a permanent throne of marble or other stone) was for greater honour placed on the elevated Christian sanctuary or *βημα* (generally in the semicircular end of it, called the *apsis* or *concha*), a position in which it is still to be seen standing even at the present day in many of the older churches, not only in Rome, *ex. gr.* in *San Clemente*, and *Santa Cecilia* in *Trastevere*, but in other parts of the Christian world.

the temple. And *secondly*, because the temple offered no site for the throne at all comparable with this, where it was in a good light, where it was conspicuous from all parts, where, if there was a landing-place, it was removed from, and elevated above, the crowd, and where, without encroaching on the private domain of the goddess, it was within the halo of her sanctity, and almost under her very shadow. That the passage was so understood by Sedulius appears **from** that author's imitation, *Op. Pasch. 3* (of Christ in the temple):

"dumque sui media residens testudine templi
ore tonans patrio," &c.;

and that it was so understood by Donatus, **from** the express gloss of that grammarian, who says: "Ubi ad mediam testudinem templi, *i. e.* ad mediam aream pervenit, ascendit solium."

The right understanding of the picture presented to us in our text, viz., of Dido seated before the *fores* of the cell in the temple of Juno, leads us directly to the right understanding of the similar picture presented to us in the commencement of the Sixth Book; leads us to understand that the "*fores*" before which Aeneas and the Sibyl are represented as standing (vv. 45, 47), and which are thrown open (v. 81), are **not** at all the *fores* of the temple, particularly described at verse 20, and already passed through and left behind by Aeneas and his companion, verse 41, **but** the *fores* of the Sibyl's cave in the interior of the temple, verse 42:

"excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum."

Whence comes again a reflected argument, if indeed further argument of any kind be required, that the foregoing interpretation is the only true one.

The right understanding of *FORIBUS DIVÆ* leads in like manner to the right understanding of "*limina Phœbi*," 3. 371, showing that those words mean not the temple of Phoebus, but the *adytum* or shrine of Phoebus in the interior of the temple, into which shrine Helenus enters, like the Sibyl in the Sixth Book, and delivers from the inside the oracular response to Aeneas standing outside.

With this whole description of the reception of Ilioneus and

the Trojan ambassadors by Dido in the temple of Juno, compare the exactly parallel description (*Aen.* 7. 168) of the reception of the same Ilioneus and his companions by Latinus, similarly seated on a solium, and similarly "medius" in the temple of Picus; and (Bibl. Sacr. [vulg.] *Esther*, 5. 1) the reception of Esther by Ahasuerus, also seated on his solium in the consistory of his palace, and opposite to the entrance: "Die autem tertio induta est Esther regalibus vestimentis, et stetit in atrio domus regiae, quod erat interius, contra basilicam regis; at ille [Ahasuerus] sedebat super solium suum in consistorio palatii contra ostium domus."

TESTUDINE. This word describes the shape, as **NEXAE AENE TRABES** (verse 452), the structure and material, of the roof, as if Virgil had written "gradibus alte nitens."

ALTE SUBNIXA. "Alte consurgens," Donatus; proof, if proof were needed, how little trustworthy are the glosses of those elder grammarians. Subniti, *ἐπεισθῆναι*, is *to take or derive support out of something placed underneath; to lean upon, to rest upon* (without including the idea of repose). And so Gessner, correctly, "*In re tanquam basi niti.*" **SUBNIXA** operates, ~~not~~ (as gratuitously and most unpoetically supposed by Heyne) ~~on~~ scabello understood, ~~but~~—as placed beyond all doubt by Claudian's exactly parallel (*Epith. Honor. et Mariae*, 99):

"caesariem tunc forte Venus subnixa corusco
fingebat solio,"

and the exactly parallel:

"nec non et Seraphin suum supremo
subnixus solio tenet regitque"

of Prudentius (*Cathem.* 4. 5)—~~on~~ **SOLIO** expressed. Compare *Aen.* 3. 402: "parva Philoctetae subnixa Petilia muro;" *Ciris*, 195: "subnixae nubibus altis;" *Ciris*, 348: "cubito subnixa;" and Statius's manifest imitation (*Theb.* 2. 358):

"sublimem solio septumque horrentibus armis."

The structure, therefore, is: **RESEDIT FORIBUS DIVAE SEPTA ARMES SUBNIXAQUE ALTE SOLIO.** Compare Iscan. 4. 472:

. . . "sublime sedentem
fulcit ebur."

The expression has been borrowed by Hericus, *Vita S. Germani*, lib. 6:

"nunc tibi, nunc meritas laudes sacramus, Iesu,
subnixus solio flectis qui cuncta paterno."

SEPTA ARMIS. Compare Pseudo-Egesippus, *de excid. Hierosol.* 2. 1 (of Archelaus): "Stipantibus armis [*al.* numeris] militari-
bus."

511.

IURA DABAT LEGESQUE VIRIS

"*Iura legesque dare*, nihil . . . aliud quam *ius dicere*," Heyne; "*ius dicebat*," Wagner (1849); "recht nach dem gesetze sprechen," Thiel—all confounding two very different expressions: *iura dare*, to prescribe laws, and *ius dicere*, to expound what the law is, to administer justice. See Rem. on "*iura dabunt*," verse 297; and compare this picture of *law-giving* Dido seated on her throne, in her incipient empire, and SEPTA ARMIS, with the picture given by Livy, 1. 8, of *law-giving* Romulus, in infant Rome, inspiring, by the ensigns of authority, and especially by the lictors with which he surrounded himself, respect for the laws which he prescribed: "Rebus divinis rite perpetratis, vocataque ad concilium multitudine, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus proterat, *jura dedit*; quae ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, quum cetero habitu se augustiorem, tum maxime lictoribus duodecim sumptis fecit." Compare also *Aen.* 8. 670:

"secretosque pios; his dantem iura Catonem,"

not administering justice to the "*prii*," deciding causes for the "*prii*" (for among the "*prii*" there could be no injustice, no disputes), but prescribing laws, rules of conduct, for the "*prii*."

VIRIS. "Hoc igitur fuit praecipuum in eius laudibus, cum scriberent leges et iura, quia acquiescebant viri iussis feminae," Donatus. "Quod autem dixit VIRIS ad Didonis pertinet laudem," Serv. (ed. Lion). The observation is correct; VIRIS is emphatic, and implies that Dido, a woman, had (an unheard-of thing among the Romans) authority over men, and not only over men, but over men distinguished for their moral or physical endowments, viri. Compare verse 494:

"ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
Penthesilea furens, mediisque in millibus ardet;
aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae,
bellatrix, audetque *viris* concurrere *virgo*."

NUBE CAVA AMICTI. Compare Hor. *Od.* 1. 2. 31:

"nube candentes humeros amictus,
augur Apollo."

522—523.

QUID VENIANT CUNCTIS NAM LECTI NAVIRUS IBANT
ORANTES VENIAM ET TEMPLUM CLAMORE PETEBANT

VAR. LECT.

punct. VENIANT · CUNCTI *Vat.** *Pal.*,† *Med.*‡ II cod. Canon. (Butler). III Donat. ad Ter. *Adelphi*, 3. 3; Pr. Ven. 1470, 1471, 1475; Henr. Steph.; N. Heins. (1670, 1676, 1704), Heyne; Pott.; Ribb.; Coningt.

punct. VENIANT CUNCTI · NAM III D. Heins.; Wagn. (1841, 1861); Haupt. O *Ver.*, *St. Gall.*

CUNCTIS I *Vat.* (the *s* in CUNCTIS being superscribed, apparently a *pr. m.*), *Pal.* II § 5. III Rom. 1469; Aldus; P. Manut.; Ven. 1475; Milan, 1475; H. Steph.; Nich. Heins. (1670, 1676, 1704); Philippe; Pott.; Heyne; Peerlk.; Ribb.; Coningt.

* The point in the *Vat. Fr.* after VENIANT is, as frequently in that MS., a little below the lines, and most probably by a later hand. It has not been noticed by Ribbeck.

† The point in the *Pal.* after VENIANT has not been noticed by Ribbeck.

‡ A point both before and after CUNCTI in the *Med.*

CUNCTI I *Rom.*, *Med.* II $\frac{4}{8}$, cod. Canon. (Butler). III Ven. 1470, 1471;
D. Heins.; Dorph.; Wagn. (1832, 1841); Häckerm.; Haupt.
O *Ver.*, *St. Gall.*

LECTI I *Vat.*, *Pal.* (LECTI*), *Med.* II $\frac{5}{8}$. III Pr. Ven. 1471, 1475; Mil. 1475;
Aldus; H. Steph.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1676, 1704); Philippe;
Heyne; Dorph.; Wagn. (1841, 1861); Ribb.; Coningt.; Haupt; Peerlk.

LECTIS I *Rom.* (thus: LEETIS). II $\frac{2}{8}$.

LETI II $\frac{3}{8}$.

O *Ver.*, *St. Gall.*

QUID VENIANT CUNCTIS. "QUID VENIANT CUNCTI," Wagner (ed. Heyn. and ed. 1861), Haupt. No; the wonder being not that they were there CUNCTI, but that they were there at all. Compare Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 1. 1. 13:

"quid veniant, novitate roges fortasse sub ipsa."

Ovid, *Met.* 11. 622:

"quid veniat (cognorat enim) scitatus," . . .

Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 1. 47: "Ariovistus . . . clamavit: Quid ad se venirent? an speculandi causa?" Plaut. *Amphitr.* prolog. 17 (Mercury speaking):

"nunc cuius iussu venio, et quamobrem venerim,
dicam; simulque ipse eloquar nomen meum."

Liv. 31. 39: "Corpus iam curabat consul, quum venisse nunciatum est." Und Virgil himself, *Aen.* 6. 389: "fare, age, quid venias." This is one of the numerous instances in which the Heynian edition has been greatly damaged by Wagner's *soi-disant* emendations.

CUNCTIS LECTI NAVIBUS, not CUNCTI LECTI NAVIBUS, (1) because it was only by representatives of all the ships being there that they could be known to be representatives at all; (2) because of the parallêls, *Aen.* 11. 60: "toto lectos ex agmine;" 7. 152, "delectos ordine ab omni;" 7. 274, "equos numero pater eligit omni;" 5. 15:

"quatuor ex omni delectae classe carinae."

* The superscribed *s* has not been noticed by Ribbeck.

Theocr. *Idyll.* 13. 16:

. . . *Ιησων*
Αισονιδας, οι δ' αυτω αριστιης συνεποντο,
πασαν εκ πολλων προλελεγμενοι, ων ομματος τε.

Val. Flacc. 5. 326:

“dixerat; et Scythicam qui se comitentur ad urbem,
 sorte petit; numeroque novem ducuntur ab omni.”

Stat. *Theb.* 6. 128:

. . . “longo post tempore surgit
 colla super iuvenum (numero dux legerat omni),
 ipse fero clamore torus.”

(3) because CUNCTIS is not, as stated by Heyne (“CUNCTIS, quod haud dubie verius, in paucissimis occurrere videtur”), the reading of a very small number of MSS. only, but of a considerable proportion. See *Var. Lect.* above.

CUNCTIS: all collectively, the whole of the ships taken as one body. The delegates, the LECTI, represented, not the separate ships (so many delegates for each ship), but the whole of the ships considered as one body. The entire crew (viz., the crews of each ship collected together, and forming one mass or body) selected delegates. There was, therefore, only a single set of delegates, this single set representing the whole fleet (CUNCTIS NAVIBUS). Festus: “*Cuncti* significat quidem *omnes*, sed coniuncti et congregati; at vero *omnes*, etiam si diversis locis sint.”

ORANTES VENIAM ET TEMPLUM CLAMORE PETEBANT.—“Quum haec adiecta sint, ET TEMPLUM, quo Dido se contulerat, PETEBANT, intellige de venia reginae conveniendae,” Wagn. (ed. Heyne). Not only not the meaning, but the very opposite of the meaning. The deputies not only do not beg the favour of an audience of the queen in the temple, but they go to the temple for the very purpose of begging the favour they want. The gist of the thought is in ORANTES VENIAM; the mission of the deputies is to beg the queen's grace, and, in order to execute this their mission, they go to the temple. In other words, the two clauses stand to each other in the relation of theme and variation—“they were going to beg the queen's grace” being the theme, and “they were betaking themselves clamorously to the temple” being the variation; the theme expressing briefly

their journey (IBANT), and the object of their journey (ORANTES VENIAM); the variation expressing the precise point which it was necessary they should reach, in order to accomplish their mission, viz., the temple, and that they did not go quietly towards it, but clamorously. The sum of the two clauses is expressible in the one sentence: "went clamorously to the temple to beg [the queen's] grace." An exact parallel will be found, 10. 213:

"tot lecti procures ter denis navibus ibant
subsidio Troiae, et campos salis aere secabant,"

where "ibant subsidio Troiae" (corresponding to IBANT ORANTES VENIAM) is the theme, of which "campos salis aere secabant" is the variation; and where the two simple clauses together express the complex sentiment, "ploughed the salt sea as they went to the help of Troy."

Venia here as elsewhere (see Rem. on "veniamque precari," 3. 114) is *not* forgiveness, *but* grace, favour. The precise venia asked is explained as clearly as it is possible for language to explain anything, only five lines further on, where the spokesman of the deputation which went to the temple ORANTES VENIAM begins his address to the queen for venia with the words:

TROES TE MISERI, VENTIS MARIA OMNIA VECTI,
ORAMUS: PROHIBE INFANDOS A NAVIBUS IGNES;
PARCE PIO GENERI, ET PROPIUS RES ASPICE NOSTRAS.

ORANTES VENIAM, equivalent to "oratum veniam," or "ut orarent veniam." Compare 2. 114, where the codices vacillate between "scitantem oracula Phoebi" and "scitatum oracula Phoebi," readings affording precisely the same sense.

There is, perhaps, no verb which is oftener varied by our author, in order to form the construction which I have denominated theme and variation, than this very verb *ire* and its compounds. Compare 6. 719:

"o pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc *ire* putandum est
sublimes animas, iterumque ad tarda reverti
corpora?"

6. 386:

"per tacitum nemus *ire*, pedemque advertere ripae."

6. 158:

. . . "cui fidus Achates
it comes, et paribus curis vestigia figit."

9. 597:

"*ibat*, et ingentem [*leg.* ingenti] sese clamore ferebat."

2. 25:

"nos *abiisse* rati et vento petiisse Mycenae."

5. 318:

"primus *abit*, longaeque ante omnia corpora Nisus
 emicat."

4. 281:

"ardet *abire* fuga, dulcesque relinquere terras."

11. 764:

"qua victrix *redit* illa, pedemque ex hoste reportat."

MAXIMUS (verse 525); the *oldest*, and according to the proverb, *senior*, *prior*. Compare Eurip. *Cycl.* 100 (Ulysses addressing Silenus first as the eldest of the satyrs):

χαίρειν προσεῖπα πρῶτα τὸν γέραιτον.

526—545.

NOVAM—TERRA

VAR. LECT.

HUC CURSUS FUIT I *Med.* (Fogg.) III Servius, in Prooem. (ed. Lion); Wakef.; Ribb.

HUC CURSUS FUIT III Servius, in Comm. (ed. Lion) ("HUC CURSUS; vel *iste cursus*, vel pro *illuc*"); P. Manut.

O *Vat.*, *Ver.*, *St. Gall.*

HUC CURSUS FUIT is more probably the true reading, "illuc cursus erat" being certainly the true reading, Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 583.

NOVAM CUI CONDERE IUPITER URBEM IUSTITIAQUE DEDIT GENTES
 FRENARE SUPERBAS. —These words refer to the two occupations
 in which Ilioneus and the Trojans have just seen Dido engaged:
 NOVAM CUI CONDERE IUPITER URBEM to "operumque laborem parti-
 bus aequabat iustis," etc. (verse 511); IUSTITIAQUE DEDIT, &c., to
 "iura dabat, legesque viris" (*ibid.*).

PARCE PIO GENERI ET PROPIUS RES ASPICE NOSTRAS.—PRO-

PIUS, "Praesentius," Taubmann, Conington. "'Accuratius inspicere'; sciz. deprecatur iudicium de se ex primo rerum aspectu fortunaeque specie, postulatque a regina ut accuratius sibi, qui sint, exponi patiatur," Heyne. I agree with Heyne against Taubmann and Conington, and look upon the speech of Ilioneus as laying before Dido that nearer ("vicinius," Servius), *i. e.* closer, view of the Trojan case and circumstances which Ilioneus, in the words of our text, expresses his wish she should take. Compare Eurip. *Iphig. in Aulid.* 490 (ed. Stokes):

αἴρω, νῆος τ' ἣν πρὶν το πρᾶγμα δ' ἐγγυθεν
σκοπῶ, εἰσίδον οἶον ἣν πτείνειν τέχνη,

where ἐγγυθεν σκοπῶν (corresponding exactly to PROPIUS ASPICE) can only mean *looking closely into*; and where, in a context very similar to that in which our text stands, the very change of feeling which Ilioneus promises himself shall take place in the mind of Dido on a closer examination of the Trojan case (PROPIUS RES ASPICE NOSTRAS), viz., a change from severity to mercy, does actually take place in the mind of Menelaus, το πρᾶγμα ἐγγυθεν σκοπῶν. Compare, also, Manil. 4. 906:

. . . "victorque ad sidera mittit,
sidereosque oculos, propiusque aspectat Olympum,
inquitque Iovem."

Sil. 1. 29:

"verum ubi magnanimis Romam caput urbibus alto
exserere, ac missas etiam trans aequora classes
totum signa videt victricia ferre per orbem,
iam propius metuens, bellandi corda furore
Phoenicum exstimulat [Iuno]"

[fearing *more closely*; more nearly, *i. e.*, feeling the danger nearer]. The two ideas, however, run into each other, closeness or nearness being indispensable to kindness of relation; and more or less of kindness following almost as a necessary consequence on closeness. The following is a remarkable instance of the use of the word in the second or derived sense, Claud. *Laus Serenae*, 106:

. . . "propius, quam si genuisset, amavit
defuncti fratris sobolem."

I shall not, therefore, go so far as to deny that there may be

some intermixture of this sense in the PROPIUS of our text. It is, at least, in order that Dido may take a *kindlier*, that Ilioneus begs of her to take a *nearer*, view of the circumstances—PROPIUS *aspiciens* RES NOSTRAS, PARCE PIO GENERI; exactly as Tacit. *Annal.* 13. 57: “religione insita, eos maxime locos propinquare caelo, precesque mortalium a deis nusquam propius audiri,” where the kindlier view is the consequence of and implied in the nearer.

NON NOS AUT FERRO LIBYCOS POPULARE PENATES VENIMUS. With this address of Ilioneus to Dido, on the part of himself and the Trojans shipwrecked along with him, compare the address of Clearchus to Tissaphernes on the part of himself and the ten thousand, Xenoph. *Anab.* 2. 2: *Ἡμεῖς οὐτε συνηλθομεν ὡς βασιλεὶ πολεμήσοντες, κ. τ. λ.*

NON EA VIS ANIMO, NEC TANTA SUPERBIA VICTIS. The very paraphrase of Livy, 45. 22: “Neque enim ea nunc nostra est fortuna.”

QUUM SUBITO ASSURGENS FLUCTU NIMBOSUS ORION. For examples of fluctus used as a noun of multitude, *i. e.* to express fluctuation, or the rolling of many waves, see *Georg.* 4. 195:

“ut cymbae instabiles, fluctu iactante, saburram;”

Aen. 8. 672:

. . . “fluctu spumabant caerula cano.”

There is an exactly similar use of the words *wave* and *billow* in English, as Milton, *Par. Lost*, 1. 192:

“thus Satan talking to his nearest mate,
with head uplift above the wave, and eyes
that sparkling blazed;”

and Wolfe, *Burial of Sir John Moore*, “and we far away on the billow.”

ADNAVIMUS.—“In verbo ADNAVIMUS difficultas, calamitas et clades apparent, quae miserationem commoveant,” Pierius, understanding the word literally of the shipwrecked swimming to land, as, 6. 358, “paulatim adnabam terrae.” Pierius is in error. Adnare is here used to express, not the floating or swimming of the persons to land, but the floating or swimming of the ships to land, as in Ovid, *Trist.* 3. 12. 31:

"incipient aliquae tamen huc adnare carinae,
hospitaque in Ponti littore puppis erit;"

also, our author himself, *Georg.* 4. 506:

"illa quidem Stygia nabat iam frigida cymba"

[swam or floated in the Stygian boat]. The Germans use their *schwimmen* and *anschwimmen*, and the French their *nager*, precisely as Virgil in our text uses *adnare*. Compare *Dresdener Nachrichten*, Aug. 13, 1866: "Gestern vormittag schwamm unterhalb der terrasse ein männlicher leichnam an." *Tagblatt der Stadt St. Gallen*, 22 July, 1862: "Schwimmend aus Indien sind nicht 25,000, sondern 440,000 ballen." Jal, *Flotte de César*: "Les autres nageant debout ou assis sur des bancs élevés." See Rem. on 8. 93.

PRIMAQUE VETANT CONSISTERE TERRA. PRIMA TERRA, *the edge of the land; the shore*. Compare Ovid, *Fast.* 2. 595:

"vos illi in prima fugienti obsistite ripa"

[*the edge or brink of the river bank*: "Stop her on the top of the bank, before she gets down to the water"]. "Prima terra," *the part of the land nearest you as you approach the land from the water*; "prima ripa," *the part of the bank nearest you as you approach the water from the land*. Compare also *Georg.* 2. 44: "primi lege littoris oram" [*the edge of the shore next the sea*]; and Val. Flacc. 3. 304:

. . . "quae me hospita tellus
accipiet? quae non primis prohibebit arenis?"

[*the edge of the sand, next the sea*]. Ovid, *Met.* 4. 543 (of Leucothea, who has drowned herself):

"Sidoniae comites, quantum valere, secutae
signa pedum, primo videre novissima saxo"

[*saw the last on the edge of the rock, next the sea*]. Ovid, *Met.* 2. 870 (of Jupiter carrying off Europa):

"cum deus a terra siccoque a littore sensim
falsa pedum primis vestigia ponit in undis"

[*the edge of the water, next the land*].

546—551.

SI GENUS HUMANUM ET MORTALIA TEMNITIS ARMA
 AT SPERATE DEOS MEMORES FANDI ATQUE NEFANDI
 REX ERAT AENEAS NOBIS QUO IUSTIOR ALTER
 NEC PIETATE FUIT NEC BELLO MAIOR ET ARMIS
 QUEM SI FATA VIRUM SERVANT SI VESCITUR AURA 50
 AETHERIA NEQUE ADHUC CRUELIBUS OCCUBAT UMBRIS

SI GENUS—NEFANDI. Compare Hom. *Od.* 22. 39. (Ulysses to the suitors):

ΟΥΤΕ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΔΕΙΣΑΝΤΕΣ, ΟΙ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΕΥΡΙΩΝ ΕΧΟΥΣΙΝ,
 ΟΥΤΕ ΤΙΝ' ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΝΕΜΕΣΙΝ ΚΑΤΟΠΙΣΘΕΝ ΕΘΕΣΘΕ.

QUO IUSTIOR ALTER NEC PIETATE FUIT NEC BELLO MAIOR ET ARMIS.—“*Pietas pars iustitiae est, sicut severitas. Nunc ergo hoc dicit, qua parte sit iustus, i. e. PIETATE,*” Serv. (ed. Lion). “*IUSTIOR PIETATE, i. quantum ad pietatem in superos et parentem,*” Ascensius. “*Veteres pietatem in parte iustitiae ponebant,*” Wagner (1861), quoting Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* 1. 41, and the first four words of Servius, cited above. “*Verbinde IUSTIOR PIETATE,*” Thiel. This structure affording me no sense whatever—for I cannot understand how a man can be either more or less just PIETATE, whether PIETATE be equivalent to *by* pietas, or *in* pietas, or *with* pietas—I adopt the construction of which we have already in Donatus an inkling (“*In rege suo bona animi laudavit et corporis: animi sunt iustitia et pietas; virtus, in exercitatione bellandi*”), and which has been thus more clearly set forth, first by Heyne (“*QUO NEC ALTER IUSTIOR, NEC MAIOR FUIT PIETATE, BELLO ET ARMIS*”), and then by Voss—

. . . “dem nicht in gerechtigkeit einer,
 nicht in frömmigkeit je, noch in krieg und waffen zuvorging”—

and has since been adopted both by Forbiger and Conington. Not that I admire the construction or find in it our author's usual elegance, but because any construction, no matter how awkward or slovenly, is preferable to a construction affording,

as it seems to me, no sense at all. The observation of Conington: "Heyne was the first who put a comma at ALTER; the old punctuation connected IUSTIOR with PIETATE," requires modification if I have been correct in representing Heyne's analysis of the passage to be as old as Donatus's, *i. e.* to be the older of the two analyses in question; still more if Servius's "*Pietas enim in deos, iustitia in homines est; quibus duabus virtutibus regem ornatum esse convenit*," as most probably it is not a further explanation of his above-quoted analysis, but an *aliter*, very likely by a different hand.

PIETATE MAIOR, as "iustitia potentior armis," Ovid, *Met.* 6. 678:

"iustitia dubium validisne potentior armis,"

and—still more parallel, nay, exactly parallel, "pietate potens," Propert. 3. 22. 21 (of the Romans):

"nam quantum ferro tantum pietate potentes
stamus: victrices temperat ira manus."

PIETATE, *tenderness*, the tender feelings (see Rem. on 1. 14), opposed to the *strict right* or equity in IUSTIOR. Compare Ovid, *Heroid.* 8. 3:

"Pyrrhus Achillides, animosus imagine patris,
inclusam contra iusque piumque tenet."

QUEM SI FATA VIRUM SERVANT. Not a mere equivalent for "quem si fata servant;" on the contrary, VIRUM is added for the express purpose of taking away what is common or vulgar in the expression "quem si fata servant"—in other words, in order that Aeneas may be designated on this solemn occasion, and in the royal presence, more respectfully than by a mere monosyllable. The difference is precisely that which exists in English between *whom* or *him* and *that man*.

The thought expressed in the words QUEM SI FATA VIRUM SERVANT is repeated both in SI VESCITUR AURA AETHERIA and in NEQUE ADHUC CRUELIBUS OCCUBAT UMBRIS; in other words, the two last clauses of the sentence are little more than repetitions of the first. This mode of writing (which, adopting the terms of a sister art, I shall call) by theme and variation—although much used by poets in all languages, nay, almost inseparable

from poetry, and constituting an almost splendid part of the art—has been little, if at all, noticed by writers on the art of poetry. It may be well, therefore, to take the opportunity of this, the first well-marked instance of our author's use of it, in his *Aeneid*, to make some general observations upon it, the more especially as we shall find it very frequently employed and with great effect in the course of the poem.

Perhaps no author in the English language has used this method more frequently or more happily than Pope. Let us take his well-known couplet (*Essay on Man*, Ep. 1. 95):

"hope springs eternal in the human breast:
man never is, but always to be blest."

It may not have occurred to admirers of this couplet, that the two lines of which it consists express substantially the same idea; that the poet, having enunciated his thought in the line "hope springs eternal in the human breast," instead of proceeding in the next line to a new thought, dwells upon the just enunciated thought—harps upon it, as we say—and in the new line produces it over again in a slightly varied form. Not tired of the thought himself, he has pleasure in keeping it before his own eyes, and contemplating it under various aspects, and reckons, not without reason, on the same disposition in his reader: just like the nurse who repeats the same sentence, or the same stanza, or the same verse, of the lullaby to the infant she would put to sleep, or whose froward temper she would soothe; always, however, in each repetition varying a little, either in tone or in key, in quickness or in slowness, in expression or in words. The repeated thought on these occasions is not a complete and absolute repetition of the just enunciated thought (for no mind patiently endures absolute sameness); it is the just enunciated thought, with something left out, or something added, or both something left out and something added, or it is the just enunciated thought, modified, coloured, enlarged, or in some other way varied. You ask me: "Why repeated at all? Why, if the mind must have variety, not proceed at once to something new?" I reply: "The new is coming, but the transition must not be too rapid." The mind, except when in a state of unusual excitement, does not like

to be hurried, likes its leisure; just as the eye of the traveller likes to dwell upon the landscape through which he is passing, not be carried from object to object, with the rapidity of a locomotive. The mind's course through a poem must not be a mere succession of jolts, and of objects passed by so rapidly as not to be distinguished. The reader or hearer must have time to dwell a moment or two on the thought just presented before he is hurried off to another. We do not sit down to a poem as the queen enters her presentation chamber, to get over as many kisses of the hand as it is possible within a given time, without caring, or even so much as knowing, who or what it is that kisses. We would like to form some little acquaintance with the kissers, to have something for our trouble; if no more, sufficient knowledge at least of the person, to recognise it, should we ever happen to meet it again. For this reason the poet who most charms is not Persius, not he who condenses most, who presents his images in the most rapid succession, and with the most rapidity snatches them away; but Horace, who plays with them and dances them before and about you—"lustrat choreis." In the present instance how much less compliment had been paid to the missing hero; how much less the grief of Ilioneus and his companions indulged; how much less the expectation of Dido and the Phoenicians raised; how much less the sympathy of the reader enlisted, had the author contented himself with the mere necessary expression *QUEM SI FATA VIRUM SERVANT*, and from this short protasis proceeded at once to his apodosis *NON METUS*, &c.? The *feeding no longer on the ethereal effluence* had been wanting, the *lying in the cruel shadow of death* had been wanting, and we had been obliged to take on ourselves the trouble of colouring the uncoloured sketch, of supplying and eking out the deficient strokes, of finding out for ourselves, and by our own labour, that *QUEM SI FATA VIRUM SERVANT*, well reflected on, contained in itself the entire meaning: *If the hero was still alive, still feeding on the ethereal effluence, not yet lying prostrate and overshadowed by cruel death*. This is an ungrateful labour to the mind. We sit down to a poem in order to be pleased, refreshed, and delighted, not to be fatigued, and so we shut the book and turn elsewhere in

search of amusement; and who shall blame us? Not surely he who informs us that brevity in the orator is false play towards the client (Plin. *Ep.* 1. 20: "Praevaricatio etiam, cursim et breviter attingere quae sint inculcanda, infigenda, repetenda; nam plerisque longiore tractu vis quaedam et pondus accedit, utque corpori ferrum, sic oratio animo non ictu magis quam mora imprimitur"), for what is poetry but oratory put into measure? what the reader, but the poet's client?

Of this kind of writing, this playing of the image before you, there are various degrees. Sometimes there is little more in the second clause than a repetition, or changed words, of the first. *Ex. gr.*, verse 282, "imperium sine fine dedi" is a repetition of "his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono," the only substantial addition being "imperium," stronger and more emphatic than "rerum." And, *Ecl.* 1. 4 (for we have theme and variation already in almost the very first words of the first Eclogue), "nos patriam fugimus" is a mere repetition of "nos patriae fines et dulcia linquimus arva," except so far as "fugimus" is a slightly more concentrated expression than "patriae fines et dulcia arva." There is in each of these cases also only a single variation, not, as in our text, two. Yet even in these cases the effect of the expression of the thought by means of theme and variation is at least double the effect which had been produced by the expression of the same thought, without the help of such—artifice, shall I call it?—by the single sentences, to wit, "his ego nec metas imperii, nec tempora pono;" and by "nos fugimus fines et dulcia arva patriae." A still simpler, still purer, example of the form of writing which I have found convenient thus to denominate theme and variation occurs in the Twelfth Book, at verse 318:

"has inter voces, media inter talia verba,"

where the variation is, perhaps, as little a variation as it is possible to be, and be a variation at all, yet has the essential effect of a variation, as it forces the reader to dwell upon the occurrence thus doubly or twice over described, prevents him from passing on as rapidly as he would surely have passed on

if the circumstance had been described by the theme alone, or by the variation alone. By this suspense of the expectation, weight and importance are added to the incident described. Of all the arts of the poet, this little manoeuvre (of which another example, only a very little more studied, will be found at verse 10 of the same Twelfth Book:

“tum sic affatur regem, atque ita turbidus infit”)

is, perhaps, the simplest, most natural, and most effectual. At other times, the second clause is even less a repetition of the first, hardly deserves the name of a clause or a repetition at all; yet the passage is formed more or less on the principle, and has more or less the effect, of theme and variation. An example of this kind will be found at verse 12 of this Book, where “numine laeso” and “quidve dolens” are substantially two variations of the theme “causas.” At verse 31 of this Book will be found another example of the same kind, “spretae iniuria formae” being substantially a mere variation of “iudicium Paridis,” not a separate independent head or category; and in the very next verse will be found a third, “rapti Ganymedis honores” being, in like manner, substantially a variation of “genus invisum;” as in verse 34, a fourth, “reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achillei” being substantially, not formally, a variation of “Troas.” Sometimes, on the contrary, the theme and variation principle is carried out even to a greater extent than in our text. Instances occur in which there are as many as three variations of the theme; and now and then we meet with an instance in which either theme or variation, or both theme and variation, are subdivisible into theme and variation. Of this latter form we have an example at 9. 98, where “defunctae” and “finem portusque tenebunt Ausonios” are respectively theme and variation of the theme “defunctae finem portusque tenebunt Ausonios;” and “quaecumque evaserit undis” and “Dardanium ducem Laurentia vexerit arva,” are respectively theme and variation of the variation “quaecumque evaserit undis Dardaniumque ducem Laurentia vexerit arva.” Nor is it in poetry *only* the principle is applicable;

theme and variation are equally used in prose, and contribute alike to its clearness and amenity. Returning back to this comment, and reading it over again, I find that I have, in the course of it—unintentionally, and without any view to their citation—used the theme and variation mode of writing no less than fourteen times. It will be found in the very first sentence, the first half of which, ending at “umbris,” is a theme of which the second half, ending at “first,” is the variation. It will be found in the second sentence, the clause “almost inseparable from poetry” being a theme of which the clause “and constituting an essential part of the art” is the variation. A little further on, in the sentence immediately succeeding Pope’s couplet, the clause “the two lines of which it consists express substantially the same idea” is a theme of which the clause, “the poet having enunciated his thought in the line,

‘hope springs eternal in the human breast,’

instead of proceeding in the next line to a new thought, dwells upon the just enunciated thought, harps upon it, as we say, and in the new line produces it over again in a slightly varied form,” is the variation—a variation, too, in which the clause “dwells upon the just enunciated thought” is a new theme, of which the clause “harps upon it, as we say,” is a first, and the clause “and in the new line produces it over again in a slightly varied form” is a second variation. And so on I might proceed, if there were any use in it, through the whole fourteen instances in which I have myself, in the course of this single comment, used, wholly accidentally, this form of composition.

Theme and variation being so exceedingly usual a form of composition, the knowledge of the principle becomes almost essential, not merely to the interpretation of individual passages, as well of Virgil as of other authors, but to the just appreciation both of Virgil’s style, and of style in general, whether poetic or prosaic. Having dwelt at so great length on the subject here, on occasion of the first marked example of this kind of structure presented by our author, little more will be

necessary, when similar examples present themselves, than to point them out in as brief terms as possible to the reader's attention. See Rem. on 23-26, above.

VESCITUR AURA AETHERIA. "Sane, hic VESCITUR pro *fruitur* posuit; nam non comedit auram sed vivit ea," Servius (ed. Lion), Voss, and "haucht jener des aether's nährende luft," "wenn er des aether's hauch noch geneusst." Not the meaning: VESCITUR AURA AETHERIA is not *breathes* but *sees*, as Stat. *Theb.* 1. 236 (Jupiter, of the still living and breathing Oedipus):

"ille tamen Superis aeterna piacula solvit
proiecitque diem, nec iam amplius aethere nostro
rescitur; at nati (facinus sine more!) cadentes
calcavere oculos,"

—a use of *vesci* similar to that made of the same word by Accius, in *Athamante* (ap. Nonium):

"prius, quam infans esses, facinus oculi vescuntur tui"

(where Nonius: "*vesci* . . . *videre*"). Compare Sil. 13. 497:

"'aetheria frueror quum luce, haud segniter,' inquit,
'Cymaeo populis vox nostra sonabat in antro.'"

Juv. 3. 84:

"usque adeo nihil est, quod nostra infantia caelum
hausit Aventinum, bacca nutrita Sabina."

And Virgil himself, *Aen.* 10. 898: "ut auras suspiciens hausit caelum;" and Lanci, *Poesie*, Fano, 1857, p. 105 (of Venus):

"chi dal suo ferro affrancasi?
qual di spezzarlo è bravo?
ogni uom di quella è schiavo
tosto ch' e' sorga a suggero
i rai del chiaro sol."

See Rem. on "oculisque errantibus alto quaesivit caelo lucem," 4. 691.

The line is a paraphrase of Homer's (*Od.* 4. 833):

εἰ που εἰτι ζῶει καὶ ὄρα φάος ἡλίου

(where, no less than generally among the writers of antiquity, *seeing* not *breathing* is the explanation and paraphrase of *living*). Compare Aesch. *Agam.* 687 (ed. Schütz):

εἰ δ' οὖν τις ἀκτὶς ἡλίου νῦν ἱστορεῖ,
καὶ ζῶντα καὶ βλέποντα μηχαναῖς Διὸς
ἐλπίς τις αὐτὸν πρὸς δομοῦς ἤξειν πύλιν.

Hom. *Il.* 1. 88:

ἐμὲν ζώντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένουο.

Soph. *Philoct.* 1348:

ὦ στυγνὸς αἰὼν, τί μ' ἐτι δεῖται
βλεπόντα κοῦκ ἀφῆκας εἰς Ἀδου μολεῖν;

Eurip. *Troad.* 633 (ed. Musgr.) (Hecuba to Androm.):

οὐ ταῦτον, ὦ παῖ, τῷ βλέπειν το κατθανεῖν
το μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν, τῷδ' ἐνεῖσιν ἐλπίδες.

Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1437 (Polynices to Antigone):

. . . οὐ γὰρ μ' ἐτι
βλεπόντ' ἐσοῖσεθ' αὐθις.

and Brunck's translation of same: "Non enim aura vescentem videbitis me posthac." Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 1089 (Hercules speaking):

ἐμπνους μὲν εἰμι, καὶ δεδοχ' ἀπερ με δεῖ,
αὐθερά τε καὶ γῆν τοῖα θ' ἡλίου ταδε

[i. e., I am alive]. Lucret. 3. 1042 (ed. Lachm.):

"ipse Epicurus iit decurso lumine vitae."

Eurip. *Helena*, 582:

HEL. οὐκ ἤλθον εἰς γῆν Τρωαδ', ἀλλ' εἰδῶλον ἦν.

MEM. καὶ τίς βλέποντα σώματ' [viventia corpora] ἐξεργάζεται;

Lucret. 1. 4:

. . . "per te quoniam genus omne animantum
concipitur visūque exortum lumina solis."

Cicero, *pro Quint.*: "*Vivo videntique.*" Lucret. 3. 1059: "*Vivo atque videnti.*" Plin. *H. N.* 11. 37. 52: "*Oculi, pars corporis pretiosissima et quae lucis usu vitam distinguat a morte.*" *Aen.* 12. 935:

"et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis,
redde meis."

Aen. 2. 84:

"insontem
demisere neci, nunc cassum lumine lugent."

Aen. 3. 311:

. . . "vivisne? aut si lux alma recessit,
Hector ubi est?"

Georg. 2. 340:

"cum primae lucem pecudes hausero."

Anthol. Lat. (ed. Burm.) 3. 120. 5:

"ipae dies ideo nos grato perluit aestu [al. haustu]."

Sil. 13. 473:

“regia quum *lucem* posuerunt membra, probatum est
Hyrcanis adhibere canes.”

Lucan, 2. 512:

“vive, licet nolis, et nostro munere,” dixit,
“cerne *diem*.”

Avienus. *Ora Marit.* (of the sun):

“scis nam fuisse eius modi sententiam
Epicureorum; non eum occasu premi,
nullos subire gurgites, nunquam oculi,
sed obire mundum, obliqua caeli currere,
animare terras, alere *lucis* pabulo
convexa cuncta.”

where light is “pabulum,” exactly as in our text it is an object on which one feeds—VESCITUR.

AURA AETHERIA not *the ethereal air*, but *the ethereal effluence, radiance (strahl) of the ether*, i. e. light of the sky; “aura luminis.” Compare Hom. *Il.* 13. 837:

ἡλὴ δ' ἀυγὰς ἀέθρα καὶ αἶθερ ἀέρας.

Lactant. *de Phoen.* 43:

“atque ubi sol pepulit fulgentis limina portae,
et primi emicuit luminis aura levis.”

Anthol. Lat. (ed. Meyer), 1600:

“verna puer, puer o mi verna, ^{quis} ah! quis ab aura
te in tenebras rapuit?”

Virgil never uses the singular aura in the sense of atmospheric air, but always to express the effluence or radiance of something bright. Compare *Aen.* 6. 204:

“discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.”

AURA being thus understood, viz., as signifying effluence or radiance, not only does the praedicate AETHERIA become more appropriate, but a contrast or opposition is presented between AURA AETHERIA and CRUELIBUS UMBRIS, which is wholly wanting so long as AURA AETHERIA is understood to mean ethereal air. The substitution, therefore, of “aeria” for AETHERIA as proposed by Lachmann (ad Lucret. 3. 405) is, like so many other conjectural emendations of the Virgilian text, an altera-

tion for the worse; and a better explanation has been found than that proposed by Wagner (*Quaest. Virgil.* 9), of the use of *aura* in the singular; which better explanation, as well as the grounds on which it is founded, have been with the most laudable exactness and truthfulness transferred, by Wagner's own hand, from the obscure pages of my unworthy (unworthy even to be so much as mentioned) "Twelve Years' Voyage" to the brilliant pages of his own *Praestabilior*. See Rem. on 6. 721.

552-553.

NON METUS OFFICIO NEC TE CERTASSE PRIOREM
POENITEAT

VAR. LECT.

NEC I *Rom.*, *Pal.*,* *Med.* II $\frac{6}{6} \frac{3}{4}$, cod. Canon. (Butler). III *Princ.* Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; *Mod.*; *Mil.* 1475, 1492; both *Stephenses*; *P. Manut.*; both *Heinsii*; *Philippe*; *Burm.*; *Jahn*; *Thiel*; *Dorph.*; *Voss*; *Ribb.*; *Coningt.*; *N. Heins.* (1671, 1676, 1704).

NE II $\frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{4}$ (viz. *Goth.* 54). III *Turneb.*; *La Cerda*; *Heyne*; † *Brunck*; *Wakef.*; *Pott.*; ‡ *Wagn.* (1832, 1841, 1861); *Haupt*.

O *Vat.*, *Ver.*, *St. Gall.*

NON METUS OFFICIO NEC TE CERTASSE PRIOREM POENITEAT. "Vulgata erat lectio OFFICIO NEC TE; in quam mirum est optimum quemque codicem, atque etiam grammaticos (*vid.* *Heins.*), conspirare; est enim manifesto falsa. Sensus quidem qualiscunque extorqueri inde potest; sed occurrit unicuique in

* The reading of the Palatine MS. is very plainly NEC, not as quoted by Ribbeck, NEQUE. Ribbeck's error has arisen from the accidental wandering of his eye to the NEQUE of the preceding line, where, the margin of the leaf being deficient, there remains only the UR of the NEQUE, correctly represented by Ribbeck (viz., NEQUE), but incorrectly referred by him to the present verse.

† According to Conington, NE was recommended by Heinsius and introduced by Heyne.

‡ Contrary to all his MSS., which he informs us unanimously read NEC.

oculos legendum esse, NON METUS, OFFICIO NE TE: *ov ποβος μη. Non metuendum est, ne te poeniteat aliquando beneficiis nos priorem demeruisse.* Et extat haec lectio in Hamb. a m. sec.," Heyne. In this reading and augmentation, adopted from La Cerda, Heyne is followed and supported by Wagner (1861), Forbiger, Thiel, and the more modern editors, with the exception of Ribbeck and Conington. I adhere, however, to the ancient NEC, not only as the unanimous reading of the MSS. (for a second reading of Heyne's Hamburg MS., and the reading of that worthless MS., Gotha 54, are exceptions wholly undeserving of notice), but as affording, when rightly interpreted, *i. e.* when METUS is referred not to Dido but to the Trojans, by far the best sense: NON METUS [*est nobis*], we have nothing to fear; NEC, nor shall you repent, &c. I consider this a better sense than that obtainable from the reading NON METUS . . . NE; **first**, because the emphatically reduplicated *protasis* QUEM SI FATA VIRUM SERVANT—SI VESCITUR AURA AETHERIA—NEQUE ADHUC CRUELIBUS OCCUBAT UMBRIS requires a stronger *apodosis* than the feeble NON METUS . . . NE; and **secondly**, because it had not been complimentary to Dido thus, not merely to insinuate, but even plainly to express, that Ilioneus thought that Dido did fear that she would get no reward for showing kindness toward the Trojans.

It is impossible that the *protasis* QUEM SI FATA VIRUM, &c., could have a more fitting *apodosis* than NON METUS [*sciz. nobis*], NEC: "If only our brave general survives, we doubt not but we shall get over all our present difficulties—that all will ultimately be well with *us*—and *you* will have no cause to repent, &c. But if not—SIN ABSUMPTA SALUS—if he has perished, and we in consequence (instead of having no fear, NON METUS) have every reason to fear, to despair entirely (*viz.*, of a happy arrival in Italy), then we will go back to Sicily from whence we came hither, and settle down there among our friends."

It is further to be observed, that the *apodosis* NON METUS . . . NEC is stronger, and more fitting to come after the long *protasis*, than the *apodosis* NON METUS . . . NE, not only on account of its containing the weightier matter (*viz.*, that the

safety of Aeneas was the safety of their whole expedition), but on account of the great force and emphasis of the two short words NON METUS—constituting, according to this mode of understanding the passage, an entire sentence,—the more emphatic because placed at the beginning of a new verse, after a long exordium, and because separated from the sequel by a sudden pause (see Rem. on 2. 246). Still further, not only was it improper that Ilioneus should insinuate that Dido did fear that she might receive no recompense for kindness shown to the Trojans, but it was no less proper that he should express the fear the Trojans entertained for their safety if Aeneas had actually perished; nay, Dido in the very first word of her answer (verse 566) expressly refers to this fear, as if it had been mentioned by Ilioneus, and desires the Trojans to cast it off, for that, in case Aeneas had perished, they should be at liberty to settle in her dominions:

SOLVITE CORDE METUM, TEUCHI, SECLUDITE CURAS, &c.

 URBEM QUAM STATUO VESTRA EST, SUBDUCITE NAVES, &c.

Add to the above argument that the identical expression “nec te poeniteat” **not only** occurs again, *Ecl.* 2. 34:

“nec te poeniteat calamo trivisse labellum,”

and *Ecl.* 10. 17:

“nec te poeniteat pecoris, divine poeta.”

but is used both by Tibullus (1. 4. 41:

“nec te poeniteat duros subiisse labores”)

and Silius (5. 652:

“nec vos poeniteat, populares, fortibus umbris
 hoc mactare caput”);

whilst the almost identical “nos non poeniteat” is used by Tacitus, *Annal.* 3. 50: “Per quam neque huic delictum impune sit, et nos clementiae simul ac severitatis non poeniteat.” Compare *Aen.* 7. 231, where, to a *protasis* similar to the *protasis* in our text, there is a similar double *apodosis*: “non erimus regno indecores” corresponding to NON METUS, and “nec Troiam Ausonios gremio accepisse pigebit” corresponding to NEC TE POENITEAT.

OFFICIO NEC TE CERTASSE PRIOREM POENITEAT. Compare Xenophon, *Cyrop.* 8: *Επειχομαι δε, εφη, τοις θεοις . . . δοῦναι μοι ποιησαι μη μεταμελιν σοι της εμης δωρεας.* *Ibid.* *Anab.* 2 (ed. Hutchins.), p. 129: *Εαν μεντοι τις ημας και εν ποιων υπαρχη, και τουτο εις γε δυναμιν οιχ ηττησομεθα εν ποιουντες.* *Soph. Trach.* 470:

CHOR. *πειθου λεγουση χρηστα, κοῦ μεμψει χρονω,
γυναικι τηδε, καπ' εμου πτησει χαριν,*

and our author's own (7. 233) so similar:

"nec Troiam Ausonios gremio excepisse pigebit."

554.

A R M A

VAR. LECT.

ARMA I *Rom.* II $\frac{6}{8}$. III Servius; Princ. Ven., 1470, 1471, 1472, 1473; Mil. 1475, 1492; R. Steph.; P. Manut.; H. Steph.; Ia Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671); Voss; Ribb.; Coningt.

ARVA I *Med.* II $\frac{6}{8}$. III Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Jahn; Thiel; Wagn., (1832, 1841, 1861); Forb.; Haeckermann; Lad.; Haupt.

O *Vat. Ver., St. Gall.*

ARVAQUE. All the MSS. which I have examined respecting this passage read (with the single exception of the Medicean) ARMA. Also all the editors and commentators down to Heyne. Nor does the codex Canon. constitute an exception, for although Mr. Butler's collation represents that MS. as reading ARVA, Mr. Butler, having been so good as to re-examine the MS. at my request, informs me that its reading "is ARMA, as plain as it can be written." Heyne was the first to adopt ARVA from the Medicean, and his example has been followed by modern editors, with the exception of Ribbeck and Conington. I agree in preferring ARVA, not merely for the reason assigned by Heyne, but mainly on account of the *et*, which I think connects *SUNT SICULIS REGIONIBUS* with the former part of Ilioneus's speech: *EST LOCUS—*

CURSUS FUIT, the intervening portion, QUUM SUBITO—POENITEAT (giving an account of the storm and its consequences), being merely intercalatory.

The train of thought is: "There is a place called Hesperia, whither we were going, when a storm prevented us. There are also lands in Sicily whither we may still go." That this is the train of thought is shown, first, by the ET; secondly, by the exactly similar forms EST LOCUS—SUNT ET; thirdly, by the return (vv. 559 *et seqq.*) to the alternative Italy or Sicily, the repetition of this alternative by Dido (573, 574), and the plain reference by the same Ilioneus, under similar circumstances (7. 236), to an invitation of Acestes to the Trojans to settle in Sicily; fourthly, by Aeneas's own deliberation, 5. 702: "*Siculisne resideret arvis*—*Italasne capesseret oras*;" and, finally, by the emphatic position (see Rem. on 2. 247) of ARVAQUE, first word in the line, and followed by a pause.

URBES ARVAQUE TROIANOQUE A SANGUINE CLARUS ACESTES, all circumstances favourable for the establishment of a colony: ARVA indicating room; URBES and ACESTES TROIANO A SANGUINE, that this room was not in a wilderness, or in the midst of strangers or enemies, but in the neighbourhood of friends; and CLARUS, that these friends were of note and consequence. Arva and urbes and the name of the king governing them are again joined all three together, *Aen.* 7. 45; and again, arva and urbes by themselves, 3. 418.

560-565.

NEC SPES—PROFATUR

"SPES IULI bene pro *Iulo*," Heyne. I think, however, that the exact and more poetical meaning is, not *if Iulus has perished*, but *if the hope of Iulus* (at his present age, nobody, and only the promise, SPES, of a man), *has perished; if the promise which Iulus gave of being a great man has been lost to us by his death*. Compare Tacit. *Annal.* 14. 53 (Seneca speaking to Nero): "Ex quo spei tuæ admotus sum;" *from the time I was first placed beside you as a tutor, when you were not yet a man but only the promise of a man*. As the subject of Seneca's assertion is not Nero himself, but "spes"—the hope afforded by Nero's youth that he would yet be a great man—so the loss contemplated by Ilioneus in the words NEC SPES IAM RESTAT [sciz., nobis] IULI, is not that of Iulus (the life of a child being of no consequence to the Trojans), but of the promise which Iulus's youth gave, that if he lived he would become a great prince, and the successor of Aeneas. Compare also Justin, 2. 15: "Ut vidit spei urbis invideri" [not *when he saw that the city gave offence*, but *that the promise given by the city that it would become a great city gave offence*]. Ovid, *Met.* 15. 216:

. . . "fuit illa dies, qua semina tantum,
spesque hominum primæ maternæ habitavimus alvo,"

[when we, not men but seeds and incipient promises of men, dwelt in our mothers' wombs]. *Aen.* 6. 364: "per spem surgentis Iuli" [not *Iulus himself*, but *by the hope, the apparent promise, that Iulus* (now but a child) *would grow up to be a prince and the successor of his father*]. See also "tu Marcellus eris," 6. 884, and Serv. *ad loc.* Aristot. *Eth. Nicom.* 1. 9: Οὐδε πᾶσις εὐδαιμὼν ἐστίν, οὐπω γὰρ πρακτικὸς τῶν τοιούτων διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν· οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα μακαρίζονται. Servius *ad Aen.* 6. 877: "Est autem Ciceronis in dialogo: 'Fanni, causa difficilis laudare

puerum: non enim res laudanda, sed *spes* est.'" Ovid, *Met.* 3. 416 (of Narcissus):

"dumque bibit, visae correptus imagine formae,
spem sine corpore amat."

Shakespeare, *Henry IV.*, part 1, act 5, sc. 4:

"if he [Prince Henry] outlive the envy of this day.
England did never owe so sweet a *hope*."

RESTAT is just as properly joined to SPES whether SPES IULI be regarded, with Heyne, as merely equivalent to IULUS, as Hor. *Sat.* 1. 9. 28: "nunc ego *resto*," or as meaning the hope or promise given by Iulus, as Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 625: "neque enim *spes* altera *restat*." See Rem. on 6. 883.

† VULTUM DEMISSA. Compare Apoll. Rhod. 1. 790 (Hypsipyle receiving Jason):

. . . η δ' ἐγγλίδον ὀσσε βαλονσα
παρθενικας ἐνθ' ἤντε παρθένες.

Ibid. 3. 1007 (of Medea):

. . . η δ' ἐγγλίδον ὀσσε βαλονσα,
ἐκτεροῦν μετ' ἡσ' . . .

The modest blushing bashfulness of Dido is not only becoming, sets off her beauty, but is of the best augury for the Trojans: indicates a soft impressible mind, likely to sympathize with misfortune. Compare Pacat. *Paneg. Theod.* 44 (of Theodosius hesitating to condemn Maximus to death, and inclining to pity): "quin iam coeperas de eius morte dubitare, et deieceras oculos, et vultum rubore suffuderas, et cum misericordia loquebaris." Ammian. 301: "inter quos erat Terentius dux, demisse ambulans, semperque submaestus, sed quoad vixerat acer dissensionum instigator" (where the "sed" points to the incongruity between manner and character); and especially Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 3. 10 (of Constantine at the opening of the council of Nice): *Τάρτα μὲν οὖν ἀμφιτοσχοῦσιν τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν, θεοῦ φόβῳ καὶ ἐλεῖται δὴλος ἦν κεκαλῶτιστος, ἐλεγεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ ταῖς ὁμολογίαις καὶ τοῖς νεύουσιν, ἐνθ' ἡμᾶς προσέειπεν, ἐπιλατὸν γενέσθαι, τοῦ ἄλλου εἶδος, τοῦ μεγέθους τε καὶ ἡλικίας μὲν τοῦ ἀντιπροσώπου, τοῦ καλλίου τῆς ὄψους, καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἐκτετακτικῆς, ἀλλή*

τε ρωμης αμαχοι. α δη τροικων επιεικεια, πραοτητι τε βασιλικης ημεροτητος εγχεκραμενα, το της διανοιας υπερφρες, παντος κρειττον απεραινον λογον. If a modest blushing demeanour was to be admired in Constantine the Great opening the Council of Nice, how much more becoming was it in Dido, a young and new and artless queen, receiving the far-famed Trojan prince?

The identical expression is preserved in the Italian. I have read the following inscription on the wall of a little chapel of the Virgin under the Arco Scuro, at Rome:—

QUI CON DIMESSA FRONTE,
O PASSAGIER, T' ARRESTA,
QUI DELLE GRAZIE IL FONT' È,
DI DIO LA MADRE È QUESTA,

where, however, the countenance is directed to be cast down, as an expression of humility.

571—580.

OBTUSA—CERTOS

NEC TAM AVERSUS EQUOS TYRIA SOL IUNGIT AB URBE. —“OBTUSA vero *stulta*, i. e. *crudelia*; ut merito sol equos suos ab ista urbe divertat,” Servius (ed. Lion); and so Donatus, confounding two very different things — the sun turning back his horses with horror at the sight of a peculiarly savage or cruel act, as for instance the banquet of Thyestes, and the sun not going at all in the direction of certain nations, which in consequence are ignorant, uncultivated, or as we say, using the self-same figure, *benighted*. That this latter is the meaning of Dido appears (1), from the word OBTUSA, which signifies not *cruel*, *savage*, but *dull*, *stupid*, *uncultivated*, *unhumanized*; (2), from the words AVERSUS IUNGIT EQUOS, meaning not “turns back in his course,” but “sets out on his usual course with his back turned to us,

leaving us behind him and consequently in darkness;" in Homeric phrase, *μετοπισθε, ποτι ζορον ηεροενια* (*Od.* 13. 241, see below); **and** (8), because the passage was plainly so understood by Statius (*Theb.* 1. 683):

"'scimus,' ait; 'nec sic *aversum* Fama Mycenis
volvitur iter,'"

and *ibid.* 15. 334:

"sed quisnam *aversos* Phoebum tunc iungere ab urbe
Romulea dubitaret equos, qui tempore eodem
Marcellum acciperet letum oppetiisse sub armis?"

[**not** "turn back from Rome with horror at the death of Marcellus" (Rome not having been in any way the cause of the death of Marcellus, and that general having died on the field of battle "sub armis," fighting for his country against Hannibal), **but**, "not rise on Rome that day, that day of mourning and consternation in Rome, leave Rome that day in darkness;" in other words, the news of Marcellus's death on the field of battle threw Rome into the same state of consternation into which it would have been thrown if the sun had not risen that day.]

The meaning assigned to our text by Pierius, Heyne, Voss, Thiel, Wagner (1861), and the more modern commentators (viz., "Nec tam remotas a sole, a solis cursu et orbita, terras incolimus," Heyne; "Phoenixes enim et Tyrii ad orientem sunt solem, ut iam verum sit solem non longe ab illis oriri," La Cerda), correct in not ascribing horror to the sun, is incorrect in representing *AVERSUS* to be equivalent to *remotus*; and understanding Virgil in the words *NEC TAM AVERSUS EQUOS TYRIA SOL IUNGIT AB URBE* to speak only of the distance of Carthage from the rising sun, as Pindar (*Pyth.* 8. 21. Dissen), in the words:

ἔπεισε δ' οὐ χαριτῶν ἑκας
αὐ δίκαιοπολις ἀρεταῖς
κλεινῶσιν Αἰακίδαν
θιγοῖσα ναός·

speaks only of the distance of the island of Aegina from the Grataiae. *Aversus* is never *remotus*, but always, either literally or figuratively, "turned away from, heading another way, *aversee*." Need I produce examples to establish what every one knows,

and which no one knew better than La Cerda and Heyne, if only they had considered? Exactly corresponding to Virgil's *AVERSUS IUNGIT EQUOS* and Silius's "aversus equos," and similarly misunderstood, is "aversum iter," Quint. Curt. 5. 3: "sed periti locorum Alexandrum docent, occultum iter esse per calles et *aversum ab urbe*" [*not* remote from the city, *but* leading *from* the city, leading in an opposite direction from the city]; and "aversus trames," Ovid, *Met.* 14. 120 (of Aeneas leaving Hades, and returning to the upper world):

"inde ferens lapsos *averso* tramite passus,
cum duce Cumaea fallit sermone laborem"

[*not* remote, *but* leading away from Hades, in the opposite direction from Hades]; and "aversa arva," Sil. 12. 443:

"perque *aversa* tulit portatas arva carinas"

[carried the vessels, *not through the fields*, *but through fields turned from the citadel and sea*, i. e., fields turned landwards, or towards the country]. It is also used—and with the most perfect parallelism to our text—by Manilius (1. 263, ed. Bentl.), in his description of the constellation Taurus rising *aversum* from Aries, i. e. with his back turned towards Aries, and his face towards Gemini:

"aurato princeps Aries in vellere fulgens
respicit, admirans *aversum* surgere Taurum,
summisso vultu Geminos et fronte vocantem"

(where see the plan in the Delphin edit.); and again, 198 (Delph. ed.):

"cernis ut *aversus* redeundo surgat in arcum
clunibus?"

Dido's meaning, therefore, is: "We are not so ignorant, so benighted people, as we should be, not to have heard of Troy and its famous war; nor does the sun when he rises in the morning so entirely turn his back upon us," *TAM AVERSUS IUNGIT EQUOS*—the very meaning expressed, only without the ornamental figure of the sun and his horses, by Claud. *Epith. Pall. et Celerinae*, 62:

“quis locus Aethiopum, quæ sic impervia famæ
secessit regio, quo non rumore secundo
Palladii penetravit amor, mentisque benigna
temperies, doctique sales et grata senectus?”

Compare (Hom. *Od.* 13. 240) Minerva's account to Ulysses of the country he was in, and which he had not recognised to be Ithaca, viz.: that it was a country known not only to those who lived *προς ἥω τ' ἥελιον τε*, but to those who lived *μετοπισθε ποτι ζοφον ἡεροεντα*:

“ὣ δὲ τήνδ' εἰπε γαίῃ ἀνείρεαι· οὐδ' εἰ λήν
οὕτω νῶνιμος ἐστίν· ἴσασι δὲ μιν μάλα πολλοί,
ἡμὲν ὅσοι ναιούσι πρὸς ἥω τ' ἥελιον τε,
ἢδ' ὅσοι μετοπισθε ποτι ζοφον ἡεροεντα,

[not, with the lexicographers and interpreters, *versus orientem et occidentem*, but *versus orientem et ultra*, or *sub sole et extra solem*; for how, or by what figure, can *μετοπισθε* be *before*, i. e. *ante*, which is the position of the west in relation to the sun, *ἥω τ' ἥελιον τε*?]. And so Dido: “We in Carthage here live under the sun; we do not live where the sun never shines. The sun, when he rises, has not his back turned on Carthage.” Carthage is not, as those countries were in which Augustus was to extend his conquests, 6. 796:

. . . “extra sidera tellus,
extra anni solisque vias.”

Compare also Eurip. *Hippol.* 1:

Πολλὴ μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι, κοῦκ ἀνώνιμος
θεὸν κεκλήμαί· Κυπρίς, οὐρανοῦ τ' ἴσω,
ὅσοι τε Πόντου τεθρόνων τ' Ἀτλαντικῶν
ναιούσιν ἴσω, φῶς ὀρώντες ἥλιον

[The Venus of Euripides informs us that all who live within the Atlantean limits—all who behold the light of the sun—have heard of her; Virgil's Dido informs us that all on whom the sun does not turn his back at his rising have heard of Troy. She was unfortunately but too soon to learn that Venus's words were no less true than her own]. Sil. 13. 457:

. . . “fesso mihi proxima tandem
lux gratos Phaethontis equos avertit, et atris
aeternum demisit aquis”

(where, however, the darkness produced by the turning away of the sun's horses in an opposite direction is not mere physical darkness, but the darkness of death).

In the same spirit in which Dido in our text informs Aeneas that Carthage enjoys a fair share of the sun's favour, Shakespeare's Imogen (*Cymb.* 3. 4) asks Pisanio:

"hath Britain all the sun that shines? Day, night,
are they not but in Britain?"

and adds:

. . . "Prythee, think
there's living out of Britain?"

Compare also, and substantially, although less *ad amussim*, the parallel passage of Cicero, *Quaest. Tusc.* 2. 8 (ed. Lambin. p. 139), translating from the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles (Hercules speaking):

"hos non hostilis dextra, non terra edita
moles gigantum, non biformato impetu
Centaurus ictus corpori inflexit meo,
non Graia vis, non barbara ulla immanitas,
non saeva terris gens relegata ultimis,
quas peragrans undique omnem feritatem expuli,
sed feminea vir, feminea interimor manu."

OPIBUSQUE IUVABO. OPIBUS means *necessaries*, outfit for your journey, Gr. *χηματα*; Ital. *roba*; an assistance very necessary for the Trojans, who had lost in the storm a great part of the opes or means with which they had set out. For these opes or means, see 2. 799:

"undique convenere, animis opibusque parati,
in quascunque velim pelago deducere terras."

For the loss of these opes, see 1. 123:

"arma virum, tabulaeque, et Troia gaza per undas;"

and 1. 388:

"ipse ignotus,ogens, Libyae deserta peragro."

The identical term is used by Ovid of himself setting out without opibus, *i. e.* without equipment, for Tomi, *Trist.* 1. 3. 9:

"non mihi servorum, comitis non cura legendi,
non aptae profugo vestis opisve fuit."

See Remm. on 1. 367, 799.

CERTOS. "Aut veloces qui cito inveniunt, aut fideles," Servius (ed. Lion). "Exploratae diligentiae homines," Donatus. "Exquisite, quibus fides haberi possit," Heyne, Wagner (1861). "Bestimmte eigens dazu ersehene, expressen *extra ordinem missos*," Voss; approved and followed by Haeckermann, Greifswald, *Programm*. 1853. I too agree with Voss, and think that the *certus* of our text is a usual technical expression for *special messenger*, person expressly appointed for the purpose or occasion, person who shall do that business and that alone. And so Popma: "Certus homo, quem barbari [we are obliged to you for the compliment, Popma] vocant *expressum hominem*." Compare Cicero, *ad Fam.* 14. 18: "Velim tabellarios instituatis *certos*, ut quotidie aliquas a vobis literas accipiam" [not *faithful tabellarii* but *special tabellarii*]. Cic. *de Senect.* (ed. Lamb. p. 415, 1. 10): "Qui, legati quum essent, *certo* in loco, consederant" [in the place specially appointed for legates]. Cic. *de Legg.* 2. 26: "Huic procurationi *certum* magistratum prae-fecerat." Hel. Spart., *vita Hadr.* 4: "Traianum in animo id habuisse ut exemplo Alexandri Macedonis, sine *certo* successore moreretur" [specially appointed successor]. Sil. 11. 279:

"nec non et *certis* struitur penus," . . .

[persons whose sole business it was to attend to those matters]. Corn. Nep. *Chabr.* 3: "Athenienses diem *certam* Chabriae praestituerunt" [an appointed day, a day set apart for that purpose]. *Ibid.* Pausan. 2: "His de rebus si quid geri volueris, *certum* hominem ad eam mittas face, cum quo colloquatur" [not a *faithful messenger*, but a *special messenger*, a person appointed for the purpose; an *express*, as we say].

582.

SI QUIBUS ERECTUS SILVIS AUT URBIBUS ERRAT

VAR. LECT.

URBIBUS I *Rom., Pal., Med.* II $\frac{5}{2}$. III Donat.; Rome, 1469; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1475; Mil., 1475; P. Manut.; both Heinsii; Phil.; Burm.; Heyne; Pott.; Jahn; Thiel; Haupt; Ribb.; Wagn. (1841); Coningt.
 MONTIBUS II $\frac{1}{2}$ (viz., Goth. 56). III Burm.; Sedulius (*Carm. Pasch.* 18: "Omnibus hirsutus silvis et montibus errat"); Peerk.
 O. Vat., Ver., St. Gall.

Burmman, although he has adopted the reading URBIBUS into his text, informs us in his note that he would prefer MONTIBUS, the reading of a small number of second-rate MSS., on the ground that there must have been but few cities in Africa at this period, and none at all under the dominion of Dido. The objection has been answered by Heyne, in confirmation of whose argument I may observe that we have (4. 173) not only *urbes*, but "*magnas urbes Libyae*," sufficient proof that Heyne might with perfect safety—nay, with even more propriety (for where have we an example of *urbs* used in the sense of *vicus*?)—have insisted on retaining URBIBUS without alteration of its legitimate sense. Indeed, URBIBUS, in its legitimate sense, is only in accordance with the usual manner of Virgil, "*reges atque tetrarchas, omnia magna loquens*;" and is, besides, confirmed by Seneca's (*Med.* 20, Medea cursing Jason):

. . . "per *urbes* erret ignotas egens,
 exsul, pavens, invisus, incerti laris."

To all which may be added that there is a suitable opposition between SILVIS and URBIBUS—the former representing uninhabited, the latter, inhabited places, and so together embracing every place, the whole country; while, on the contrary, SILVIS and MONTIBUS are commonly used by Virgil, not in opposition, but as a descriptive of one and the same locality, viz., a mountain or mountains covered with woods.

EIECTUS. Perhaps, not *cast ashore*, thrown up from the sea, shipwrecked ("naufragus," Servius)*, but cast out of society, a castaway, an exile—in legal parlance, an *outlaw*; in religious, an *excommunicate*; Gr. ἐξβεβλημενος, as Eurip. *Med.* 512 (ed. Porson):

εἰ γινεύομαι γὰρ γαῖαν, ἐκβεβλημενῇ,
γίλων ἐρημος.

Compare Ovid, *Her.* 14. 111:

. . . "regnoque domoque
pellimur; eiectos ultimus orbis habet."

Plin. *Ep.* 2. 17: "Inde balinei cella frigidaria spatiosa et effusa, cuius in contrariis parietibus duo baptisteria, velut eiecta, sinuantur" [in recesses, apses, or tribunes, formed in the opposite walls, and having the appearance of being ejected, cast out of the room, out of the company, out of society]. No meaning could be more in harmony, **not only** with the account Aeneas has a little before given of himself to Venus—

"ipse ignotus, egeus, Libyæ deserta peragro,
Europa atque Asia pulsus" —

and with the wish expressed by Dido in the self-same sentence, that he were there present among them —

ATQUE UTINAM REX ISE NOTO COMPULSUS EODEM
ADFORET AENEAS

but with Aeneas's thanks to Dido for receiving him and his companions, needy exiles, into her city and home ("quæ nos . . . omnium egenos, urbe, domo 'socias"). See Rem. on 4. 373.

The other meaning, *cast ashore*, would be supported by such passages as Lucret. 5. 223:

"tum porro puer, ut saevis *proiectus* ab undis
navita, nudus humi iacet, infans, indigus omni
vitali auxilio;"

and by the somewhat parallel case of Ulysses, who is claimed by Calypso (Hom. *Od.* 5. 130) as her property "by right of *flotsam*,

* Silius has, however, used *expellere* of shipwrecked Anna, 8. 67:

"donec iactatam laceris, miserabile velis,
fatalis turbo in Laurentes expulit oras."

jetsam, and *legend*," as Mr. Hayman says; but I hardly think that that meaning is so good in this passage.

584.

IAMDUDUM

"Olim," Servius. "Quamprimum," Schol. ad Palimps, Ver. (ap. Maium), Voss. Servius, wrong at 2. 103, is right here. IAMDUDUM is here, as it is everywhere, *already, now for some short time*, Germ. *schon* (see Rem. on "idque audire sat est, iamdudum," 2. 103), and belongs *not* to ERUMPERE *but* to ARDEBANT—"were for some time *now* burning," *i. e.* "were already, while Dido was yet speaking, burning." And so in the very passage quoted by Voss to show that the IAMDUDUM of our text is not olim, Germ. *schon*, but quamprimum (*Georg.* 1. 212:

"necnon et lini segetem et cereale papaver
tempus humo tegere, et *iamdudum* incumbere aratris")

the structure is not "iamdudum incumbere," but "iamdudum tempus," and the meaning not quamprimum but olim, Germ. *schon*—"it is already now for some time the season to ply the plough," &c.

592.

CLARA LUCE

Not *supernatural* light, but *the light of day*. The cloud being dissipated, Aeneas was seen in the clear daylight. Compare Cic. *de Legib.* 2. 15: "Ut mulierum famam multorum oculis lux clara custodiat" [the clear light of day, the broad daylight]. *Ibid.*, in *Cat.* 1. 6: "Luce sunt clariora nobis tua con-

silia omnia" [clearer than daylight]. *Ibid.*, *Tusc.* 1. 116:
 "Quod est luce clarius" [the same]. *Aen.* 5. 42:

"postera quum primo stellas oriente fugarat
 clara dies."

Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 23:

"ter die claro, totiesque grata
 nocte frequentes."

In this so plain passage, the grammarians have, however, according to their custom, found something recondite, viz., that Aeneas was so bright that even in the "clara lux" he was refulgent. "Laus est nimiae pulchritudinis, cui nec lucis claritas derogavit," Servius. "Refulgere in luce clara homo dicitur, qui est nimiae pulchritudinis, cui nec lucis claritas derogat," Gesner. That this is not the meaning, and that Aeneas is not represented as bright even in the bright light of day, *i. e.* as brighter than the bright daylight, but as bright in the light of day (viz., the cloud being removed from about him), appears plainly from the parallel, 2. 590:

. . . "pura per noctem in luce refulsit
 alma parens"

(where, if Venus is represented as brighter even than the bright light which surrounded her, and in which she was seen, there was no occasion at all for that bright light, inasmuch as she would have been seen better without it, viz., by her own brighter light, the light radiating from herself through the darkness of the night. But she is not so represented; she is represented as refulgent in the supernatural light which accompanies and surrounds her, the supernatural light which she has brought with her, and in which (inasmuch as it is reflected from her, and she is seen only by its means, the time being night) she is said to be refulgent; just as, *Aen.* 1. 406: "avertens rosea cervice refulsit," her rosy neck is said to be refulgent, without any special mention of the light in which it is refulgent, it being inferrible, from the time being day, that the light in which she was refulgent was no other than the daylight). In this daylight, CLARA LUCE, necessary to be mentioned in Aeneas's case—Aeneas having been previously enveloped in the

darkness of a mist—Aeneas is seen refulgent, as every object which reflects the light, *i. e.* every object which is not of a dark colour, is seen refulgent, the refulgence being greater in proportion as the light is the clearer. In Aeneas's case the refulgence is the greater, and the CLARA LUCE REFULSIT the more proper, not only on account of the previous misty darkness, which heightens the contrast, but on account of the special furbishing he has received for the occasion:

NAMQUE IPSA DECORAM
CAESARIEM NATO GENETRIX, LUMENQUE IUVENTAE
PURPUREUM, ET LAETOS OCULIS AFFLARAT HONORES.

595—598.

LAETOS OCULIS AFFLARAT HONORES
QUALE MANUS ADDUNT EBORI DECUS AUT UBI FLAVO
ARGENTUM PARIUSVE LAPIS CIRCUMDATUR AURO
TUM SIC REGINAM ALLOQUITUR

LAETOS. *Not* glad, in expression, *but* beautiful, charming, delightful to behold; the Virgilian equivalent of the Homeric *χαίεντας*. Compare Stat. *Theb.* 6. 57 (of Parthenopaeus):

“effulsere artus, membrorumque omnis aperta est
laetitia, insignesque humeri.”

QUALE MANUS ADDUNT EBORI DECUS AUT UBI FLAVO ARGENTUM PARIUSVE LAPIS CIRCUMDATUR AURO. “Versus olim sic accipiebam ut DECUS, *i. e.* pulchritudo, iuvenilis nitor et oculorum insolitus splendor, Aeneae esset affusus QUALE DECUS (pulchritudo) illud est quod MANUS (artifex) ADDUNT EBORI vel argento vel marmori Pario quando AURO CIRCUMDATUR, includitur. . . . Enimvero vidi posthaec comparisonem ita male vulgo institui . . . esse potius comparisonem retrahendam ad Aenean *nube circumfusus*, quod CLARA IN LUCE REFULSIT, ut opus vel ornamentum eburneum, argenteum vel marmoreum auro inclusum, aurea ora ambiente, qua ex auri splendore ipsum

opus quod inclusum est, auctum nitorem mutuatur. . . . Verba autem sic interpretanda: RESTITIT ET REFULSIT tali cum decore . . . quale est decus operis eburni aut argenti marmorisve candidi auro circumdati," Heyne, ed. altera, 1787; and ed. tert. 1797; ed. quart. 1832. In the ignorance in which Heyne has left us of the rational grounds for either of these interpretations, I protest against both; against the **first**, because it totally mistakes the object *to* which the comparison is made (*i. e.* the object to which the subject of the comparison is compared), and against the **second**, because it mistakes not only the object *to* which the subject of the comparison is compared, but the subject of the comparison itself; in other words, because it mistakes not only *cui comparatio fit*, but *quod comparatur*. Let us take the **first** interpretation first. The object *to* which the comparison is made (*viz.*, the decus which the artist's hands add to ivory, or silver, or Parian marble) is not a rim or setting of gold ("aurea ora . . . qua ex auri splendore ipsum opus quod inclusum est, auctum nitorem mutuatur," Heyne), but gilding, **both** because it is gilding in both the Homeric originals [*Od.* 6. 232 (of Ulysses):

ὥς δ' οἷε τις χρυσὸν περιχέυεται ἀργύρῳ ἀνῆρ
ἰδούς, οὐ Πηλεΐδης δίδασκεν καὶ Πάλλας Ἀθήνη
τέχνην παντοίην, χαίρειντα δὲ ἔργα τέλειαι,
ὥς ἄρα τῷ κατέχευε χαρὶν περὶ αἰὲν τε καὶ ὤμοις·

and *Od.* 23. 159, where the same words are repeated. Compare Hom. *Od.* 3. 425:

ὥς δ' αὖ χρυσοχοὸν Ἀτρεΐδαι δειρὸν κτείσθω
ἐλθόν, οἴσρα βοός χρυσὸν περὶ χεῖρσιν]

and because circumdare auro can be nothing else than gilding, as Sil. 13. 482 (ed. Rup.):

"at Celtæ vacui capitis circumdare gaudent
ossa (nefas!) auro. ac mensis ea pocula servant."

If Heyne's first interpretation so wholly mistakes the object to which the comparison is made, what shall we say of his **second** in which not only is this mistake repeated, but the new and still graver mistake is added, that the subject of the comparison is not the youth and beauty freshly bestowed on her son Aeneas

by the queen of beauty, but Aeneas himself? Owing to what hurry, or what oversight, or what confusion was it that so excellent a commentator as Heyne did not perceive at once that there could be no parallelism between Aeneas himself and the DECUS added to ivory, or silver, or gold, by an artist; and that parallelism could only be between the fresh youth and beauty, the HONORES bestowed on her son by Venus, and the DECUS bestowed on ivory, or silver, or Parian marble, by the artificer? Methinks I see the whole *rationale* of the mistake. Heyne was misled by the comparison, in the tenth book, of Ascanius to a gem sparkling in the middle of a gold head-band or collar, or to an ivory bijou framed in box or Orician pine. Like so many other commentators, so far his inferiors, Heyne saw or thought he saw an analogy where there was none, and concluded at once that the comparison before him, and which he had undertaken to explain, was of Aeneas to an ornament or a bijou of ivory. He did not perceive that, whereas it was *QUALE DECUS* in the comparison before him, it was "*qualis gemma*" in the tenth book; that whereas it was *CIRCUMDATUR* in the comparison before him, it was "*inclusum*" in the tenth book; and that the comparison which was quite fitting, proper, and in its place in the case of the boy could hardly be either fitting, proper, or in its place in the case of the boy's father—nay, if it were only because it was fitting for the boy, should be wholly unfitting for the father. Had Heyne, accomplished scholar as he was, but taken the necessary time for reflection, he had undoubtedly perceived that the comparison before him was of Aeneas to a statue of ivory, or silver, or Parian marble, and of the fresh youth and beauty imparted to Aeneas by Venus to the gold with which the ivory, or silver, or Parian marble of the statue is overlaid by the artist: whilst the comparison in the tenth book was of the boy his son, the bare-headed boy Ascanius,

"Dardanius caput, ecce, puer detectus honestum,"

to a gem sparkling in the middle of a head-band, or collar, or to an ivory bijou set in box or Orician pine. He would have perceived that each comparison was as suitable in its place as each would have been unsuitable had the comparisons been transposed;

and while he was reminded by the one of the mature grace and elegance of a Palatine Apollo, or the composed dignity of a Phidian Jove, he would have been reminded by the other of a sparkling diamond in a golden brooch or collar, or an ivory cameo set in maple or jet, or (had Heyne been a fellow-countryman of mine) in Irish bog-oak.

EBORI, ARGENTUM, PARIUSVE LAPIS.—A statue made of any of these substances: *aes*, although perhaps as much used as marble, and more than silver, is not mentioned, because Aeneas—the base to which the fresh youth and beauty were added by Venus, as gilding is added to a statue—could not be compared to a substance possessed in itself of so little beauty as *aes*: gilt ivory, silver, or Parian marble, did very well, but gilt *aes* would not have done at all: Virgil was too clever an artist for that. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 15. 791:

“tristia mille locis Stygius dedit omina bubo;
mille locis lacrymavit *ebur*; cantusque feruntur
auditi, sanctis et verba minacia lucis.”

In a thousand places ivory statues dropped tears, as Stat. *Theb.* 10. 65:

“hoc tunc Argolicae sanctum velamine matres
induerant *ebur* et lacrymis questuque rogabant”

(where “*ebur*” is the ivory statue of Juno). Stat. *Silv.* 3. 3. 202:

“nunc *ebur*. et fulvum *vultus* imitabitur aurum.”

Ibid. 4. 6. 25:

“hic tibi, quae docto multum vigilata Myroni
aera, laboriferi vivant quae marmora caelo
Praxitelis quod *ebur* Pisaco pollice rasum,
quod Polycleteis iussum est spirare caminis.
linea quae veterem longe fateatur Apellem.
monstrabit.”

Ibid. 5. 1. 1:

“si manus aut similes docilis mihi fingere ceras,
aut *ebur*, impressis aurumve animare figuris;
hinc, Priscilla, tuo solatia grata marito
conciperem; namque egregia pietate meretur
ut vel Apelleo vultus signata colore,
Phidiaca vel nata manu, reddare *dolenti*.”

How usual is it for living beauty to be compared to the beauty of a statue appears no less from the examples just quoted than from many others; *ex. gr.*, Euripides compares Polyxena's bust to that of a statue, *Hecub.* 555 (ed. Person):

καπει τοδ' εισηκουσαι δεσποτων επος,
λαβουσα πεπλους εξ ακρας επωμιδος,
ερρηξε λαγονος εις μεσον, παρ' ομφαλον,
μαστους τ' εδειξε, στερνα δ', ως αγαλματος,
καλλιστα'

Ovid (*Met.* 12. 397), the neck, shoulders, hands, and breast of Cyllarus to those of an admired statue:

. . . "cervix humerique manusque
pectoraque artificum laudatis proxima signis;"

and Andromeda exposed on a rock, to the work of an artist in marble, *Met.* 4. 672:

"vidit Abantiades; nisi quod levis aura capillos
moverat, et trepido manabant lumina fletu,
marmoreum ratus esset opus."

Valerius Flaccus (2. 465), Hesione, similarly exposed, to an ivory or marble statue, or a painting:

"exanimum veluti, multa tamen arte coactum,
moeret ebur, Pariusve notas et nomina sumit
cum lapis, aut liquidi referunt miranda colores."

And Philostratus (*Heroic.*, ed. Boisson., p. 190), Euphorbus to a statue of unshorn Apollo at his greatest elegance: *την μεν γε ωραν αυτου και τοις Αχαιους φησι* [Protesilaus] *θελγειν εοικεναι γαρ αυτον αγαλματι, οποτε καλλιστα εαιτου ο Απολλων ανερσεχομης αβρος φαινοιτο.* While Sir Walter Scott thus introduces to us his Lady of the Lake, perhaps the most charming creation of his creative brain:

"with head upraised, and look intent,
and eye and ear attentive bent,
and locks flung back, and lips apart,
like monument of Grecian art,
in listening mood she seemed to stand
the guardian Naiad of the strand.
And ne'er did Grecian chisel trace
a Nymph, a Naiad, or a Grace
of finer form or levelier face."

Nor let any one take offence at such a comparison of living beauty to the inanimate beauty of a statue. On the contrary, such comparison with the ideal is the highest compliment it is possible to pay to the real, the beauty of the real being always the greater the more nearly it approaches the ideal: in other words, the more nearly it approaches the greatest which can be imagined—the very principle on which is to be explained the comparison, 4. 471, of the raving of Dido deserted by Aeneas, not to the raving of the real Pentheus or the real Orestes, but to the raving of Pentheus or Orestes as represented on the stage, *i. e.*, to the *beau idéal* of raving. Nay more: it being the sculptor's aim and pride that the beauty of his statue should not be dead, but living beauty—that his statue should seem to live—what but compliment, and the highest compliment too, in the comparison of the living individual (with, of course, the imperfections inseparable from living individual) to the *beau idéal* of beauty, not only animated but made divine by the chisel? *Gr. Anthol.* 4. 3:

τις αθε; βακχα. τις δε μεν ξεισε; Σχο πιας.
τις δ' ἐξεμηνε, Βακχος η Σχοπιαι; Σχοπιαι.*

Argue not the question with me, reader, but bow reverential to the judgment of the supreme court of appeal in such matters, Philostratus and Ovid—Philostr. *Heroic.* (ed Boisson., p. 230), of Neoptolemus: *καλον γαρ ειναι, και προσεικοτα τω πατρι, λειπεσθαι δ' αυτου τοσουτον οσον των αγαλματων οι καλοι λειπονται.* Ovid, *Met.* 10. 247:

"interea niveum mira feliciter arte
sculptit ebur [Pygmalion]; formamque dedit, qua femina nasci
nulla potest."

* Quoted in note to Callistr. *Statuae*, 2 (p. 891, ed. Olcarei). This is thus translated by H. Grotius:

"quis adstat ista? Baccha. Quis sculpsit? Scopas.
quis entheavit? Bacchus an Scopas? Scopas"

—"entheavit" being Grotius's inspired translation of the immediately succeeding words of Callistratus, viz.: *ο γαρ δη Σχοπιαι, ωσπερ εκ τινος επιπνοιας κινηθεις εις την του αγαλματος δημιουργιαν την θεοφοριαν εψηχε* ["in statuæ opificium Dei afflatum transmisit"].

The universally received, and, as I think, highly erroneous notion that the reference in our text is to the setting or framing of a jewel, is as old as Corippus, probably much older. Coripp. *de Laud. Justin.* 4. 369 (of Narses):

“qualis pretiosus achates
aut medius fulvo Parius lapis enitet auro.
artificis formante manu, sic luce coruseus.
sic animo placidus, miti sic gratior ore.
terga tegens domini claris fulgebat in armis.”

Sic (verse 598): “Quid est sic? . . . Gratia praeptens, et matris auxilio,” Serv. (ed. Lion), Burm. Undoubtedly wrong. SIC ALLOQUITUR is here, as uniformly elsewhere (4. 8; 4. 222, &c.), *talibus verbis*, and so, correctly, Wilms (*Jahresbericht Duisburg*, 1865).

604-606.

GRATES PERSOLVERE DIGNAS

NON OPIS EST NOSTRAE DIDO NEC QUICQUID UBIQUE EST
GENTIS DARDANIAE MAGNUM QUAE SPARSA PER ORBEM

GRATES PERSOLVERE DIGNAS. Cynthius Cenetensis has done well to call attention to a passage which most other commentators have passed by unnoticed. His words are: “GRATES DIGNAS, hoc est, dignam gratiam referre. Dicimus enim ‘refero gratiam,’ in numero unius, et hoc fit rebus ipsis; ‘ago gratias’ dicimus, in numero multitudinis, et hoc fit verbis; ut Cicero: ‘cui a me Senatus agendas gratias putavit, cur a me referendam gratiam non putem?’ ‘Habeo gratias’ et ‘gratiam’ dicimus, et hoc fit animo”—of which observation that part which interprets GRATES PERSOLVERE DIGNAS by “dignam gratiam referre,” *worthily to reward* (viz., by deeds), and points out the broad distinction between “dignam gratiam referre,” *worthily to reward* (viz., by deeds), and “dignas gratias agere,” *worthily to thank* (viz., in words), is as correct and deserving of attention as that part is incorrect and naught which informs us that to signify *reward in deeds*, gratia should be in the singular, and

to signify *thanks* should be in the plural. The correctness of the **former** part, viz., the interpretation of GRATES PERSOLVERE DIGNAS, is shown (a) by our author's own interpretation of the words PRAEMIA DIGNA FERANT in the same sentence; (b) by its being only in this sense the words are consistent with NON OPIS NOSTRAE, NEC QUICQUID UBIQUE EST GENTIS DARDANIAE MAGNUM QUAE SPARSA PER ORBEM [for what difficulty could either Aeneas or the Trojan nation have in thanking Dido verbally?]; (c) by its being only in this sense the same expression is intelligible, *Aen.* 2. 535:

“at tibi pro scelere,’ exclamat, ‘pro talibus ausis,
di (si qua est caelo pietas, quae talia curet)
*persolvant grates dignas, et praemia reddant
debita*’”

[for how, except by deeds, could the gods thank Pyrrhus worthily, and is it not so (viz., by the words “*praemia reddant debita*”) Virgil himself explains it in that place, no less than in this?]; (d) by its being only in this sense the similar expression *referre grates* is intelligible, Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 2. 11. 25:

“o *referant grates*, quoniam non possumus ipsi,
di tibi; qui referent, si pia facta vident”

[for how, except by deeds, were the gods to thank Ovid's friend for his kindness towards Ovid?]; and (e), by Ausonius's use of the expression *gratias referre* not only in this sense, but in contradistinction to the very expression from which, according to the *cinque-cento* commentator, it is to be distinguished [*Grat. Actio* (in initio): “*Ago tibi gratias, Imperator Auguste, si possem, etiam referrem. Sed nec tua fortuna desiderat remunerandi vicem, nec nostra suggerit restituendi facultatem;*” with which compare Cic. *de Offic.* 1. 15: “*Sin erunt merita, ut non ineunda, sed referenda sit gratia; maior quaedam cura adhibenda est. Nullum enim officium referenda gratia magis necessarium est.*” Cic. *pro Plancio*, 28 (ed. Long): “*Dissimilis est pecuniae debitio et gratiae. Nam qui pecuniam dissolvit statim non habet id quod reddidit: qui autem debet aes retinet alienum: gratiam autem et qui refert habet, et qui habet, in eo ipso quod habet, refert.*” Claud. *Cons. Prob. et Ol.* 71:

“tu, precor, ignarum doceas, Parnassia, vatom,
 quis deus ambobus tanti sit muneris auctor.
 postquam fulmineis impellens viribus hostem
 belliger Augustus trepidas laxaverat Alpes,
 Roma Probo cupiens *dignas persolvere grates*,
 sedula pro natis dominum flexura rogando
 ire parat”

[and, going straight to the Emperor, personified Rome begs and obtains for Probus the reward of the consulate for his two sons Probinus and Olybrius]], and the incorrectness of the **latter** not only by Ausonius's use in this same passage of “gratias” in the plural in the expression *gratias referre*, meaning *to reward*, but by our author's own use in our text of the almost identical plural, viz., GRATES (for what is GRATES but *gratias* accommodated to hexameter?) combined with *PER-SOLVERE* in the same sense. We have thus, partly right and partly wrong, an obscure, almost wholly unknown, commentator of the dim glimmering *Renaissance*; what more or what less is to be said of the Servius of the fifth century, so much nearer, or the Wagner of the nineteenth, so much further from the sun?

NEC QUICQUID UBIQUE EST GENTIS DARDANIAE MAGNUM QUAE
 SPARSA PER ORBEM. Besides the settlements which the Trojans made in Italy under Antenor and Aeneas, they are also said to have made one in Denmark:

“quant iadis fut destruite Troie,

 plusors qui escaper se porent,

 par granz labors. par granz perilz,
 par plusors terres s'epandirent,
 terres poplerent. citez firent,
 une gent de Troie escaperent,
 ki en Danemarche assenerent.”

the alleged origin of the race of Northmans or Normans, who, under Bier and Hasting, invaded and conquered the north-western part of France, since from them called Normandy. See *Roman de Rou*, 157, et seqq.

607—610.

DI TIBI SI QUA PIOS RESPECTANT NUMINA SI QUID
 USQUAM IUSTITIA EST ET MENS SIBI CONSCIA RECTI
 PRAEMIA DIGNA FERANT QUAE TE TAM LAETA TULERUNT
 SAECULA QUI TANTI TALEM GENUERE PARENTES

VAR. LECT.

IUSTITIA I *Med.* (IUSTITIA^EEST). II $\frac{4}{63}$. III D. Heins.; Heyne; Bruck; Wakef.; Jahn;* Wagn. (1832, 1841 [IUSTITIAST], 1849, 1861); Thiel; Forb.; Peerlk.;† Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.; Coningt.

IUSTITIAE I *Vat., Rom., Pal.*‡ II $\frac{59}{63}$; cod. Canon. (Butler); III Serv. (cod. Dresd.); Priscian. *Inst. Gramm.*, 16. 6 Princ.; P. Manut.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671, 1676, 1704); Phil.; Burm.; Pott.; Dorph.; Haeckerm. (*Greifswald Programm*, 1853).

O *Ver., St. Gall.*

I prefer IUSTITIA; **first**, inasmuch as, affording the less ordinary, more elegant structure, it is less likely to be a corruption; and **secondly**, on account of the very parallel passage of Ovid, *Heroid.* 6. 151:

. . . "quod si quid ab alto
 iustus ades votis, iupiter, ipse meis,"

where we have the same appeal to the justice of heaven, joined with the same absolute structure in "quid."

Heyne and Wagner—reading, indeed, IUSTITIA, but construing the passage SI QUA PIOS RESPECTANT NUMINA, SI QUID USQUAM IUSTITIA EST, ET MENS SIBI CONSCIA RECTI, DI TIBI PRAEMIA DIGNA FERANT—understand the meaning to be: "si pietatis (*i. e.* recti iustique ex metu deorum) respectus est apud deos." This structure and interpretation is erroneous: first, because PRAEMIA DIGNA FERANT is too short an *apodosis* to the long *protasis* SI . . . RECTI; secondly, because IUSTITIA ET MENS SIBI

* 1825. According to Forb., Jahn's *first ed.* read IUSTITIA.

† Peerlkamp not only reads IUSTITIA, but interprets the passage as I do.

‡ Ribbeck's statement that the three MSS., *Vat., Rom., and Pal.* read IUSTITIA EST, is incorrect, all the three MSS. reading very plainly IUSTITIA^EEST.

CONSCIA RECTI thus becomes a mere languid, not to say incorrect, explanation of PIOS; and thirdly, because Dido is thus deprived of the best part of her reward. Compare Sil. Ital. 13. 663:

"ipsa quidem virtus sibimet pulcherrima merces,"

and Claud. *de Fl. Mall. Theod. Consul.* verse 1:

"Ipsa quidem virtus pretium sibi."

The structure, therefore, is: DI TIBI (SI QUA PIOS RESPECTANT NUMINA, SI QUID USQUAM IUSTITIA EST ET MENS SIBI CONSCIA RECTI) PRAEMIA DIGNA FERANT. We have thus: (1), an *apodosis* proportioned to the *protasis*, and Virgil freed from the reproach of the mountain in labour; (2), Dido's reward not left to the slow justice of the gods, but bestowed on her immediately, and in the first instance by her own conscience, and to be crowned afterwards by the just compensating heavens; (3), the thought, and even the structure, SI QUID IUSTITIA, agreeing with the Ovidian "si quid iustus;" and (4), we have justice ascribed not (incorrectly, with Servius) to Dido—Dido's conduct towards Aeneas not having been just, but pious, *i. e. tender, compassionate*—but (with Virgil himself, *Aen.* 4. 519:

. . . "si quod non aequo foedere amantes
curae numen habet, iustumque memorque," . . .)

to the deity, whose special province it is to be just, to show justice to his subjects.

A sufficient answer to Wagner's objection to the separation of MENS SIBI CONSCIA RECTI from the *protasis*, in order to its being made part of the *apodosis* ("Priusquam hoc faciamus demonstrandum erit quam recte et veterum sentiendi loquendique rationi convenienter conscientia benefactorum praemiis ornare probos homines dicatur, idque una cum diis"), will, I think, be found in *Aen.* 9. 252:

"quae vobis, quae digna, viri, pro laudibus istis
praemia posse rear solvi? pulcherrima primum
di moresque dabunt vestri;"

also in Claud. *de Fl. Mall. Theod. Cons.* verse 1; and Silius, 13. 663, both quoted above; and in Cic. *Philipp.* 2. 44: "Etsi enim satis in ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti fructus erat."

SI QUA PIOS RESPECTANT NUMINA, SI QUID USQUAM IUSTITIA EST.—In other words, if any deities regard human goodness, and if those deities are just; or, shorter, if any just deities regard human goodness. Very similar is *Æn.* 5. 688:

. . . "si quid pietas antiqua labores
respicit humanos"

[if the old goodness of the gods continues to regard human labours, "quid," at all; if the gods retain any of that goodness with which they used to regard human labours]. Also Ovid's (*Mét.* 6. 542): "si numina divum sunt aliquid" [if the deities are anything, if there are any deities at all].

SI QUID USQUAM IUSTITIA EST. Compare Soph. *Philoct.* 1036 (Philoctetes speaking): θεοισιν ει δικης μελει. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1380 (Oedipus cursing Polynices):

τοιγαρ το σον θαλημα και τους σους θρονους
χρατουσιν, ηπιερ εστιν η παλαιματος
δικη συνεδρος Ζηνος αρχαιοις νομοις.

Eurip. *Orest.* 1242 (ed. Fix; Pylades invoking Jupiter and Justice to assist him and Orestes and Electra in killing Helen):

. . . συ δ', ω Ζευ προγονε, και Δικης σεβας,
δοτ' ευτυχησαι τωδ' εμοι τε τηδε τε.

Heliod. *Aethiop.* 8 (ed. Bipont. p. 263): θεους τε μεγалους και δικην ανακαλουντες.

SI QUA PIOS RESPECTANT NUMINA. Compare Eurip. *Iphig. in Aul.* 1039 (ed. Stokes), Clytemnestra to Achilles:

ει δ' ησι θεοι, δικιος ων ανηρ συ γ'
εσθλων κυρησεις.

USQUAM, anywhere at all—in heaven or anywhere else.

QUAE TE TAM LAETA TULERUNT, &c. Compare Schiller, *Jungf. v. Orléans*, act 1:

"wer bist du, heilig wunderbares mädchen?
welch glücklich land gebär dich? Sprich, wer sind
die gottgeliebten eltern, die dich zeugten?"

TALEM, such a woman, i. e. so excellent a woman. Compare

Apollon. Rhod. 2. 469 (of Paraebius, who had come to consult Phineus, and though poor, had given him many gifts):

. . . ως και οδ' ἀνηρ
τοιος ἔων δευρ' ἤλθεν, εὖν μορον οἴφρα δαειη

[so excellent a man]. The Greeks use *τοιουτος* in precisely the same manner; Xenoph. *Cyrop.* 1 (ed. Hutch. p. 28): οὐκ οἰσθα ἴσθαι, ὦ Κίρε, οὐ καὶ ὅσον σκαρδαμειττω χρόνον, πᾶν πολὺς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, οὐ οὐχ ὅρῳ σε τότε τοιούτων ὄντα;

611-614.

IN FRETA DUM FLUVII CURRENT DUM MONTIBUS UMBRAE
LUSTRABUNT CONVEXA POLUS DUM SIDERA PASCET
SEMPER HONOS NOMENQUE TUUM LAUDESQUE MANEBUNT
QUAE ME CUNQUE VOCANT TERRAE

VAR. LECT.

LUSTRABUNT **I** *Vat., Rom., Pal., Med.* **II** All the second-class MSS., about 100 in number. **III** Donat. and all the principal editions.
LUSTRA DABUNT **III** The conjecture of N. Heins., but adopted by him in his edition. Voss.

punct. LUSTRABUNT CONVEXA · POLUS **II** "In oblongo cod. et in aliquot aliis antiquis post CONVEXA punctus est," Pierius. **III** Donat.; Serv. ("Alii hoc loco distingunt, alii CONVEXA SIDERA volunt"); D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Pott; Wagn. (1832, 1841, 1861); Haupt.

punct. LUSTRABUNT · CONVEXA **I** *Vat.,* Pal.* **III** P. Manut.; Ribbeck; Probus (Koil's ed. p. 5, l. 9); Isid.; Rob. Stephens.
O *Ver., St. Gall.*

* Bottari is incorrect in representing the reading of the *Vat. Fr.* to be LUSTRABUNT CONVEXA.

VAR. LECT.

PASCET I *Rom., Pal.* (the upper half of the E and the whole of the T being torn away). II $\frac{61}{63}$; cod. Canon. (Butler). III Isidor. Rome, 1469; Venice, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mil., 1475; Mod.; Bresc.; Pierius; H. Steph.; P. Manut.; Bersm.; both Heinsii (1671, 1676, 1704); Ribb.; Coning.; Haupt; Philippe; Heyne; Pott.; Jahn; Wagn, (1832, 1841); Thiel.

POSCET I *Vat.*

PASCIT I *Med.* II $\frac{62}{63}$ (viz., Gud. 70, and Valenc. *a. m. pr.*).

O *Ver., St. Gall.*

Compare D. Ambros. *Hymn. in Advent. Dom.*:

“laus, honor, virtus, gloria,
Deo patri cum Filio,
Sancto simul Paraceto,
in sempiterna saccula.”

DUM MONTIBUS UMBRAE LUSTRABUNT CONVEXA.* Adopting the reading of the MSS., LUSTRABUNT, we obtain this sense: “as long as in the mountains the shadows [viz., of the mountains] go round about the basins or hollows [*i. e.* the basins or hollows in the midst of the mountains]”; in plain prose: “as long as the mountains cast shadows.”

CONVEXA (MONTIBUS), *the basins or hollows in the midst of the mountains; the mountain basins* (“Montium convallia,” Prudent. *Peristeph.* 10. 331), as “convexo nemorum,” l. 314, *a basin*, or *hollow in the woods, a wooded basin*. Compare *Georg.* 2. 185:

“campus,
qualem saepe cava montis convalle solemus
despicere”

(where “montis” exactly corresponds to MONTIBUS in our text, and “cava convalle” to CONVEXA); also Ovid, *Her.* 16. 53:

“est locus in mediae nemorosae vallibus Idae
devius, et piceis ilicibusque frequens”

(where “vallibus” is the CONVEXA of our text; and “mediae Idae” the MONTIBUS), and the so familiar πολυειχὸς Ὀλυμπος of Homer and Hesiod.

* Conington agrees with my interpretation both of LUSTRABUNT and CONVEXA, and has adopted both interpretations from me without acknowledgment.

If the modern limitation of the word *convex*, viz., to express only globose (*erhaben rund*), should raise a scruple in the reader's mind to accept this interpretation, I beg to refer him to Isidore's definition of the term (*Orig. 3. 38*): "*Convexum enim curvum est, quasi conversum seu inclinatum, et ad modum circuli flexum,*" according to which definition and etymology of the term, *convexus* is neither exclusively *convex*, i. e., *globose* (*erhaben rund*), nor exclusively *concave*, i. e., *hollowed* in the shape of a bowl (*hohl rund*), but converging on all sides to a centre, and therefore indifferently, and according to circumstances, either *convex* or *concave*, either *erhaben rund* or *hohl rund*; and such is the actual use made of *convexus* by the Latin writers, who apply it indifferently to express the convexity of the earth, as Ovid, *Fast. 6. 275*:

"ni *convexa* foret [terra], parti vicinior esset;
nec medium terram mundus haberet onus;"

and the concavity of the sky or vault of heaven, *Aen. 4. 451*:

. . . "taedet caeli *convexa* tueri,"

where if the still sceptical reader insist that it is within the limits of possibility that "*caeli convexa*" may mean the convex, rotund, globose sky (ball of the heavens), I beg to refer him (*a*) to Festus's definition of *convexum*: "*ex omni parte declinatum, qualis est natura caeli, quod ex omni parte ad terram versus declinatum est;*" (*b*) to Plin. *H. N. 2. 64*, whose explanation of the term *convexitas*, as applied to the sky, can hardly fail to remove any remaining doubt of the true meaning of the term, not only in this particular case, but generally ("Namque in illo [*viz.*, caelo] cava in se *convexitas* vergit, et cardini suo, hoc est, terrae, undique incumbit: haec [*viz.*, terra], ut solida atque conferta, adsurgit, intumescenti similis, extraque protenditur"); and (*c*) to Stat. *Theb. 1. 201*:

. . . "mediis sese arduus infert
ipse deis, placido quatiens tamen omnia vultu,
stellantique locat solio; nec protinus ausi
caelicolae, veniam donec pater ipse sedendi
tranquilla iubet esse manu; mox turba vagorum
semideum, et summis cognati nubibus amnes,

et compressa metu servantes murmura venti
 aurea tecta replent, mixta *convexa* deorum
 maiestate tremunt: radiant maiore sereno
 culmina, et arcano florentes lumine postes "

(where "convexa," coming in between "aurea tecta" and "culmina" and "postes," can mean nothing else than the hollow, converging amphitheatral, rotundo-like shape of the hall or council-chamber ("atria," verse 197) in which the gods held their solemn conclave; exactly as Claud. 6 *Cons. Honor.* 613:

. . . "cum regia circi
convexum [al. connexum] gradibus veneratur purpura vulgus,
 assensuque cavae sublatus in aethera vallis
 plebis adoratae reboat fragor,"

where "convexum vulgus" is as sufficiently declared by the immediately succeeding "cavae vallis" the people seated in tiers above each other in such amphitheatre-shaped locality, or circus, converging on all sides, so as to leave in the centre a cava vallis, that cava vallis the bottom of which in our theatres is technically called the *pit*). Compare also Lucan, 9 500:

. . . "conspecta est parva malignae
 unda procul venae, quam vix e pulvere miles
 sustulit, et galeae *convexum* infudit in orbem "

[the inside round, hollow, or concavity of the helmet]. Manil.

1. 206:

"haec est naturae facies; sic mundus et ipse
 in *convexa* volans teretes facit esse figuras
 stellarum "

(where "convexa" is used altogether without relation either to convexity or concavity, and solely with relation to circularity).

The idea contained in our text, viz., that of the shadows of mountains shifting place with the shifting sun, is thus more fully and unmistakably expressed by Horace, *Carm.* 3. 6: "sol ubi montium mutaret umbras" with which compare Virgil himself, *Ecl.* 1. 84:

"maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae",

and is familiar to every one who has lived in a mountainous country. In the valley of Riva in the Tirol, which is a *convexum*, or *convallis montium*, and in which I passed a

considerable part of the years 1847, 1848, and 1849, the shadow of the surrounding mountains—full, deep, and sharply-defined, in a country where the sky is always unclouded, the air clear, and the sunlight vivid—serves all the purposes of a sundial; the exact spot which the outline of the shadow reaches or leaves at each successive hour—nay, moment—of the day being from long observation well known to every inhabitant.

The proper consideration of the word *convexus* affording this natural and easy interpretation of the passage, the unanimous reading of the MSS. is confirmed, and Nich. Heinsius's conjecture of *LUSTRA DABUNT*, adopted by Voss, and not only adopted but claimed as his own by Wakefield (*Silv. Crit.*), falls to the ground; a conjecture which, however ingenious, and supported by the occurrence of the words "*dum iuga montis aper . . . amabit*" in connexion with "*semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt*," where those words occur again, *Ecl.* 5. 76, should even on its own merits be rejected, inasmuch as, throwing *CONVEXA* to *SIDERA*, it encumbers that word with a useless, not to say unsuitable, epithet. To which corroboration *ab interno* of the reading of the MSS. may be added the corroboration *ab externo* derivable from Silius's manifest imitation, 7. 474:

"tum pius Aeneas, terris iactatus et undis,
Dardanios Itala posuit tellure Penates.
dum cete ponto innabunt, dum sidera caelo
lucebunt, dum Sol Indo se littore tollet,
hic regna, et nullae regnis per saecula metae,"

where there is a perfect parallelism both in form and sense between the three several clauses commencing with "*dum*," and the three several clauses commencing with the same word in the Virgilian original, that original being read according to the MSS., but where all parallelism in sense between two of the clauses corresponding in form ceases, the moment we discard the received reading, and adopt instead of it the conjecture of Heinsius.

LUSTRABUNT. A not very dissimilar use has been made of *lustrare* by Manil., 4. 595:

"ipsa natat tellus pelagi *lustrata* corona."

POLUS DUM SIDERA PASCET. The first question which arises concerning this passage is: why should the stars require to be fed? what need have the stars of food? The answer is simple: the stars are fires (Cic. *Somn. Scip.* 3: "Hisque [hominibus] animus datus est ex illis sempiternis ignibus, quae sidera et stellas vocatis, quae globosae et rotundae, divinis animatae mentibus, circulos suos orbesque conficiunt celeritate mirabili." Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* 2. 46: "Sunt autem stellae natura flammeae") and require nutriment, *pabula*. Therefore (a), Cicero to his observation just quoted, "sunt autem stellae natura flammeae," adds: "quocirca terrae, maris, aquarum vaporibus aluntur iis, qui a sole ex agris tepefactis, et ex aquis excitantur; quibus altae renovataeque stellae atque omnis aether refundunt eodem, et rursum trahunt indidem, nihil ut fere intereat, aut admodum paullulum, quod astrorum ignis et aetheris flamma consumit;" therefore (b), Lucret. 5. 523, the stars roam about everywhere through the sky in search of their food ("quocunque cibus vocat"), and feed their flaming bodies with it:

. . . "sive ipsei serpere possunt,
quo quousque cibus vocat, atque invitat eunteis,
flammea per caelum pascenteis corpora passim;"

therefore (c), Rutil. *Itiner.* 1. 641, the ocean fodders the stars:

"qualiter oceanus mediis infunditur agris
destituenda vaga quum premit arva salo;
sive, alio refluus, nostro colliditur orbe,
sive corusca suis sidera pascit aquis;"

and even (d) (*Votum ad Ocean.*, ed. Wernsdorf., verse 9) the sun himself:

"tu [Oceane] fessos Phoebi reficis si gurgite curras,
exhaustisque die radiis alimenta ministras,
gentibus ut clarum referat lux aurea Solem;
si mare, si terras, caelum mundumque gubernas,
me quoque cunctorum partem, venerabilis, audi;"

(e), Lucan, 1. 415:

"flammiger an Titan, ut alentes hauriat undas,
erigat oceanum;"

(f), Lucan, 10. 258:

"nec non oceano pasci Phoebumque polumque
credimus;"

therefore (*g*), Lucret. 1. 1089, the flame of the sun (himself one of the stars) feeds, seeks its nourishment “per caeli caerulea:”

“et solis flammam per caeli caerulea pasci:”

and therefore in our text, the pole, *i. e.* the sky, the *caelum*, is represented as feeding the stars, *i. e.* supplying the stars with nourishment.

The next question is: what sort of nourishment is it with which the sky supplies the stars? a question to which we have already had the answer—Cic. *de Nat. Deor.*, quoted above—the exhalations extracted from the earth and its waters by the heat of the sun: “Terrae, maris, aquarum vaporibus aluntur iis, qui a sole ex agris tepefactis et ex aquis excitantur.”

The next question is: why should the sky be represented as supplying that nourishment which is supplied by the earth? The answer to which is, that it is said to do so **by** the same metonymy by which the river Amasenus is said (7. 685) to feed the inhabitants of the country through which it flows, and Vesper (1. 378) to compose the day, and (*Georg.* 4. 434) to bring home the calves from the field; **by** the same metonymy by which in this very passage it is not even the sky or *caelum* but only the *pole*, the extremity of the sky’s axis, which is said so to feed the stars; **by** the same metonymy by which it is not even the sun and the stars, but Phoebus and the pole (as containing the stars) which are said to be fed by the ocean, Lucan, as above:

“nec non oceano pasci Phoebumque polumque
credimus.”

SEMPER HONOS NOMENQUE TUUM LAUDESQUE MANEBUNT.—The compliment paid by Aeneas to Dido is repeated almost word for word, with omission only of the rather unphilosophical doctrine of the life of the stars, in the inscription in honour of Justinian and his empress, *Anthol. Pal.* (ed. Dubner), 9. 821:

κοιραντοι, υμετερον αρετην καρτος τε και εργα
ανδρσει χρονος αιων, τως πολος αστερας ελκη.

NOMEN.—Not (as 4. 383, “nomine Dido”) *name*, in the sense of *appellation*, but [as 11. 688:

- . . . "nomen tamen haud leve patrum
manibus hoc referes, telo cecidisse Camillae;"
11. 583:
. . . "namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen
feminea in poena est;"

Cic. *Brut.* (p. 234, ed. Lamb. vol. 1): "Verum qui omnino
nomen habuerint, non ita multos fuisse;" Mart. 10. 103:

"municipes, Augusta mihi quos Bilbilis acri
monte creat, rapidis quos Salo cingit aquis,
ecquid laeta iuvat vestri vos gloria vatis?
nam decus et nomen famaeque vestra sumus;"

Aen. 12. 135:

"tum neque nomen erat, nec honos aut gloria monti;"

Corn. Nep. *in Dion.*: "Crudelissimum nomen tyranni sua hu-
manitate leniebat"] *name* in the sense of *renown*, of which
use of the word there is a still more remarkable example,
Aen. 9. 343:

. . . "ac multam in medio sine nomine plebem,
Fadumque, Herbesumque subit, Rhoetumque, Abarimque,
ignaros,"

where the persons said to be "sine nomine" are actually
enumerated by name. See also Remm. on 2. 554; and 12. 514;
9. 342.

MANEBUNT, QUAE ME CUNQUE VOCANT TERRAE.—"Nulla oblivione
obterentur in iis terris, quae me cunque vocant," Wagner (1861).
Not the meaning, (1), on account of the inconsistency of such
meaning with Aeneas's disclaimer, on the part not only of
himself but of the whole Trojan nation, of all ability to thank
Dido worthily for her generosity and courteousness:

GRATES PERSOLVERE DIGNAN
NON OPIS EST NOSTRAE, DIDO, NEC QUIDQUID URIQUE EST
GENTIS DARDANIAE, MAGNUM QUAE SPARSA PER ORBEM.

(2), because such meaning, such limitation of the glory of Dido
to the places in which it should be published by the mouth of
Aeneas, had been an anticlimax of the worst kind, a miserable
peroration of Aeneas's speech, and rendering that speech a
veritable "mountain in labour." (3), because there is no reason
why the words SEMPER HONOS NOMENQUE TUUM LAUDESQUE

MANEBUNT should have a limiting clause tacked to them here and not in the fifth Eclogue, where they occur again in a similar context. The meaning is: "your glory will be permanent, will last as long as the world itself, no matter what may become of me," *i. e.* "though I cannot accept your noble and generous offer, though I am obliged by the fates to go in search of distant lands, your offer is not the less generous on that account, and your praises will be celebrated for ever." The passage seems to be formed on the answer of Ulysses to Alcinous, thanking him for his kind reception, *Hom. Od. 7. 331*:

Ζεῦ πατερ, αὐτ' ὅσα εἶπε τελευτήσσειν ἅπαντα
 Ἀλκίνοος· τοῦ μὲν κεν ἐπὶ ζειδωρὸν ἀρουραν
 ἀσβεστον κλέος εἴη, ἐγὼ δὲ κε πατρίδ' ἰχοίμην,

where the sense is not, "I will celebrate the praises of Alcinous when I return to my country," but "God grant that he may keep his word, and that I may return home safely." Compare *Cic. Epist. ad. Fam. 2. 16*: "Te tamen oramus, quibuscunque erimus in terris, ut nos liberosque nostros ita tueare," &c. *Apollon. Rhod. 3. 990* (ed. Brunck), Jason to Medea:

σοὶ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ τίσαιμι χάριν μετοπισθὲν ἀρωγῆς,
 ἡ θῆμις, ὡς ἐπιοικε διανδίχῃ νηαιτακόντας,
 οἰνομαὶ καὶ καλὸν τεύχων κλέος. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὠλλοὶ
 ἡρώες κλησούσιν εἰς Ἑλλάδα νοστήσαντες,
 ἡρώων τ' ἀλοχοὶ καὶ μητέρες, αἱ νῦν ποτ' ἤδη
 ἡμεῖς ἠιονέσσειν ἐγείζομεναι γούνοισι,
 ταῶν ἀργαλέως κεν ἀποσχεδιστείας ἰαυίας.

QUAE ME CUNQUE VOCANT TERRAE. Compare 4. 303: "nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron." *Seneca, Troad. 817*:

"*quae vocat sedes habitanda captas?*
Thessali montes et opaca Tempe?"

Sabin. *Ulysses Penelopae. 91*:

"pervagus hinc toto non felix differor orbe;
 et, *quocunque vocat fluctus et aura, feror.*"

617-639.

OBSTUPUIT—SUUM

OBSTUPUIT PRIMO ASPECTU SIDONIA DIDO. Compare Propertius (4. 4. 21), of Tarpeia's first sight of Tatius:

"obstupuit regis facie et regalibus armis,
interque oblitas excidit urna manus."

GENITOR TUM BELUS OPTIMAM VASTABAT CYPRUM. Compare Ammian, 14. 8: "Tanta tamque multiplici fertilitate abundat rerum omnium eadem Cyprus, ut nullius externi indigens adminiculi, indigenis viribus, a fundamento ipso carinae ad supremos usque carbasos aedificet onerariam navem, omnibusque armamentis instructam mari committat."

NON IGNARA MALI MISERIS SUCCURRERE DISCO. Scarcely less pathetic is our own Sterne: "She had suffered persecution and learned mercy." Nor is Ulysses' sympathy with Ajax (*Soph. Ajax, 1381*) less natural and touching, although, as arising not from recollection of the past but from expectation of the future, it is somewhat of a different kind:

AGAM. ἀνῶγας οὐκ με τὸν νεκρὸν θάπτειν εἶμι;

ODYS. ἐγώ γε, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐνθάδ' ἐξομαί.

Compare *Anthol. Pal.* (ed. Jacobs), 12. 70: οἶδα παθῶν ἐλεειν, a complete sentence. Aesch. *Suppl.* 213 (Chor. of Danaides):

καλοῦμεν ἀνγας ἡλίου σῶτηριος,

ἀγνὸν τ' Ἀπολλῶ φεγγαδ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ θεῖον.

εἰδὼς ἀν' αἰσάν τινδε ἀγγένοιη βροτοῖς.

Inc. auct. *Epist. to Hebr.* 4. 15, quoted by Peerlkamp: οὐ γὰρ ἐχομεν ἀρχιερεᾶ μὴ δυνάμενον συμπάθεισαι ταῖς ἀσθενεῖαις ἡμῶν, πεπειρασμένον δὲ κατὰ πάντα καθ' ὁμοιοιητά. Charlotte Corday, in a letter written on the eve of her execution, and published by Lamartine in his *Histoire des Girondins* (liv. 44, ch. 8): "Les prisonniers de la Conciergerie, loin de m'injurier comme le peuple dans les rues, ont l'air de me plaindre. Le malheur rend compatissant. C'est ma dernière réflexion." Also Metastasio, *Guissep. Ricon.* part 1:

"è legge di natura
 che a compatir ci mova
 chi prova una sventura
 che noi provammo ancor.
 o sia che amore in noi
 la somiglianza accenda,
 o sia che più s' intenda
 nel suo, l' altrui dolor."

See Remm. on 5. 618, and 4. 507.

SIMUL DIVUM TEMPLIS INDICIT HONOREM, *i. e.*, "*Supplicationem*" (*λειτουργίαν*) indicit; in other words, *makes proclamation θρην τοις θεοις και σχολάζειν εορταζοντας*. See Rem. on 1. 52. Indicere was the technical term employed by the Romans to designate the appointing, ordering, or ordaining by special authority something to be done on a special occasion. It was the direct opposite of statuere, the thing done being extraordinary, or for the one particular occasion only; not stated or usual, not *solenne* or *statum*; see Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 657:

"ter quater evolvi signantes tempora Fastos;
 non Sementiva est ulla reperta dies:
 cum mihi, sensit enim, 'Lux haec indicitur,' inquit
 Musa; 'quid a Fastis non stata sacra petis?'"

where the muse informs Ovid that he sought in vain in the *Fasti* for a feast which was celebrated not on a fixed day, but on a day to be appointed by special proclamation. Compare Eurip. *Alcest.* 1176 (ed. Musgr.) (Admetus ordering a supplication in honour of his wife returned from Hades):

αστοις δε παση τ' ευνεπω [indico] τετραρχια,
 χορους επ' εσθλαις συμφορμασιν ισταναι,
 βομους τε κνισαν βοεθντοισι προστροπιαις.

Lucan, 2. 1:

"iamque irae patuere deum, manifestaue belli
 signa dedit mundus; legesque et foedera rerum
 praescia monstrifero vertit natura tumultu,
 indixitque nefas,"

where the established law ("leges," "foedera") is contrasted with the temporary law, proclamation, or order of the day ("indixitque nefas," and where Grotius: "'Indixit,' verbum Feciale." That the public thanksgiving here ordered by Dido for

the miraculous preservation of Aeneas and the Trojans and their happy arrival at Carthage was not to be at the expense of the citizens, but defrayed out of the royal exchequer, may be concluded from the word "largitur" employed by Valerius Flaccus (2. 650) in his mention of the similar thanksgiving ordered by Cyzicus for the happy arrival at his court of Jason and the Argonauts:

"sic memorat, laetosque rapit; simul hospita pandi
tecta iubet, templisque sacros *largitur* honores."

MAGNORUM HORRENTIA CENTUM TERGA SUUM.—TERGA SUUM, the ordinary synecdoche for "corpora suum," as 7. 20, "terga ferarum;" 6. 422, "immania terga resolvit." The use of *χρεως* for *σωμα* is familiar to every Greek scholar, and might be cited as parallel. More parallel, however, though perhaps less familiar, is the use by Euripides (in the case of a lady, too) of *νοτα* for *σωμα*, *Hecub.* 682 (ed. Porson):

TALH. ποῦ τὴν ἀνάσσαν δὴ ποῖ' οὖσαν Ἰλιον
Ἐκαβὴν ἂν ἐξευροίμι, Τρωαδὲς χοραὶ;
CH. αὐτὴ πέλας σου, νῶτ' ἔχουσ' ἐπὶ χθονί,
Ταλθύρει, κτετα. ἔνγκλις μιν πεπλωσ.

So far there is no difficulty, and our text may be regarded as affording a good example of *terga* used by the ordinary synecdoche of grammarians, for *corpora*. But we open our eyes wide when we observe the same *terga*, in an almost identical context, used by the same figure, not at all for *corpora*, but for *coria* (5. 404:

. . . "tantorum ingentia septem
terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigeant");

and still wider, when going a little farther we find it difficult to determine whether it is in either (and if in either, in which) of these two so different senses the same word is to be understood (9. 609:

. . . "versaue iuvenum
terga fatigamus hasta").

and not rather in a third sense, different from both, viz., *dorsum*.

640.

MUNERA LAETITIAMQUE DEI

VAR. LECT.

- DEI I *Rom., Pal., Med.* (the I being plainly in a different ink); "exemplaria fere omnia vetustiora DEI," Pier. II $\frac{6}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$; cod. Canon. (Butler).
 III Serv.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Phil.; Conington; Voss.
- DII II $\frac{2}{8}$. III Aul. Gell.; Cynth. Cenet.; Princ.; Heyne; Brunck; Pott.*
 Jahn; Wagn. (1832, 1841, 1861); Thiel; Süpfle; Forb.; Haupt; Ribbeck.
- DI II $\frac{5}{8}$.
- DIE III E. Milan, 1492; Aldus (1514); MUNERAQUE LATIENQUE LYAEI; proposed by Peerlkamp.
- O *Vat., Ver., St. Gall.*
-

MUNERA LAETITIAMQUE DEI. Two principal solutions have been proposed of this famous Virgilian *nodus*. The **first** is that by Aulus Gellius, so early as about the middle of the second century, viz., that Virgil wrote DII not DEI ("Non dubium est quin DII scripserit pro DIEI . . . quod imperitiores DEI legunt"). Placed besides which we find in Servius the variety: "aut certe ut multi legunt, LAETITIAMQUE DIE, *i. e.*, DIEI," affording the same sense, viz., "ut supra dicta munera sint multorum dierum usui sufficientia. Intelligamus autem missa aliqua etiam ad usum diei"—a sense so jejune, so unpoetical, so wholly unsuitable to the context, that it is to me at least unaccountable how so many commentators should, for the sake of it, have rejected that reading in which all the codices which have come down to us agree, and which is besides the reading adopted by, and commented on by Servius himself: MUNERA LAETITIAMQUE DEI. **The other solution**

* Contrary to all his MSS. which read, as he informs us, two of them DIEI, and all the others DEI.

is that of Donatus, and those commentators who, with Donatus, retaining the second, viz., that of the MSS. and of Servius, understand DEI to be Bacchus, and MUNERA LAETITIAMQUE DEI to be the gifts and joy of Bacchus, *i. e.*, wine—a solution no less unsatisfactory and inadmissible; first, because the copula is desiderated between the other presents and the wine, between AGNOS and MUNERA; and secondly, because MITTIT alone cannot signify *presents, makes presents of*—requires, before it can bear such a meaning, either another *munera*, or at least *muneri*, or *munere*, to be added to it; thus MITTIT MUNERA (or *muneri*, or *munere*), TAUROS, TERGA SUUM, AGNOS, *et* MUNERA LAETITIAMQUE DEI (compare 4. 623:

. . . "cinerique haec *mittite* nostro
munera."

Cic. *in Verr.*, act. 2, lib. 4, c. 27, § 62 (ed. Orell.): "Mittit homini *munera*: satis haec ad usum domesticum." Catull. 12. 14:

"nam sudaria Saetaba ex Iberis
misceunt mihi *muneri* Fabullus
et Verannius."

Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 37. 5: "regi eorum a rege Babylonio *missum* smaragdum *munere*." Nepos, *Pausan.* 2: "Pausanias . . . quos Byzantii ceperat . . . tibi *muneri* *misit*"; not to say that *deus* is nowhere else used absolutely by Virgil to signify Bacchus, not even (see Rem. on 9. 337) in that passage of the Ninth Book where Serranus is said to be "*membra deo victus*"—a passage, the "*deo*" of which, I am sorry to say, I myself once (see my Twelve Years' Voyage) not only understood to signify Bacchus, but used as an argument that the DEI of our text also was to be understood in no other manner.

What then? are we to turn away in despair, make no further attempt to solve the problem? I think not. Let us see. The reading is DEI; the structure is MITTIT MUNERA LAETITIAMQUE DEI, viz., TAUROS, TERGA SUUM, *et* AGNOS; and the meaning is: "sends gifts and joy, which a god might have sent;" "gifts so splendid and joyful that they are [are, as it were] the gifts of a god," are to the ships as if they had come from heaven itself, as if the sender were a god. If I am asked how do

I know all this? how have I, so lately by my own acknowledgment one of the "profani," found entrance into the locked *adytum*? I reply, that I found the key where it always lay, and where it might have been found at any time by any one who took the trouble to search for it, viz., at 8. 200:

"attulit et nobis aliquando optantibus aetas
auxilium adventumque dei."

As the advent and help of Hercules was so seasonable and welcome to the distressed Arcadians, as to be (*i. e.*, seems to be) the assistance and advent of a god, so the presents and joy sent to the shipwrecked Trojans by Dido were such (*i. e.*, seemed to them to be such) as could only have come from a god. The parallelism is perfect: "aetas" corresponds to DIDO, "attulit" to MITTIT, "auxilium" to MUNERA, "adventum" to LAETITIAM, the distressed, despairing position of the Arcadians, to the distressed, despairing position of the Trojans; in both passages there is the same complimentary ascription of deity to the benefactor (I say *complimentary*, for Hercules, although after his death actually numbered among the gods—"decus addite divis"—was during his life no more considered really as a god than Dido was); and, finally, and almost as if Virgil had actually modelled the one passage on the other, the two passages consist of precisely the same number of words, in precisely the same construction, in precisely the same position in the line, with precisely the same rhythm, and are followed by precisely the same full stop. If it be objected to this new interpretation of the passage, as it has been objected to Aulus Gellius's reading, that wine should have a place among the MUNERA sent to the ships by Dido, I beg to refer to the feast given by Alcinous to Ulysses (Hom. *Od.* 8. 59), in the account of the provisions for which (the very account from which, most probably, Virgil has taken his account of the provisions sent by Dido to the ships) there is no mention whatever made of wine:

τοισιν δ' Ἀλκίνοος δυοκαιδεκα μῆλ' ἡρέυσεν,
οἷῳ δ' ἀργιόδοντας νῆας, δυο δ' εἰλεποδᾶς ῥους·
τοὺς δέρον ἄμφι θ' ἔπον, τετυκοντο τε θαῖτ' ἐρατεινήν:

and to the "vitulantes manes," Macrob. *Saturn.* 3. 2, and to *Aen.* 6. 656:

. . . "alios dextra laevaue per herbam
vescentes lætumque choro pacana canentes,"

where, although "vescentes" may include drink, our author seems to have left the not-to-be-doubted libations of his ghosts almost as wholly to his reader's imagination as he has in our text left the as-little-to-be-doubted wassail of his shipwrecked Trojans.

DEI. Indefinite and complimentary; not a precise, particular god, but a god generally. This complimentary ascription of deity to a greatly admired and respected person, and especially to a benefactor, is to be found everywhere, not only in Virgil but in all the Greek and Roman writers. A well-known example is in the first Eclogue, verse 6, where it is followed in the very next verse by such an explanation as prevents all possibility of mistake. Another equally well-known example is Cic. *Epp. ad Att.* 4. 16: "Feci idem quod in *Πολιτεία* *deus* ille noster Plato." Others are Cic. *de Orat.* 1. 23 (Mucius to Crassus: "Equidem te quum in dicendo semper putavi *deum*, tum vero tibi numquam eloquentiae maiorem tribui laudem, quam humanitatis;" Cic. *ad Quir.* 5: "P. Lentulus consul, parens ac *deus* salutis nostrae;" Cic. *de Orat.* 2. 42: "'Qui ordo tibi placeat,' inquit Catulus, 'et quae dispositio argumentorum, in qua tu mihi semper *deus* videri soles.' 'Vide quam sim in isto genere,' inquit, 'Catule, *deus*;" Hom. *Il.* 24. 258 (Priam speaking):

Ἐκτορα θ' [genui], *ὅς θ' ὅς τ' ἔσπε μετ' ἀνδράσιν, οὐδὲ τ' ὥσπε*
ἀνδρὸς γὰρ θνητῶν πάς ἐμμένει, ἀλλὰ θεοῖο.

Such—sometimes more, sometimes less—figurative ascription of deity to the greatly admired person, however opposed to our modern notions, was the inevitable consequence of the belief that eminently distinguished goodness and greatness on earth was sure to be rewarded, not as in modern creeds by admission to heaven, there to serve the same god of which it had been the servant in this world, but by actual assumption as a new god into the number of gods already existing, "*deus addite divis*;" nor was the compliment, in the case of the complimented person being still alive, anything more than a bestowal of the future dignity by anticipation, in the same manner as the title of *Lord*

is bestowed in England by courtesy on the son of a peer during his father's lifetime, and even during his own minority. Compare *Aen.* 1. 294: "Vocabitur hic quoque votis;" *Georg.* 1. 24: "Tuque adeo quem mox quae sint habitura deorum concilia;" *Georg.* 4. 561: "Viamque affectat Olympo"—all of Augustus Caesar. Also, *Aen.* 1. 263: "Sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli magnanimum Aenean;" *Aen.* 9. 641: "Sic itur ad astra, dis genite et geniture deos," of Ascanius. Also, 4. 322: "Qua sola sidera adibam," of Dido, and spoken by herself; and above all, Ovid, *Trist.* 1. 1. 20: "Munus habere dei," where the words, "munus dei" mean the gift of Augustus, exactly as in our text the words MUNERA DEI mean the gift of Dido. If, however, the reader be unwilling to admit in the DEI of our text as strong an ascription of divinity to Dido as there is of divinity of Hercules in the "dei" of *Aen.* 8. 200, and of divinity to Augustus in the "dei" of the *Tristia*, and the "deus" of the first Eclogue, and insists on understanding the words to mean no more than presents and joy which were received at the ships as if they were the presents of a god, without direct reference to Dido, I have no objection. The passage can afford so much loss of beauty; and a precisely similar use of the word deus will be found in the elegant and graceful compliment paid to Dido by Aeneas, in the last line of his story: "Hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit oris" ("My coming here has been so happy that I can ascribe it to nothing less than the kindness of some deity"). Also in his command to Dares to desist from the combat, *Aen.* 5. 467: "Yield! seest thou not there is a god against thee—that the strength exerted by Entellus must be supplied to him by some god?" Also in Iapis's attribution of the sudden healing of Aeneas's wound to the interference of a god, *Aen.* 12. 427:

"non haec humanis opibus, non arte magistra
proveniunt
maior agit deus."

MUNERA DEL. Compare Quint. Curt. 4. 30: "Sive illud deorum munus, sive casus fuit." Tacit. *Annal.* 2. 40: "Vulgabatur interim per Italiam servatum munere deum Agrip-

pam." Tacit. *Annal.* 4. 27: "Cum velut munere *deum*, tres biremes adpulere ad usus commecantium illo mari." Sil. 15. 88: "Capiat si munera *dirum* felix." Sil. 15. 71:

"cui ratio et magnae caelestia semina mentis
munere sunt concessa *deum*,"

and "munus habere *dei*," quoted above; with which compare Theocr. *Idyll.* 1. 32:

εντοσθεν δε γυναι τε θρων διαδαλμα τετυχται,
ασχητα πεπλω τε και αμυνχι

[*εντοσθεν*, *inside the cup*]. Theocr. *Idyll.* 15. 78:

Πραξινοα, ποταγ' ωδε. τα ποιηλια πρατον αθροισαν.
λελυτα και ως χαριεντα. θρων προνομιατα ησαστε.

Tryphiod. 185:

. . . τοισι δ' Αθηνη
αμβροσιην κερασασα θρων εξομισσεν εδωδην
δειπνον εχειν, ινα μη τι, πανημεριοι λοχωντες,
πειρομενοι βαρυθοιεν ατερπει γουνατα λιμω.

Hor. *Sat.* 2. 6. 65:

"o noctes coenaeque *deum*, quibus ipse meique
ante larem proprium vescor, vernasque procaces
pasco libatis dapibus."

So far, therefore, from the sentence being awkward and unfinished ("sed quidquid amplecteris, illud fatebere, desiderari hic munditiem elegantiamque Virgilianem. Scilicet fato interclusus est poeta, quominus adumbratum quasi et abiectum versiculum expleret perpoliretque," Wagner), the sentence and sentiment—not indeed the verse, which is a separate matter—is highly and exquisitely finished, and inferior in strength and beauty to none of this never-enough-to-be-admired poet's most admired.

MUNERA LAETITIAMQUE DEI. NOT MUNERA, LAETITIAMQUE DEI, but MUNERA LAETITIAMQUE, DEI, *i. e.*, laeta munera dei, "laetitia" being **either** (it is indifferent which) the joyfulness of the gifts themselves, *i. e.*, their exuberance, profusion, abundance, liberality ("laeti segetes," "laetus ager," "laeta flumina," *Georg.* 3. 310), **or** the joyfulness, *i. e.*, cheerfulness and cordiality, and therefore liberality, profuseness, munificence of

the giver ("laeta dedi," 9. 89; "laetus dabat;" and especially "victumque feres et virgea laetus pabula," *Georg.* 3. 320, in which last instance "laetus" can mean nothing else but *cheerfully freely-giving*): or lastly, the joy produced by the gifts (Ovid, *Met.* 12. 208: "munere laetus abit").

MITTIT—MUNERA, as *Aen.* 4. 621: "mittite munera;" *Aen.* 9. 358: "mittit dona."

The resemblance between our text and *Aen.* 12. 393 is obvious and striking:

"ipse suas artes sua munera laetus Apollo
augurium, citharamque dabat, celeresque sagittas,"

where we have the giving god, the gift, the particulars of which the gift consisted, and even the joy. Compare also Cic. *de Harusp. Resp.* (ed. Lamb.), p. 429: "T. Annius ad illam pestem comprimendam, extinguendam, funditus delendam natus esse videtur, et quasi divino *munere* reipublicae donatus." Cic. *pro domo* (ed. Lamb.), 427: "Non virtutis atque ingenii, sed fortunae et temporum *munera*." The MUNERA spoken of in our text were *non* "virtutis atque ingenii," *non* "fortunae et temporum," *sed* DEI MUNERA, DEI MUNERA LAETITIAMQUE—"dei laeta munera." There is also a striking similarity between the unfinished line MUNERA LAETITIAMQUE DEI, so understood, and the unfinished line (2. 623) "numina magna deum;" both commencing with a dactyl; both ending with the first syllable of a broken foot; both having the ictus of the voice on the first syllable of the last complete foot; both closing a long period; both making honourable mention of the gods, and both breaking off suddenly after the word *god*, as if to have added one word further would only have been to take from the effect already produced.

No objection, I should suppose, will be made to the interpretation on the ground that the word is DEI not DEAE—at least no objection will be made by any one who considers how frequent among the ancients was the use both of *deus* and *θεος* in the abstract sense. See 2. 632, "ducente deo," spoken of Venus; and Hom. *Od.* 2. 262 (addressed to Minerva):

κλυθε μεν ο χθιζος θεος κλυθεσ ημετερον δω,

and *Il. 1. 516* (Thetis speaking of herself):

οὐδὲν ἔγωγε μετὰ πάνσιν ἀτιμωτάτῃ θεῷ εἰμι.

Besides all which, “*adventum sociasque rates*” (*5. 36*), &c., are further examples of a similar structure occupying the same position in the verse.

Of the correctness of this interpretation, I am myself thoroughly convinced. It is, however, but fair to refer those not equally convinced to the following passage from the Homeric Hymn *ad Mercur.*, in which they may perhaps find an argument in favour of the reading *DU* and interpretation of Aulus Gellius. It is a striking passage, and, so far as I know, not hitherto noticed by any of those who have discussed this subject; verse 480 (Mercury to Apollo, giving him the lyre):

εὐκλής μὲν ἐπειτα φέρειν εἰς δαίτα θαλάμων,
καὶ χορόν τιτρούοντα, καὶ ἐς γυλοζυθεῖα κοῦμον,
εὐφροσύνην νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας.

643—659.

ARTE—CORONAM

ARTE. Compare Cic. *de Orat. 1. 35*: “*tanquam in aliquam locupletem ac refertam domum venerim, non explicata veste, neque proposito argento.*” Cic. *in Verr. 2. 4*: “*Exornat ample magnificeque convivium, exponit ea quibus abundabat, plurima ac pulcherrima vasa argentea.*”

FORTIA GENTIS. The clause SERIES . . . GENTIS is a mere amplification of the Greek *αρεζαθεν*. It is as if he had said: FORTIA FACTA GENTIS *αρεζαθεν*.

MUNERA (verse 651, &c.). These presents of Aeneas to Dido were, there can hardly be a doubt, intended to be suggestive of his love. Not only was it usual for lovers to make presents, and especially presents of crowns to the objects of their affections (see Hygin. *Astron. 2. 5*, of the crown of

Ariadne, and Paschal. *de Coronis*), but a crown, or at least a circlet of flowers, was and still is part of the usual costume of a bride. Compare Lucan, 2. 358:

"turrita^{que} *premens frontem* matrona *corona*.
translata vetuit contingere limina planta."

Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 140:

"nunc sociat flores, seseque ignara *coronat*,
augurium fatale tori."

Eurip. *Iphig. in Aulid.* (Clyt. to Achill.):

. . . ἀλλ' οὐτως
σοὶ κατὰ στήθεσ' ἔγωγε νύη γόνυ, ὡς γαμουμένην

[cited bei Paschalius, *Coronae*, 2, p. 125, who observes thereon: "Hoc adeo inde factum est, quod priscis temporibus coma soluta et libera fuit quoddam veluti insigne virginitatis, virginesque in priscis monumentis plerumque tales describuntur; Virgil. de Venere, *Aen.* 1. 322:

. . . 'namque humeris . . . ventis;'

at coma coacta et *coronata* argumentum instantis aut iam praesentis laetitiae coniugalis. At tunc et cogi et fraenari coma dicebatur, ut apud Claudianum in bisce versibus [*Rapt. Pros.* 2. 137]:

'nec quae Parthenium canibus scrutatur odoris
aspernata toros; libertatemque comarum
iniecta voluit tandem fraenare *corona*.'"]

The saffron-coloured veil (CROCEO VELAMEN ACANTHO) was peculiarly the bride's veil, as Claud. *Epith. Honor. et Mar.* 211:

"pars infecta *croco* velamina lutea Serum
pandite."

In Lucan, 2. 360, we have also among the ornaments of the bride another of Aeneas's presents, viz., the necklace:

"non timidum nuptae leviter tectura pudorem,
lutea demissos velarunt flammae vultus:
balteus hand fluxos gemmis adstrinxit amictus,
colla monile decens."

Still further, a part of the presents had been actually among the *γεγραυ* of Helen; and the similar presents of Medea to Glauce, viz., a fine peplum, and a golden crown, are denomi-

nated *γεγοναι*, or nuptial presents, by Medea, Eurip. *Med.* 952:

λαζυσθε γέρονας τασθε, παιδες, εις χιτας,
και τη τυραννω μακαρια νυμφη δοτε
γεγοντες.

VELAMEN, PALLAM.—It may be remarked that VELAMEN is the tunic properly so called, PALLAM the outside garment, put over the velamen for show, especially out of doors, precisely the presents which, as Livy informs us (27. 4), were sent by the Roman Senate to Cleopatra, queen of Ptolemy Philopator: "Alexandriam ad Ptolemaeum Cleopatramque reges, M. Atilius et M. Acilius legati, ad commemorandam renovandamque amicitiam missi, dona tulere, regi togam et tunicam purpuream cum sella eburnea; reginae, *pallam pictam cum amiculo purpureo*."

SIGNIS AUROQUE RIGENTEM.—Compare *Menagiana*, vol. 1, p. 61 (Paris, 1729): "Une dame avoit une jupe si chargée d'or et d'argent, qu'elle ne pouvoit marcher. Quelqu'un lui dit: 'Madame, qui est l'orfèvre qui a fait votre jupe?' On prétend que c'est un mot de feu M. le premier Président de Harley à la femme d'un maltôtier. Virgile dit

PALLAM SIGNIS AUROQUE RIGENTEM

dans le vers 648 du liv. 1, de l'Eneide. C'etoit parmi les Grecs *χιτων ορθοσταδιος*, parmi les Latins *tunica recta*, ainsi nommée, parce que lorsqu'il n'y avoit pas de ceinture, elle se tenoit toute droite. Festus au mot *rectae* dit que c'est parce que la tissure de ces robes se faisoit de bas en haut. Voiez . . . les notes de Saumaise sur l'Aurélian de Vopiscus."

PETERET. "Vulgati habent PETERENT, quod et ad numeros aptius, et ad invidiam atrocius," Fabricius. See Rem. on "dea," verse 505.

DUPLEX GEMMIS AUROQUE CORONAM. The "corona" is "duplex gemmis auroque," inasmuch as consisting of a gold hoop or circlet, studded all round or surmounted all round with gems. Compare (*α*), the metaphorical "duplex corona" of St. Agnes (Prudent. *Peristeph.* 14. 7), of which the one hoop or circlet is virginity, the other martyrdom:

"duplex corona est praestita martyri:
intactum ab omni crimine virginal,
mortis deinde gloria liberae;"*

(b), the crown of Ariadne, which, described by Hyginus (*Astron.* 2. 5) to have been of gold and Indian gems ("Dicitur etiam a Vulcano facta ex auro et Indicis gemmis"), may fairly be presumed to have been, like Ilione's, "duplex gemmis auroque," *i. e.* to have consisted of a circle of brilliants (Ovid, *Met.* 8. 176:

. . . "desertae et multa querenti
amplexus et opem Liber tulit, utque perenni
sidere clara foret, sumptam de fronte *coronam*
immisit caelo. tenues volat illa per auras,
dumque volat, *gemmae* subitos vertuntur in ignes;
consistuntque loco, specie remanente coronae,
qui medius nixique genu est, anguemque tenentis")

and a circle of gold (Catull. *Carm.* 66. 59 (ed. Ellis):

"hic iuveni Ismario ne solum in limine caeli
ex Ariadneis *aurae* temporibus
fixa *corona* foret, sed nos quoque fulgeremus,
devotae flavi verticis exuviae");

(c), also, the crown of Richesse, Chauc. *Rom. of the Rose*, 1107:

"upon the tressis of Richesse
was set a circle of noblesse
of brende *gold*, that full light yshone,
so faire trowe I was nevyr none:
but he were konning for the nones
that could devisin all the *stones*
that in that circle shewin clere;
it is a wondir thing to here,
for no man could or preise or gesse

* That two hoops or circlets are here meant is shown by verse 119, where Prudentius goes on to say:

"cingit coronis interea Deus
frontem duabus martyris innubae:
unam decemplex edita sexies
merces perenni lumine conficit;
centenus extat fructus in altera,"

as well as by his denominating, at verse 127, these "duae coronae" of vv. 119, 120 "gemellum diadema":

"intende nostris conluviionibus
vultum gemello cum diademate."

of 'hem the value or richesse:
 rubies there were, saphirs, ragounces,
 and emeraudes, more than two unces,
 and all before full subtilly
 a fine carboncle set sawe I,
 the stone so clere was and so bright,
 that all so sone as it was night
 men mightin sene to go for nede
 a mile or two in length and brede;
 soche light ysprang out of the stone
 that Richesse wondir bright yshone
 both on her hedde and all her face
 and eke about her all the place;"

(*d*), Senec. *Med.* 573 (of the crown sent by Medea as a present to Creusa):

. . . "quodque *gemmarum* nitor
 distinguit *aurum*, quo solent cingi comae"

[a crown of gold set with jewels, and so, not improbably, *duplex* in the sense in which the "corona" presented by Aeneas to Dido is "duplex"]. (*e*), Senec. *Herc. Oel.* 358:

"fortuna amorem peior inflammat magis:
 amat vel ipsum quod caret patrio lare,
 quod nudus *auro* crinis et *gemma* iacet,
 ipsas misericors fors an aerumnas amat."

661—666.

NOVAS ARTES NOVA PECTORE VERSAT
 CONSILIA UT FACIEM MUTATUS ET ORA CUPIDO
 PRO DULCI ASCANIO VENIAT DONISQUE FURENTEM
 INCENDAT REGINAM ATQUE OSSIBUS IMPLICET IGNEM
 QUIPPE DOMUM TIMET AMBIGUAM TYRIOSQUE BILINGUES
 URIT ATROX HUNO ET SUB NOCTEM CURA RECURSAT

NOVAS ARTES, NOVA PECTORE VERSAT CONSILIA. Compare Eurip.
Med. 37:

δεδοικα δ' αὐτην [Medeam] μη τι βουλευση νεον.

CUPIDO. It is only, as appears from Claudian's beautiful *Epithalamium of Honorius and Maria* (v. 73), in accordance with the strictest mythological etiquette, that the son of Venus the great God of Love himself ("quantus deus," v. 723), should be employed for the ruin of Dido:

"mille pharetrati ludunt in margine fratres,
ore pares, similes habitu gens mollis Amorum.
hos nymphae pariunt: illum [*sc.* Cupidinem] Venus aurea solum
edidit. ille deos caelumque et sidera cornu
temperat, et summos dignatur figere reges;
hi plebem feriunt."

DONISQUE FURENTEM INCENDAT REGINAM. Not INCENDAT DONIS, but FURENTEM DONIS. First, because the reader has of inevitable necessity joined FURENTEM and DONIS together before INCENDAT is presented to him at all; and this necessity is, of itself, no mean argument that the words are intended by the poet so to be joined; and secondly, and principally, because Venus's device is *not* that Cupid should inflame Dido with the gifts or by means of the gifts, *but* that Cupid should, by his own proper and peculiar influence (verse 692, "occultum ignem" and "veneno"), inflame Dido, already out of her right mind, or beside herself with the gifts (FURENTEM DONIS). The gifts were Aeneas's own instruments of corruption, and he had **already** (verses 651 and 652) given Achates the necessary instructions about them, and their presentation to Dido by Ascanius, **when** it occurred to Venus to insure Dido's ruin by causing Cupid to personate Ascanius, and add his own poison to the poison of the gifts. **Jacob**, however (ad Lucil. *Aetnam*, 112), ignorant, it would seem, of the universal practice of wooers in all times, and of the special and very-much-in-point precedent of Ariadne (Hygin. *Astron.* 2. 5: "Quo tempore Liber ad Minoa venit cogitans Ariadnem comprimere, hanc coronam [*viz.*, the crown, afterwards the constellation of that name] ei muneri dedit: qua delectata non recusavit conditionem stupri. Dicitur etiam a Vulcano facta ex auro et Indicis gemmis;" and again, *Astron.* 2. 5: "Coronam Ariadnae Theseus dono dicitur dedisse, cum ei propter virtutem et animi magnitudinem uxor esset concessa"),

and that "a gift softeneth the heart" even of those who are not harlots, ~~is~~ indignant that DONIS should be joined either with ACCENDAT or with FURENTEM ["Noli vel *donis furere reginam* vel *incendi donis*, tanquam aliquam meretriculam"], and construes thus: "Cupido, *dum* sub Ascanii specie *dona affert* reginam incendit," which *ipse-dixit* construction of the passage, if indeed it be a construction of the passage, let those accept who understand.

OSSIBUS: *not* literally the bones, *but* the limbs, the flesh, the body; exactly as (*a*) medullae, not the marrow, but the interior; the flesh and blood and sinews; (*b*), 3. 308: "calor *ossa* reliquit" [heat left, *not* her bones, *but* her limbs, her flesh]; (*c*), 7. 458:

. . . "ossaque et artus
perfudit toto proruptus corpore sudor;"

and (*d*), *Georg.* 3. 482:

"nec via mortis erat simplex; sed ubi ignea venis
omnibus acta sitis miseros adduxerat artus,
rursus abundabat fluidus liquor, omniaque in se
ossa minutatim morbo collapsa trahebat."

BILINGUES. Compare Eurip. *Troad.* 286 (of Ulysses): *Μι-
τιχο γλωσσα*. Barnabae *Epist.* 19, "Patrum Apostolicorum
Opera" (ed. Hefele), Tubingae, 1847: *Οχι εσι διγλωμος, ορδε
διγλωσσοσ; παρις γαρ θανατου εστιν η διγλωσσια*. Plaut. *Tru-
cul.* 4. 3. 6:

. . . "edico prius
ne duplices habeatis linguas: ne ego bilingues vos necem."

Wirth, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, vol. 3, p. 157: "Darum bemühte er [Erasmus] sich, die bessere richtung zu fordern, ohne mit der herrschenden macht und deren anhängern zu brechen: kurz, er entwickelte ein system des schaukelns und der halbheit, welches fast den schein der doppelzüngigkeit erregte."

URITUXO. She is jealous of Juno. This is precisely the thought, expressed in the opposite construction, there being no verb in English equivalent to *urere*, to make jealous, excite the passion of jealousy. (Compare Ammian. 31. 12: "E Melanthiade signa commovit. equiparare facinore quodam egregio

adulescentem properans filium fratris, cuius virtutibus *urebatur*.”) Venus is jealous of Juno on account of the success of Juno’s policy; on account of the rapidly increasing probability that Carthage, not Rome, would be the seat of the empire of the world, and consequently, Juno, not herself, the chief divinity—the great object of the world’s worship and admiration. Our author, following the example of his prototype, is little shy of humanizing his gods, of filling their breasts with the worst of human passions. The wrath of Juno, the jealousy of Venus, the ambition and intrigues of both, are the moving springs of the poem. Almost in the very *first* verse we have Juno’s wrath, and *here*, in the *middle* of the *First Book*, we have Venus’s jealousy, so intense that it keeps her awake at night. If they come to an amicable conference in the beginning of the *Fourth Book*, the one suppressing her ire, and the other hiding her jealousy the object of each is still the same, viz., to cheat and overreach the other. Pity that gods cannot live in harmony together, cannot allow each other to enjoy in peace their unclouded azure; that they must be for ever squabbling as much as, or more than, if they were men: that there must be as deadly a feud between the queen of love and the queen of heaven, between the god on the Nile and the god on the Jordan, as between Rome and Carthage, or Washington and Richmond!

URIT ATROX IUNO. ATROX, Gr. *αἰσχρος*; Engl., *ruthless*, *pitiless*. Compare Tacit. *Annal.* 14. 61: “Quae [Poppaea] semper odio, tum et metu *atrox*.” Tacit. *Annal.* 13. 19: “Paridem histrionem . . . impulit ire propere, crimenque *atrociter* deferre” [inform ruthlessly, without any feeling of pity at all for the delinquent].

ET SUB NOCTEM CURA RECURSAT. **Not**, as understood by Wordsworth,

“the calm of night is powerless to remove
these cares;”

but her cares, however they may have been dissipated by the light and cheerfulness of the day, return (as usually happens with persons whose minds are uneasy) *with the darkness and stillness of*

returning night, and prevent her from sleeping. Compare Epigr. Melagri, Anthol. Pal. 7. 195:

*Αχρὶς, ἐμῶν ἀπατημα ποθέων, περιμεθεὶον ὕπνου,
 χρεῖται μοι τι ποθέεινον

 ὥς με ποθέων ρυσάτω πανεργυπνοῖο μεριμνῆς*

[*from the care (viz., the care of love) which keeps me from sleeping*)]. Ovid, *Met.* 8. 81:

“*talia dicenti, curarum maxima nutrix
 nox intervenit.*”

Sil. 10. 331:

“*sed mens invigilat curis, noctisque quietem
 ferre nequit.*”

Val. Flacc. 1. 329:

“*quos iam mento dies, quam saeva insomnia curis
 prospicio.*”

Val. Flacc. 3. 362:

“*at non inde dies, neque iam magis aspera curis
 nox Minyas tanta caesorum ab imagine solvit.*”

Val. Flacc. 7. 3:

“*noxque ruit, soli veniens non mitis amanti.
 ergo ubi, cunctatis extremo in limine plantis,
 contigit aegra toros, et mens incensa tenobris,
 vertere tunc varios per longa insomnia questus,
 nec pereat quo scire modo.*”

And above all, Virgil himself, *Aen.* 4. 529:

“*at non infelix animi Phoenissa, nec unquam
 solvitur in somnos, oculisque aut pectore noctem
 accipit: ingeminant curae.*”

668—670.

NATE MEAE VIRES MEA MAGNA POTENTIA SOLUS

NATE PATRIS SUMMI QUI TELA TYPHOIA TEMNIS

AD TE CONFUGIO ET SUPPLEX TUA NUMINA POSCO

VAR. LECT.

punct. POTENTIA · SOLUS **I** *Vat.* **III** Serv. (ed. Lion); Donat.; Junta; G. Fabricius; Bask.; D. Heins.; Burm.; Heyne; Jahn; Thiel; Haeckermann.

punct. POTENTIA SOLUS · **II** Gud. 70. **III** P. Manut.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Philippe; Wagn. (1832, 1849, 1861); Forb.; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.; Coningt.; Voss; Süpfl.

“SOLUS NATE, PATRIS, SUMMI, &c. Sunt qui ita distinguunt, MEA MAGNA POTENTIA SOLUS, sed tunc possent quum melior ratio non occurreret. Idcirco enim positum est SOLUS NATE PATRIS SUMMI QUI TELA TYPHOIA TEMNIS, ut ostenderetur facile esse, quod Venus effici cupiebat: qui enim potuit fulmen Iovis cotemnere, et quibus Typhoeus exarsit, facilius potuit mentem feminae possidere,” Donatus. “SOLUS, NATE; *i. e.*, solus qui Iovis contemnis fulmina, quae diis ceteris solent esse terrori,” Servius (ed. Lion). The two opinions which divided commentators on this passage in the time of Donatus, and no doubt long before the time of Donatus, have continued, as the above-quoted *Var. Lectt.* show, to divide commentators down to the present time. For the following reasons I take part with Donatus, and assign SOLUS not to what goes before, but to what follows: (**1**), because Cupid was not SOLUS the MAGNA POTENTIA of Venus (who had also the magna potentia of her beauty, and the magna potentia of her caestus), but was “solus qui temnebat;” (**2**), because the pause after SOLUS renders the verses tame and monotonous, while the pause before SOLUS renders them energetic, and by varying their cadence distinguishes them from each other; (**3**), because the same Venus addresses the same Cupid, with the same “mea potentia” without any “solus,” Ovid, *Met.* 5. 364:

. . . “natumque amplexa volucrum,
‘arma manusque meae, mea, nate, potentia,’ dixit.”

If I do not adduce as a *fourth* argument the point by which SOLUS is separated from POTENTIA, both in the Vatican Fragment and the Medicean (Bottari; Foggini; Schulz ap. Wagn., ed. Heyn., vol. 5, p. 24), it is because I attach no particle of weight to the punctuation either of those or any other Virgilian MSS.; and even if I did, I consider my case as sufficiently proved without such assistance. It was no doubt the semicolon after SOLUS, in the Gud. 70, which misled N. Heinsius to remove the comma from POTENTIA and place it after SOLUS. There would, I think, be not merely a short, but a long pause, a semicolon, at POTENTIA, the thought breaking off there, and a new thought, a climax of the preceding, commencing with SOLUS: *Thou who art not merely my great potency, but who alone, of the whole world, contemnest the weapons of the Thunderer.*

SOLUS, NATE, PATRIS SUMMI QUI TELA TYPHOIA TEMNIS. Compare (ap. Wernsdorf.) Reposian. *Concub. Mart. et Veneris*, 92:

. . . "laetare, Cupido,
terribilem divum [Martem] tuo *solo* numine victum."

Stat. *Theb.* 3. 296 (Mars addressing Venus):

. . . "*soli* cui tanta potestas
divorumque hominumque meis occurrere telis
impune, et media quamvis in caede frementes
hos adistere equos, hunc ensem avellere dextra."

Mosch. *Europ.* 75 (of Jupiter):

. . . "ανώϊστοισιν ελδομηθεϊς βλεεσαι
Κελριδος η μουνη δυναται και Ζηνα δαμασσα.

—all which examples confirm the junction of SOLUS in our text with TEMNIS; while the two following passages, in neither of which is there any solus, confirm the separation of the same word from NATE MEA MAGNA POTENTIA, viz., Statius, *Silr.* 1. 2. 137 (the same Venus to the same Cupid):

. . . "tu, mea summa potestas,
nate;"

Stat. *Theb.* 3. 154 (a mother addressing the bodies of her two sons who had been killed in battle):

. . . "vosne, illa potentia matris?"

[*ye in whom I was so strong, so powerful*].

We may add that Propert. 2. 1. 65:

"hoc si quis vitium poterit mihi demere, *solus*
Tantalea poterit tradere poma manu,"

affords an example of *solus* at the end of the line, similarly separated by a pause from the preceding context, and in similar close connexion with the following line.

NATE MEAE VIREs, &c. Compare Venus's similar persuasion of Cupid to wound Medea with the love of Jason, Apollon. Rhod. 3. 131: *εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι προφρων*, &c.

QUI TELA TYPHOIA TEMNIS. See in Gorius, *Mus. Florent.* tom. 2, tab. 16, fig. 1, a representation, taken from a gem, of Cupid breaking Jupiter's thunderbolts across his knee.

TUA NUMINA POSCO. Not *thy godhead or divinity*, but *thy self-originating will and pleasure*, that part of the sentient thinking being which grants or refuses, and to which especially prayer is always addressed. See Rem. on "quo numine laeso," verse 12, and on "numen Iunonis," verse 52; and compare 8. 382, "sanctum mihi numen," where Venus supplicated the "sanctum numen" of her husband, just as in our text she supplicates the NUMINA of her son—in both cases wanting to obtain something, and therefore in both cases addressing herself specially to the assenting and offending faculty, the numen, of the person addressed. See Rem. on 8. 382.

672.

IACTETUR ODIIS IUNONIS INIQUAE

VAR. LECT.

IACTETUR I *Var.* (IAC TAETUR), second A crossed out; the Q *a. m. s.*: "Omnia prorsus exemplaria manu scripta, quæ hactenus legerim, scriptum ostendunt IACTETURQUE. IACTETUR vero libenter legerim, nam pen-tinemerco's locus omnino communis est," Pierius. II 13. III Ven. 1470; Bresc.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671, 1676, 1704); Philippe; Heyne; Haupt; Ribb.; Coningt.; Wakef.; Pott.; Dorph.; Wagn. (1832, 1841, 1861); Thiel.

IACTETURQUE I *Rom., Med.* II $\frac{2}{4}\frac{3}{3}$; cod. Canon. (Butler). III Nonius ("Vacat QUE," Servius); Pr.; P. Manut.

O *Ver., Pal., St. Gall.*

INIQUAE I *Rom., Med.* III P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Wakef.; Wagn. (1832, 1841, 1861); Haupt.

ACERBAE I *Vat.* (ACERBAE erased, and INIQUAE written on margin by a later hand), *Pal.* (ACERBAE, alteration very ancient); Pierius: "In Longobardico legere est ACERBAE." III Ribbeck.

O *Ver., St. Gall.*

Those who reject the QUE of this passage on the ground that it mars both the sense and the grammar, and is of no use except to the measure, are bound to reject the "que" of 5. 446:

"Entollus vires in ventum effudit, et ultro
ipse gravis graviterque ad terram pondere vasto
concidit;"

of 10. 313:

"huic gladio perque aerea suta,
per tunicam squalentem auro, latus haurit apertum;"

of 11. 169:

"quin ego non alio digner te funere, Palla,
quam pius Aeneas, et quam magni Phryges, et quam
Tyrrhenique duces, Tyrrhenum exercitus omnis,"

which no less mars both the sense and the grammar, and is of use only to the measure. In favour of IACTETUR, however, it is only fair to adduce *Georg.* 3. 76, "ingreditur;" and *Aen.* 4. 222: "alloquitur;" and 5. 284, "datur;" all quoted by Ribbeck. Also the "que" of 6. 254, found (see Ribbeck) in almost all the codices. Can it be that there was a que which performed the office of a mere *eke*?

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674-686.

HUNC—POSSIT

VAR. LECT.

HUNC **I** *Rom., Med.* **III** R. Steph.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Haupt; Heyne; Wagn. (1832, 1841, 1849, 1861).

NUNC **I** *Vat.* (H written *a. m. s.* over a cancelled N); Pierius ("In codd. plerisque antiquioribus NUNC legitur, quod minime displicet"). **III** Donat.; Wakef.; Ribb.; Coningt.

O *Ver., St. Gall.*

HUNC PHOENISSA TENET DIDO BLANDISQUE MORATUR VOCIBUS. Compare Hom. *Od.* 1. 56 (of Calypso):

αιε δε μαλακοισι και αμυλαιοισι λογοισιν
θελγει, οπως Ιθακης επιλησεται.

Plaut. *Mostel.* 2. 1. 48 (ed. Weise):

"hei mihi, quam, istaec blanda dicta quo eveniant, madoo metu!"

Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 1. 703:

. . . "quid blanda voce moraris
auctorem stupri, Deidamia, tui?"

IUNONIA HOSPITIA. Conington cites as parallel "Aeneia hospitia," 10. 494. Incorrectly, IUNONIA HOSPITIA being the hospitality shown *by* Juno, whereas "Aeneia hospitia" is the hospitality shown *to* Aeneas another example, if we have not had examples enough already, of the capriciousness of language, and how unsafe it is to argue that the expression which has a certain meaning in one place must have the same meaning in another. A safer argument, perhaps, would be that the expression which has a certain meaning in one place has a different, possibly even, as in the present instance, a diametrically opposite meaning in another. See Rem. on "cingere flamma," next verse but one.

CINGERE FLAMMA; *envelope with flame*, i. e., *set on fire*. Venus uses metaphorically, and with reference to her own flame,

i. e., the flame of love, desire, the very form of expression which is used literally, and with reference to real flame; as in Flor. 2. 6: "Alterum ferro, castra metantem; alterum, quum evasisset in turrim, *cinctum facibus* oppresserunt," *i. e.*, in plain language, "alterum, quum evasisset in turrim, ignibus oppresserunt." The force of *cingere*, no less in our text than in Florus, is *enveloping, surrounding on all sides*, so that there is no possibility of escape. Compare 9. 153:

"luce palam certum est igni circumdare muros."

10. 74:

"indignum est Italos Troiam *circumdare flammis*
nascentem"

[envelope the walls, envelope nascent Troy, with fire, *i. e.*, fire the walls; exactly as in our text, envelope the queen with flame, inflame the queen, viz., with the flame of love, with desire]. That the flame spoken of is the flame of love appears, **first**, from the explicit information we have had already that it was the deliberate point of Venus to *inflame* Dido with a passion for Aeneas:

DONISQUE FURENTEM

INCENDAT REGINAM, ATQUE OSSIBUS IMPLICIT IGNEM.

secondly, from the circumstance that the whole sequel of Venus's address consists of instructions to Cupid how he is to aid her in the accomplishment of this—"pace dictum sit tum deae tum poetæ"—her nefarious purpose: REGIUS ACCITU . . . HUNC EGO SOPITUM . . . TU FACIEM ILLIUS . . . UT CUM TE . . . OCCULTUM INSPIRES IGNEM FALLASQUE VENENO. Alas! the unhappy queen, less fortunate than Lysidice, had no friendly prophet to warn her either against the plotting gods, or against the shaft, or against the conflagration which was so soon to envelope her, *Anthol. Pal. 5. 124* (Epigr. of Philodemus):

ἀλλ' ἤδη θῶα τοῖς νεοὶ θεῶσιν ἔρωτες,
Λυσιδίκη, καὶ νερὶ τυγέται ἐγκρηγίων.
φτυγῶμεν, δεισιφώτες, τοῖς βέλος οὐκ ἐπὶ νεύρη
μῶντις ἐγὼ μετὰ λῆς ἀντίκα νεφελῆς.

Thirdly, from the actual accomplishment of Venus's purpose of thus *cingendi* with *flamma* her unfortunate prey:

. . . "ardescitque tuendo

Phœnissa, et pariter puero donisque movetur"

"vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni."
 . . . "impenso animum inflammavit amore."
 . . . "est mollis flamma medullas
 interea, et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus:
 uritur infelix Dido."
 "quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri
 cara Iovis coniux."
 "egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis
 tuque puerque tuus"

(referring directly to the scene from which our text is taken);
and lastly, from a comparison with Silius, 13. 615:

"astabat fecunda Iovis Pomponia furto.
 namque ubi cognovit Latio surgentia bella
 Poenorum, Venus, insidias anteire laborans
 Iunonis, fusa sensim per pectora patrem
 implicuit flamma,"

where in the same contention as in our text, between the same Venus and the same Juno, on behalf of the same respective protégés, the same Venus who in our text "antecapit dolis" and "cingit flamma," "anteit insidiis" and "implicat flamma." Compare Propert. 4. 4. 69:

"nam Vesta, Iliacae felix tutela favillae,
 culpam alit et plures condit in ossa faces"

(where "condere in ossa faces" is the equivalent of CINGERE FLAMMA, and where we have the same inspiration of the fire of love, and similarly by a deity). Theocr. *Idyll.* 2. 23:

Διότης ἐμ' ἀνέσεν· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ Διότηδι δαφνάν
 αἶθρ' ὥς αὐτὰ λακτεῖ μέγα καπνευρίσασα
 κηξαινας αἴθρη, κοῖδ' ἐσποδὸν εἰδομένης αὐτὰς,
 οὕτω τοι καὶ Διότης ἐν γλόστ' ἀσφ' ἀμαθύνει.

Sulpicii *Argum. in Aeneid.* Anthol. Lat. (ed. Meyer), 223. 19:

"at regina gravi pectus succensa dolore
 ardet amore viri, clausum veneratur amorem,
 dumque capit, capitur; sentit quos praebeuit ignes
 Aeneas."

Gazzetta d'Italia, Aprile 25, 1876: "Noi abbiamo obbligo di cingere col fuoco della libertà i confini dello stato papale, e spingervi dentro l'incendio."

If we have “*flammis cincta*” in the very different and even opposite sense of “armed with fire,” 12. 811:

. . . “*flammis cincta* sub ipsa
starem acie traheremque inimica in proelia Teucros,”

it is only another sad proof of the imperfection and confusion of language. See Rem. on “*Iunonia hospitia*,” 1. 675.

678.

NE QUO SE NUMINE MUTET

NE QUO SE NUMINE MUTET. Compare Aeschyl. *Eumen.* 660:

τιχτει δ' ο θρωσκων, η δ' απερ ξενω ξενη
εσωσεν εγρος, οιον [οισι, Schütz] μη βλαψη θεος

[gignit qui init; illa vero tanquam hospita hospiti servat germen, ne ita reconditum deus laedat].

Aesch. *Suppl.* 1015 (Chorus of Danaides speaking):

εμης δ' ολωρας ουνεκ' εν θαρσει, πατερ.
ει γαρ τι μη θεοις βεβουλευται νουν,
εχρος το προσθεν ου διαστρεψω γρενος

[nisi enim a diis novi quid consilii intervenerit, priorem animi tramitem non derelinquam].

NUMINE, not *deity*, but *divine will*, *divine influence* (see Rem. on verse 12, “quo numine”): therefore not by some (or any) deity, but by some divine influence, inspiration; *i. e.*, by the will, influence, inspiration of some deity. See Sil. 13. 316:

“ecce repens tacito percurrit pectora sensu
religio, et saevas componit *numine* mentes,”

where “numine” is not the deity or god personally, but the divine will, power, influence, majesty of the god afterwards mentioned personally, verse 319:

. . . “subit intima corda
perlabens sensim, mitis *deus*,”

and not mentioned by name until verse 326: “Pan Iove missus erat.” Nothing can be better than the effect of the “numen” pre-
ceding the actual presence of the “deus,” and of the “deus” in its

turn preceding the actual "Pan." It is one and not the least of the thousand beauties of a description, in which Silius vies with, and is not left behind even by, the greatest efforts of his master. Pity that Rome's second Virgil has not oftener put forth the great poetical powers manifested by this incomparable description of the most picturesque, the most playful and amusing of all gods, to enjoy which to the utmost, the reader should have first watched the motions of the *capraro* among the rocks of the Roman campagna, or the bosky mountains of the Abruzzi; at least should have seen the statues, one on each side of the river god in the court of the Capitoline museum in Rome.

NUMINE. "Iunonio," La Cerda. "Ne machinatione dei alius, Iunonis, mutetur animus eius," Wagner (1861). No, no; the reflection of the *mutare* upon *SE*, the *SE MUTET*, shows that the change spoken of is not one to be produced from the outside, but one arising from within, viz., from Dido's own self-originating will and pleasure. Compare verse 241:

"quae te, genitor, sententia vertit?"

where a similar change from within is meant. Venus is afraid that Dido's mind should change, that Dido should change herself by some "numen"—self-originating will, pleasure, mind, intention, whim of her own; no matter whether such change were brought about by the machinations of Juno, already alluded to or by some other cause.

682.

MEA MAXIMA CURA

"Otiosa haec, siquid sentio, et quae abesse malis," Wagner (ed. Heyne). "Wagner not unnaturally complains of the words as otiose here, the plot not being intended to benefit Ascanius in any way, except so far as he is served by any thing which serves Aeneas. It is possible, however, that the removal of Ascanius

to Idalia may be meant to present itself to Venus as a natural outlet for her own affection, as well as in pursuance of the plot. Compare 10. 46–53, where the general thought is parallel. The very obscurity with which this is indicated may be an intentional stroke in a speech from which every thing is excluded which does not bear on the one object of persuading Cupid. But on such matters it is easy to be over-subtle," Conington. **On the contrary**, the usual fault of Virgilian commentators is *not* to be over-subtle, and see in the author's words more than the author means, *but* to be under-subtle, and not see even as much as the author means; and on this very occasion, **so far** are Conington, and Wagner, or even Servius, with his "Et Aeneas CURA est, sed Ascanius MAXIMA (4. 275) 'cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus debentur;' et ubique Ascanius maxima cura Veneris introducitur ut (10. 132) 'Veneris iustissima cura;' item (10. 50) 'hunc tegere et dirae valeam subducere pugnae,'" **from** being over-subtle, or seeing *more than* the meaning, **that** there is not one of them who has not missed the meaning altogether; *not*, of course, that any one of them has translated the words incorrectly, or not as equivalent to "my dearest love," *but that not one of the whole three* has seen the necessity there is for some expression on Venus's part of affection for the boy whom she is treating in so very unkind, so very stepmother-like manner, putting him to bed before the feasting and merry-making begin, expressly that he may be out of the way, and give no trouble:

NE QUA SCIRE DOLOS MEDIUSVE OCCURRERE POSSIT;

and as soon as he is disposed of, passing her own son for him upon the company. I remember well when I was a youngster myself, how very ill I took this treatment of young Ascanius by his grandmamma; but, until I was almost a septuagenarian, I as little perceived as either Servius, or Wagner, or Conington, **that** our author himself is conscious of it, and in the words MEA MAXIMA CURA makes, with his usual tact and ability, such *amende honorable* for it as the case admits of. This *amende*, when I read the passage now, reminds me of the tender tears our criminal judge sheds when he is passing sentence of death on a

culprit, or the affectionate shake of the hand our hangman gives his victim when he has the noose secure round his neck, and is just going to draw the bolt, and let him drop.

MAXIMA CURA, inasmuch as that which is most loved occasions the greatest anxiety, viz., to keep and preserve it. Compare Hor. *Od.* 1. 14. 7:

"nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium,
nunc desiderium curaque non levis,
interfusa nitentes
vites aequora Cycladas."

Catal. 7:

"tuque, o mearum cura, Sexte, curarum,
vale, Sabine."

The Greeks use *μεριμνα*, *κηδεμνα*, *μελεδημα*, and *μελημα*, and the English *care* in the same manner. Compare Eurip. *Hec.* 885:

ως τωδ' ἀδελφῷ πλησιον μίᾳ φλογί,
δίσσῃ μεριμνᾷ μητρὶ, κρυφθῆτον χθονί.

Eurip. *Med.* 73:

Τροίη. καὶ ταυτ' Ἰάσων παῖδας ἐξανέξεται
πασχοντίας, εἰ καὶ μητρὶ διαφορὰν ἔχει;
Παῖδ. παλαιὰ κίωνων λειπεται κηδεύματων.

Ibid. 882:

ἡ χρεὴν μετῆναι τῶνδε τῶν βουλευμάτων,
καὶ ὑμπερβαίνειν καὶ παρεστάναι λέχει,
νυμφὴν τε κηδεύουσαν ἠδεσθαι σέθεν.

Ibyci, *Fragm.* 4 (ed. Schneidewin):

Εὐρυαλε γένεων Χαρίτων θαλός
καλλικομῶν μελεδημα

[i. e. "pulchricomarum virginum cura," Schneidewin]. Anacr.
5. 6:

ροδὸν, ὦ γέμιστον ἀνθος,
ροδὸν ἱερὸς μελημα.

Pindar, *Olymp.* 10. 92 [59]:

νταῖσιν τε παρθενόισι μελημα.

Heliodor. *Aeth.* 3. 3: ἦν δὲ τὸ μελημα ἐμὸν, Θεαγενῆς. Aris-
toph. *Ecclesiastusae*, 973:

ὦ χρυσοδαίδαλλον ἐμὸν μελημα, . . .

Aristaen. 2. 5: *Ἡδεως μαλα επιταρον μεταξυ γραφουσα' αρα ο νεος, τουμον' μελημα, διεμνημονευσε μου*; Shakesp. *Comedy of Errors*, 1. 1:

"my youngest boy, and yet my eldest care."

684.

SOPITUM SOMNO

"Unum quidem est *sopor* et *somnus*; sed modo *sopitum* irrigatum intelligimus," Serv. (ed. Lion); followed by Thiel: "Verstärkung des begriffs des verbums; 'in tiefen schlummer gebracht:' wie *ευδαι νυνω* bei Soph. *Oed. R.* 65;" and by Conington: "A similar pleonasm occurs in Lucret. 4. 453:

. . . 'cum suavi devinxit membra sopore
somnus, et in summa corpus iacet omne quiete.'"

All erroneously, and confounding *somnus*, sleep, with *sopor*, insensibility, whether produced by sleep, a blow, death, or whatever other cause. Livy, 42. 15: "Tum insidiatores exorti saxa duo ingentia devolvunt: quorum altero caput ictum est regi, altero humerus sopitus;" and again (16): "Ad corpus regis primo amici, deinde satellites ac servi concurrerunt, tollentes sopitum vulnere ac nihil sentientem." Livy, 1. 41: "Iubet bono animo esse, sopitum fuisse regem subito ictu. Ferrum haud alte in corpus descendisse, iam ad se redisse."

686.

NE QUA SCIRE DOLOS

Venus proposes so to dispose of Ascanius, that it may be impossible for him either *knowingly* or *accidentally* to interrupt her plot. That this is the meaning is sufficiently evidenced: first,

by the disjunctive *VE*; secondly, by the word *OCCURRERE*, indicating an accidental, not an intentional, interruption; and, thirdly, by the no less necessity which existed, of preventing the real Ascanius from *accidentally* appearing, than of *keeping him in ignorance of what was going on*.

692.

FALLASQUE VENENO

FALLAS repeats the idea contained in *OCCULTUM*, and is emphatic; the gist of Venus's instructions to Cupid being, not merely to breathe the poisonous fire into Dido, but to do so *secretly*, so as not to be perceived even by Dido herself; compare verse 722. The force of the expression FALLAS VENENO is therefore not in VENENO, but in FALLAS, as has been well pointed out by Peerkamp: "Arcte iungenda sunt INSPIRES et FALLAS, i. e. *clam inspires ut non sentiat*, λαθων—non FALLAS [Didonem] VENENO, sed *ipse lateas* dum ignem per venenum tuum, et animam, et dona inspiras."

695-698.

PLACIDAM PER MEMBRA QUIETEM

IRRIGAT ET FOTUM GREMIO DEA TOLLIT IN ALTOS

IDALIAE LUCOS UBI MOLLIS AMARACUS ILLUM

FLORIBUS ET DULCI ADSPIRANS COMPLECTITUR UMBRA

IRRIGAT. Heyne is right, and Wunderlich wrong; irrigare is not *didere per*, but literally *to water, to bedew with*, as a gardener waters plants. Compare *Aen.* 5. 854; also, *Sil.* 10. 355 (of Somnus composing Hannibal to sleep):

. . . "quatit inde soporas
devexo capiti pennas, oculisque quietum
irrorat tangens lethaea tempora virga."

Stat. *Theb.* 2. 143:

. . . "illos post verbera fessos
exceptamque hiemem cornu perfuderat omni
Somnus."

Ibid. 5. 196 (of the massacre of the Lemnian men):

. . . "primae decrescunt murmura noctis,
cum consanguinei mixtus caligine leti,
rore madens Stygio, morituram amplexitur urbem
Somnus, et implacido [*al. implicito*] fundit gravia otia cornu."

Ennius (Hesseliu, p. 142):

"cum somno sese exsiccat Romana iuventus."

Stat. *Theb.* 6. 25:

"clara laboriferos caelo Tithonia currus
extulerat, vigilesque deae pallentis habenas,
et nox, et cornu fugiebat Somnus inani."

Epitom. Iliados, 121:

. . . "ille sopore
corpus inundatum leni prostratus habebat,"

and Fronto's charming fable of the creation of sleep: "Herbarum quoque sucos, quibus corda hominum somnus sopiret, suis Iupiter manibus temperavit. Securitatis et voluptatis herbae de caeli nemore advectae, de Acherontis autem pratis leti herba petita. Eius leti guttam unam aspersisse minimam, quanta dissimulantis lacrima esse solet. 'Hoc' inquit, 'soco soporem hominibus per oculorum repagula *irriga*; cuncti, quibus inrigaris, ilico post procumbent, protinus viribus tuis immobiles iacebunt,'" Fronto, *de feriis Alsiensibus*, "Opera inedita Frontonis," ab Ang. Maio, Mediol. 1815, tom. 1, p. 190.

The expression irrigare, as applied to sleep, is peculiarly proper, because deep sleep actually moistens, or bedews, the body; makes the skin soft and moist; whence our own expression "dewy sleep," and the corresponding Latin expression irriguus somnus; *Pers.* 5. 56:

"hic satur irriguo mavult turgescere somno."

Much less proper is the application of the term of Manilius to the diffusion of the divine spirit over the world, 2. 64:

“cum spiritus unus
per cunctas habitat partes atque *irriget* orbem.
omnia pervolitans, corpusque animale figuret,”

where it is hard to say which of the two so incongruous figures “irriget” and “pervolitans” is least applicable to a spirit, *i. e.*, an ethereal breath or influence, pervading matter.

AMARACTUS, specially selected by the poet as sacred to Hymen. See Catull. *Nupt. Juliae et Manlii*, v. (lege) 6:

“cinge [*sciz.* Hymen] tempora floribus
suaveolentis amaraci.”

“DULCI = sweet-smelling,” Thornhill.

701-702.

CUM VENIT AULAEIS IAM SE REGINA SUPERBIS
AUREA COMPOSUIT SPONDA MEDIAMQUE LOCATIV

AULAEIS.—I am not aware of any example of this word used in the sense assigned to it by Heyne, viz., that of *vestes stragulae*; the two passages of Q. Curtius cited by lexicographers as examples of its use in this sense being really examples of its use in the sense of *hangings*. Neither is it likely that Virgil was so poor in embellishments as to be under the necessity of putting *vestes stragulae* **three** times (viz., here and at vv. 643, 712) in requisition, in order to furnish out one entertainment. AULAEA are the curtains hung over Dido's *lectus*, in the form of a dais, or of the hangings of a modern French bed: “Ideo autem etiam in domibus tendebantur aulaea, ut imitatio tentorium fieret,” Servius; with which compare Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 330: “Pars aulaea tenent;” Pacat. *Paneg. Theodos. Aug.* 37: “Quid portas [referam] virentibus sertis coronatas? quid *aulaeis*

undantes plateas, accensisque funalibus auctum diem?" *i. e.*, draperies hung out from the houses on poles as is the custom at present during festive solemnities.

Dido's seat was thus distinguished from that of the rest of the company, and the epithet *SUPERBIS*, bordering a little on fustian as the epithet of a mere coverlet of a seat, becomes appropriate.

COMPOSIT.—*Settled herself in a becoming position, and adjusted her dress.* Compare Plin. *Epist.* 4. 11: "Idem, quum Graeco pallio amictus intrasset (carent enim togae iure, quibus aqua et igni interdictum est), postquam se *composuit*, circumspexitque habitum suum;" and Quint. Curt. 11. 3. 156: "Leniter consurgendum; tum in componenda toga paullum est commorandum." Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* 7. 30: "Si intramus templa compositi, si ad sacrificium accessuri vultum submittimus, togam adducimus, si in omne argumentum modestiae fingimur." Ovid, *Met.* 4. 317:

"nec tamen ante adiit, etsi properabat adire,
quam se composuit, quam circumspexit amictus,
et finxit vultum."

Plut. *Apophth. Philip.* 19 (the slave to Philip of Macedon): *Μικρον κατωτερω την χλαμυδα ποιησον, ασχημονεις γαρ ουτω καθημενος.*

SPONDA.—*A chair, seat, or sofa, furnished with a rail, or other support for the person, at the sides and back, in the manner of an arm-chair; Mart.* 11. 56: "nudi sponda grabati." Also, the boards at both sides, and head and foot, of a settle-bed, or crib, as Ovid, *Met.* 8. 655:

. . . "in medio torus est de mollibus ulvis,
impositus lecto, sponda pedibusque salignis."

MEDIAM LOCAVIT.—"Inter Aeneam et falsum Iulum in triclinio, aiunt," Heyne, referring to La Cerda. No—for (see next verse) Aeneas and his party had not yet arrived—but in the middle of the hall: *i. e.*, in the middle of the company, so as to have the company on both sides of her. Compare "Aulai medio," *Aen.* 3. 354. Hom. *Od.* 8. 65:

τω δ' ἀρα [Demodoco] Ποσειδος θερεθρονον ἀργυροηλον
μίσσω δαιτυμόνων.

Val. Flacc. 2. 346:

“iam medio Aesonides, iam se regina locavit.”

Aen. 7. 169:

“et solio medius consedit avito.”

Ovid, *Met.* 7. 101 (of Aeetes):

“conveniunt populi sacrum Mavortis in arvom,
consistuntque iugis. medio rex ipse resedit
agmine purpureus, sceptroque insignis eburno.”

Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 358:

“ante sui populus limina regis [Numae] adest.
prodit et in solio medius consedit acerno:
innumeri circa stantque silentque viri.”

Ovid, *Met.* 2. 23:

“purpurea velatus veste sedebat
in solio Phoebus, claris lucente smaragdis.
a dextra laevaue Dies, et Mensis, et Annus,
Saeculaque, et positae spatiis aequalibus Horae:
Verque novum stabat, cinctum florente corona:
stabat nuda Aestas, et spicea sarta gerebat.
stabat et Autumnus, calcatis sordidus uvis,
et glacialis Hyems, canos hirsuta capillos.
inde loco medius, rerum novitate paventem,
Sol oculis iuvenem, quibus aspicit omnia, vidit.”

Liv. 42. 58: “Medius omnium rex erat. Circa eum *agema*,
quod vocant, equitumque sacrae alae. Ante se statuit fundi-
tores iaculatoresque.” Sidon. Apollin. 5. 40 (of personified
Rome):

“ergo ut se mediam solio dedit, advolat omnis
terra simul”

[where no persons are previously spoken of as present]. *Georg.*
4. 436:

“considit scopulo medius numerumque recenset”

(not in the middle of the cliff, but in the midst of the herd).

Ovid, *Met.* 10. 143 (of Orpheus):

“inque ferarum
concilio medius, turba volucrumque sedebat.”

Coripp. *Justin. Minor.* 4. 114:

“aedibus in magnis miro constructa paratu
exstabat sedes, auro gemmisque superba,
.....

hanc prius in media, quam sol procederet, aula,
auratis gradibus sacrisque tapetibus altam,
conscendit princeps trabea succinctus avita."

Ibid. 3. 191:

"atria praelargis exstant altissima tectis,
sole metallorum splendentia mira paratu,
et facie plus mira loci cultuque superba;
nobilitat medios sedes Augusta penates,
quatuor eximiis circumvallata columnis;
quas super ex liquido praefulgens cymbius auro
immodico, simulans convexi climata caeli,
immortale caput soliumque sedentis obumbrans
ornatum gemmis, auroque ostroque superbum,
quatuor in sese nexos curvaverat arcus."

At the wedding feast of Peleus and Thetis (Catull. 64. 47), the seat, "pulvinar," of Thetis is placed in the middle of the hall:

"pulvinar vero divae geniale locatur
sedibus in mediis."

COMPOSIT . . . LOCATIV.—As usual in Virgil's sentences, the first placed verb comes last in the order of time: *mediam locavit, et sese composuit*. Compare 5. 315:

. . . "signoque repente
corripiunt spatia audito, limenque relinquunt."

2. 230:

. . . "sacrum qui cuspide robur
laeserit, et tergo sceleratam intorserit hastam."

6. 567:

"castigatque auditque dolos" . . .

On the contrary, in Ovid, *Met.* 13. 780:

"huc ferus adscendit Cyclops mediusque resedit:
lanigerae pecudes. nullo ducente, secutae,"

medius can only be on the middle of the hill.

AULAEIS SUPERBIS. "Aulaea sunt vestes stragulae, spondae et toro iniectae," Heyne. To repeat, (1), I find no example of the word used in this sense, the examples adduced in the lexicons being either taken from this place or from places where the word is used in the sense of *hangings*. (2). Because in this case "toris pictis" (v. 712) had been only a repetition of the same or at least a very similar picture. (3). Because the epithet *SUPERBIS*, very proper to denote the grand appearance of the

whole hall, hung with scarlet cloths, is mere fustian applied to the cover of a sofa. (4). Because the custom of hanging the inside walls of churches, concert rooms, and other public buildings, and even the outsides of common houses on festival days, with splendid ornamented cloths, is general in Italy up to the present time; but such cloths are never spread upon sofas. This interpretation being adopted, we have first the general picture, AULAEIS REGINA SUPERBIS, of the splendidly hung hall and Dido; then the particularity, in SPONDA and MEDIA.

705—708.

DANT FAMULI MANIBUS LYPHAS CEREREMQUE CANISTRIS
EXPEDIUNT TONSISQUE FERUNT MANTILIA VILLIS
QUINQUAGINTA INTUS FAMULI QUIBUS ORDINE LONGO
CURA PENUM STRUERE ET FLAMMIS ADOLERE PENATES

CEREREMQUE CANISTRIS EXPEDIUNT. "Pane e canistris deprompto et apposito," Heyne, Wagner. No; exactly the contrary: *fill with bread the bread canisters*, the empty canisters which stood on the table to receive the bread; or, *fill the bread canisters and set them on the table*.

EXPEDIUNT: *serve the bread to the table or company*, CANISTRIS, *with the canisters or by means of the canisters*; distribute the bread on the table by means of *canistra*, as *Aen. 8. 181*:

"viscera tosta ferunt taurorum, onerantque canistris
dona laboratae Cereris, Bacchumque ministrant,"

where "onerant canistris" is *fill the canisters*, as "cadis onerant," 1. 199, is *filled the casks*. Compare Hom. *Od. 1. 147*:

σιτον δὲ δῖωαι παρηνήγεον ἐν κανεοίσιν

["panem autem ancillae accumulabant in canistris"];]

ibid. 10. 354:

ἡ δ' ἑτέρη προπαροῖδε θρόνων ἐτάτανε τραπέζας
ἀργυρέας, ἐπὶ δὲ σφί τεθεῖ χρυσέαι κανεῖαι,

the *κανεοισιν* and *κανεα* of which passages are precisely the canistris of Virgil. "Canistris sunt Graeca *κανον*" [in some editions *κανεον*], Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* 5. 25 (ed. Sprengel). Compare also Val. Flacc. 1. 253:

. . . "exta ministri
rapta simul veribus, celeremque dedere canistris."

Statius, *Silv.* 1. 6. 31:

"hi panaria candidasque mappas
subvectant, epulasque lautiores."

Stat. *Theb.* 1. 522 (in an account of a banquet which is plainly modelled after Dido's):

"his labor inserto torrere exsanguia ferro
viscera caesarum pecudum, his cumulare canistris
perdomitam saxo cererem."

Sil. 7. 179:

. . . "opos festas, puris nunc poma canistris
composuit, nunc irriguis citus extulit hortis
rorantes humore dapes."

Additional reason why the structure is not *e canistris* but *cum canistris* is to be found in the shape of canistra themselves, which were not deep, nor adapted for storing viands in, but shallow (adapted for being laid on the table, and holding viands in such a way as to be easily got at by the hands of the guests sitting at the table), and more or less resembling our trays, salvers, or coasters; Ovid, *Met.* 8. 675:

. . . "et in *patulis* redolentia mala canistris."

Ovid, *Fast.* 2. 650:

"stat puer, et manibus *lata* canistra tenet."

Barberi, *Dixion. Ital. Franc., in voce "canestro"*: "Canestro, specie di paniere, per lo più di vimini, *che ha le sponde poco rilevate*."

EXPEDIUNT: *arrange, lay in order, dispose upon the table.*
Exactly as Ovid, *Art. Am.* 1. 421:

"institor ad dominam veniet discinctus emacem,
expediet merces teque sedente suas."

709-710.

CENTUM ALIAE TOTIDEMQUE PARES AETATE MINISTRI
QUI DAPIBUS MENSAS ONERANT ET POCULA PONUNT

VAR. LECT.

LONGO I *Rom., Med.* "In pluribus ex vetustis exemplaribus LONGO habetur. Est et ubi LONGAM legas," Pierius. II $\frac{6}{8} \frac{7}{8}$; cod. Canon. (Butler).
III Donat.; Serv.; Pr.; Ven., 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mod.; Mil., 1475, 1492; Bresc.; Pierius; P. Manut.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671, 1676, 1704); Phil.; Heyne; Wakef.; Pott.
LONGAM II $\frac{1}{8}$. III D. Heins.; Wagn. (1832, 1841, 1861); Haupt; R bb. O *Vat., Ver., St. Gall.*

VAR. LECT.

ONERANT . . . PONUNT I *Rom., St. Gall.* "In Rom. codice et plerisque aliis pervetustis legere est utrumque verbum indicandi modo, numero etiam variato; DAPIBUS ONERANT MENSAS ET POCULA PONUNT. quod nescio quid picturatus habet, quum res ipsa ita geri videatur," Pierius. II $\frac{2}{5}$.
III Princ.; Mod.; Heyne; Wakef.; Dorph.
ONERENT I *Pal.* (the rest of verso wanting, the leaf having been torn).
ONERENT . . . PONANT I *Med.* II $\frac{1}{3} \frac{5}{8}$. III Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475 (Jenson); Milan, 1475, 1492; Bresc.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671, 1676, 1704); Philippe; Wagn. (1832, 1841, 1861); Haupt.
ONERANT . . . PONANT II $\frac{2}{5}$.
ONERENT . . . PONENT II $\frac{1}{5} \frac{1}{8}$.
O *Vat., Ver.*

PENUM. The meats, the eatables. Compare Cicer. *de Senect.* 16. 56: "Assidue domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, et penuaria est;" where the meat or food-cellar, *i. e.*, the cellar in which eatables properly so-called were kept, the larder, is expressly distinguished from the wine-cellar and the oil-cellar.

* I have been informed by Mr. Butler himself, that LONGAM is an error in the *Descriptio Codicis*, and that the MS. actually reads LONGO.

PARES AETATE MINISTRI.—It is neither indifferently nor accidentally that Virgil assigns to Dido a number of attendants all of one age. It appears from the following passage of Tacitus, *Annal.* 15. 69, that etiquette did not permit persons of private rank to be waited on by such attendants: "Iubetque praevenire conatus consulis; occupare velut arcem eius; opprimere delectam inventutem; quia Vestinus imminentes foro aedes, decoraque servitia et pari aetate habebat." Compare Apoll. Rhod. 3. 838 (of the attendants of Medea):

πεκλήτε δ' ἀμφιπολοῖσιν, αἱ οἱ δούκαιδεκα πασαι
 ἐν προδομῷ θαλάμοιο θυώδεος ἡελίζοντο,
 ἡλικίᾳ, οὐλῶ λεκτοῖα σὺν ἀνδράσι πορφυροῦσαι.

713-715.

MIRANTUR DONA AENEAE MIRANTUR IULUM
 FLAGRANTESQUE DEI VULTUS SIMULATAQUE VERBA
 PALLAMQUE ET PICTUM CROCEO VELAMEN ACANTHO

"Verus verborum ordo erat: MIRANTUR DONA AENEAE, PALLAM, &c.: sed turbata rerum compositio significat, *Tyrios modo haec, modo illum, miratos esse*," Wagn. 1861). That is to say: the returning back of the author in the words PALLAMQUE ET PICTUM CROCEO VELAMEN ACANTHO, from Iulus and the looks and words of Iulus to the DONA AENEAE, signifies that the Trojans after admiring the gifts of Aeneas, and the looks and words of Iulus, admire *de novo* the gifts of Aeneas, and then again *de novo* the looks and words of Iulus. The stricture is incorrect. PALLAMQUE ET PICTUM CROCEO VELAMEN ACANTHO is nothing more than a specification of what was admired in Iulus. Both specifications are added for the purpose of placing before the reader a richer and more interesting picture, the precise and definite, in place of the vague and general. The unusual "ordo verborum" to which Wagner has first drawn the reader's attention and then so in-

feliculously accounted for it, has no effect whatever on the sense, which remains the same whether each specification is placed in immediate apposition with its own general, or whether one specification is separated from its general by the interposition of the other specification and the other general. It being our author's usual habit to place the general first, and then the specification, it need excite no surprise that, having on the present occasion to deal with two generals and two specifications, he has preferred to place the two generals together in front, and the two specifications together in the rear. Such arrangement is but an extension of his principle of general before particular; and if it be a departure from the "verus ordo" is a laudable departure, inasmuch as it is a departure at the same time from auctioneer's catalogue, and rate-collector's schedule.

FLAGRANTES, *flushed*, as we say, *i. e.*, not only red with blood, but red and glowing—a proper epithet for the face of a not merely god, and god of passion, but young god. and therefore not cooled or dimmed by age; Ammian. 26. 6 (of Gratian when nine years old): "pueri, quem oculorum flagrantior lux commendabat, vultusque et reliqui corporis iucundissimus nitor." Compare Sil. 1. 125:

. . . "ideoque lacus flagrantes sanguine cerno;"

not merely *red*, but glowing with the hot fresh blood.

716-718.

PRAECIPUE INFELIX PESTI DEVOTA FUTURAE
EXPLERI MENTEM NEQUIT ARDESCITQUE TUENDO
PHOENISSA

"PRAECIPUE INFELIX, propter casum futurum," Servius (Lion). "Mirantur reliqui Ascanium et dona, una praecipue Dido nequit," &c., La Cerdà. Servius is undoubtedly wrong, La Cerdà right. See Rem. on 1. 224.

EXPLERI NEQUIT, ARDESCITQUE TUENDO. Compare Eurip. *Ion*,
225:

οὐτοι σὸν βλέπων ἐπιμαλάσσει
προσώπων, ἐξω δ' ἐγενόμην γυναικὸς μητρός.

719-723.

ILLE UBI COMPLEXU AENEAE COLLOQUE PEPENDIT
ET MAGNUM FALSI IMPLEVIT GENITORIS AMOREM
REGINAM PETIT HAEC OCVLIS HAEC PECTORE TOTO
HAERET ET INTERDUM GREMIO FOVET INSCIA DIDO
INSIDEAT QUANTUS MISERAE DEUS

Both Servius and Peerlkamp understand AMOREM GENITORIS to be the love of the feigned Ascanius for Aeneas—"Magnum: *arduum*, difficile est enim imitari verum filii affectum," Servius. "Ego non video, quid *filius amorem patris* vel *erga patrem implet* aliud significare possit, nisi *filius se erga patrem ita gerit, ut ad amorem et pietatem nihil desit*," Peerlkamp. The mistake is gross. The feigned Ascanius, not being the son of Aeneas, had no love, no *pietas* for Aeneas; he thought of nothing else than doing his mother's will, and cheating Aeneas and Dido. On the contrary, Aeneas loved the feigned Ascanius with all a father's love, believing him to be his son. GENITORIS AMOREM, therefore, is not the love of the feigned Ascanius for Aeneas, but the love of Aeneas, the deceived father, for the feigned son. This feigned son treats both the deceived son and Dido in the same way: receives the embraces of the father first, and having gratified the affection of the father (IMPLEVIT AMOREM) proceeds to play the same game towards Dido (REGINAM PETIT), who fondles him as Aeneas had fondled, only with still greater passion: HAEC OCVLIS, HAEC PECTORE TOTO HAERET, ET INTERDUM GREMIO FOVET.

721—723.

HAEC OCULIS HAEC PECTORE TOTO
 HAERET ET INTERDUM GREMIO FOVET INSCIA DIDO
 INSIDEAT QUANTUS MISERAE DEUS

"That the word DIDO, after REGINAM and HAEC, is clumsy, and hath a bad effect, will be acknowledged I believe by every poet. I should rather thus: 'inscia quantus, insideat quantus miserae deus,'" Jortin, *Philol. Tracts*. On the contrary, the insertion of Dido's name in this position not only gives additional pathos to the passage, but is according to Virgil's manner. See *Aen.* 1. 277:

. . . "donec regina sacerdos
 Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem."

Ibid. 7. 19:

"quos hominum ex facie dea saeva potentibus herbis
 induerat Circe in vultus ac terga ferarum."

Also, *Aen.* 1. 500 and 695; 2. 403; also the separation of "Delius" from "Apollo" (*Aen.* 3. 162); of "Ithacus" from "Ulysses" (3. 628); of "Saturnia" from "Iovis coniux" (4. 91); and of "deus" from "Somnus" (5. 841); and the junction of the separated appellatives with separate verbs. The proposed repetition of QUANTUS would have only operated to withdraw the attention from the principal personage, for the purpose of fixing it on one which performs only a secondary part.

Akin to this criticism of the learned Jortin on INSCIA DIDO is that of Steevens, the celebrated editor of Shakespeare, on *Aen.* 1. 415:

"at Venus obscuro gradientes aëre sepsit:
 et multo nebulae circum dea fudit amictu:"

"Had Virgil lived to have revised his Aeneid, he would hardly have permitted both of these lines to have remained in his text. The awkward repetition of the nominative case in the second of them seems to decide very strongly against it" (Steevens's Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, act 1, sc. 1, note). Hard, indeed,

is the destiny of authors! transcendent excellence, clearness, and beauty of style are as surely accounted awkwardness, clumsiness, and error by the judges who sit on our critical bench, as, two centuries ago, superior physical knowledge, or even singular blamelessness of life, was received in our criminal courts as proof incontrovertible of communication with the father of evil!

HAEC OCULIS HAEC PECTORE TOTO HAERET. Compare Val. Flacc.
6. 672:

. . . "non illa levi turbata metallo,
sed facibus, sed mole dei, quem *pectore toto*
iam tenet."

QUANTUS DEUS. See Val. Flacc., just quoted: "mole dei."

INSCIA DIDO INSIDEAT QUANTUS MISERAE DEUS. As Theocr.
Idyll. 23. 4:

χοῖ'κ ἤδη τὸν Ἑρώτα, τίς ἦν θεός.

INSCIA. Not, literally and physically, *sits on her*, i. e. on her lap, but, figuratively, *presses on her morally with his whole weight*, incumbit, in the figurative sense of that word. Compare Aeschyl. *Suppl. 641* (Danaïdes speaking of the people of Argos who have just decided in their favour):

αἰδούνται δ' ἰκέτας Διός, ποιμνίῳ τανδ' ἀμείψασθον
.
διὸν ἐπιδομένοι πρᾶκτορα τε σκολον
δυσπολέμητον, οὐν οὐτίς ἂν δομός τε χοί
ἐπ' ὀροσίων μιννοντα βάρυν δ' ἐγίγχευ.

The figure is given at full length and with all the particulars in Epigr. Pauli Silentarii, *Anthol. Pal. 5. 268:*

μηκετι τίς πηξίτε ποδῶν βέλος. ἰσοδοκὴν γὰρ
εἰς ἐμὲ λαβρός Ἑρῶς ἐξέκρινωσεν ὅλην.
μὴ πτερύγων τρομαίει τίς ἐπηλυσίν' ἔξοτε γὰρ μοι
λαῖξ ἐπιβὰς στένωνις λιχρὸν ἐπιξέει ποδῶν.
ἀσπεμγῆς, ἀφονητὸς ἐνέξεται, οὐδὲ μετεσθῆ,
εἰς ἐμὲ συζεύγην χειραμένος πτερύγων.

726—731.

RESIDES ANIMOS DESUETAQUE CORDA
 POSTQUAM PRIMA QUIES EPULIS MENSAEQUE REMOTAE
 CRATERAS MAGNOS STATUUNT ET VINA CORONANT
 FIT STREPITUS TECTIS VOCEMQUE PER AMPLA VOLUTANT
 ATRIA DEPENDENT LYCHNI LAQUEARIBUS AUREIS
 INCENSI ET NOCTEM FLAMMIS FUNALIA VINCUNT

RESIDES, “pigros, ad amandum inertes,” Servius. This is neither a sufficiently accurate definition of *resides*, nor a sufficiently accurate description of the state of Dido’s mind. *Resides* properly expresses that state of inaction and disinclination to act which is the temporary result of previous action; the fatigued and resting state, rather than the, properly speaking, lazy and indolent. This is shown, first, by its *re*, indicating a *return* to that state of inaction which had been abandoned some time previously for the state of activity; and secondly, by the almost invariable reference of the context in which it is found to that previous active state: a reference in the present instance contained in the word *DESUETA*, referring back, no less plainly than *RESIDES* itself, to those previous loves of Dido which had left her mind in its relaxed and resting state; unstrung, as it were, like the bow which has been much used, and has not yet recovered its elasticity. Compare 6. 813:

. . . “cui deinde subibit
 otia qui rumpet patriae *residesque* movebit
 Tullus in arma viros, et iam *desueta* triumphis
 agmina,”

where “*resides*”—again rendered by Servius, “*pigros, otiosos, nimium sedentes*”—again expresses only that sort of indolence and disinclination to action which follows previous fatigue; in this case, the fatigue of their warlike exertions under Romulus, exertions to which there is an additional reference in the word

"desueta" subjoined to it, here also as in our text. Compare also 7. 691:

"at Messapus
iampridem *resides* populos *desuetaque* bello
agmina in arma vocat subito ferrumque retractat,"

where there is the same reference to previous action, not only in "resides" itself, but in the same "desueta" here added to it for the third time, and in the if possible still more strongly significant "ferrumque retractat." Also, Ovid, *Met.* 14. 436:

. . . "resides et desuetudine tardi
rursus inire fretum, rursus dare vela iubemur,"

where there is the similar reference to previous labour, not only in "resides" and its never-failing yoke-fellow "desuetudine," but in each of the two "rursuses" also.

MENSAE REMOTAE.—Not *the tables removed*, but *the dishes removed*, whatever had been placed on the tables; as we say, "the cloth removed;" and as the Germans say, "Nach aufgehobener tafel." Compare 1. 220, where the same phrase is used in a case in which there were no tables at all, the dinner being served on the grass: also, Ovid, *Met.* 9. 91:

. . . "totumque tulit praedivite cornu
autumnum et mensas, felicia poma, secundas."

Xenoph. *Anab.* 7 (Hutch. p. 473): *Επειτα δε τριποδες εισηνεχθησαν πασιν ουτοι δ' οσον εικοσι, κρεων μεστοι νενεμμενων, και αρτοι ζιμιται μεγαλοι προσπεπερονημενοι ησαν προς τοις κρεασι. Μαλιστα δε αι τραπέζαι κατα τους ξενους αι επιθεντο νομος γαρ ην* and Jul. Poll. 6. 84: *Τραπεζας δε εκαλουν και τα σιτια, τα επ' αυτων τιθεμενα.* In Italian, "levare le mense" is equivalent to, remove, not the tables, but the cloth, *i. e.*, the dishes (as, *La Nazione*, Firenze, 23 Maggio, 1862: "Levate le mense, dopo poco tempo l'ammiraglio si accommiatava, ed accompagnato dal Sindaco e della Giunta allontanavasi al suono dell' inno di Garibaldi"); and in Spanish, "cubrir la mesa" is equivalent to "mettre sur table; servir;" and "poner la mesa," to "mettre le couvert." Compare Ovid, *Met.* 8. 571:

. . . "dapibusque remotis,
in goma posuere merum,"

where “dapibus remotis” is exactly the *MENSÆ REMOTÆ* of our text.

CRATERAS STATUUNT, viz., *pincernæ*: as *Guill. Apul. lib. 4*:

“cornicinum sonitu circumdatus atque tubarum
et plectris, qui se *Michaelē* finxerat esse,
more coronatus deducitur imperiali,
circumvallatus cantantibus undique turbis,
unanimi cives, hunc ut videre, cachinno
visum derident, dicentes, ‘ipse solebat
crateras mensis plenos deferre *Lyæo*,
et de *pincernis* erat inferioribus unus.’”

Craterem statuere is the Latin representative of the Greek *στησαι ον στησασθαι χρητήρα*, as *Theocr. Idyll. 5. 53*:

στασῶ δὲ χρητήρα μέγαν λευκοῖο γαλακτός
ταῖς νυμφαῖς, στασῶ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὸς ἄλλον ἐλαῖω.

Hom. Il. 6. 528:

χρητήρα στησασθαι ἐλευθερον ἐν μεγάροισιν

(On which latter passage, *Clarke* remarks: “*Craterem basi suppositae imponere. Quam quidem basin veteres appellabant *πιοζρητηριον* vel *πιοζρητηριδιον* . . . item *επιστατον*”). The drinking cups (*pocula*) being smaller and placed with less formality, the more ordinary and indefinite term *ponere* is applied to them, verse 710.*

729—731.

FIT STREPITUS TECTIS VOCEMQUE PER AMPLA VOLUTANT
ATRIA DEPENDENT LYCHNI LAQUEARIBUS AUREIS
INCENSI ET NOCTEM FLAMMIS FUNALIA VINCUNT

FIT STREPITUS TECTIS, VOCEMQUE PER AMPLA VOLUTANT ATRIA. “Post *mensas secundas adlatas et vina strepitus ille ibat, ut fere fieri solet; initio enim convivii silentium, quod amor edendi facit,*

qui ubi compressus, sermonibus et clamoribus omnia resonare incipiunt," Burm. "Comparant illud:

μηστῆρες δ' ὁμαδῆσαν ἀνα μέγαρον σκιοέντα.

Od. 1. 365, et alibi repetitum . . . loquuntur quæ audiri possent per totum coenaculum," Heyne. "FIT STREPITUS, nam vina linguas solvunt animosque bibentium exhilarant," Forbiger. "FIT STREPITUS, cf. *Hom. Od. 1. 365*, ut fere ubique, si ad pocula ventum est," Gossrau. "The actual noise of the banquet is succeeded by a pause (POSTQUAM PRIMA QUIES, &c.), and then by the sound of conversation (FIT STREPITUS TECTIS, &c.) VOCEM VOLUTANT, of the talkers," Conington. But where is there in the whole context any account of the drinking necessary to excite a strepitus of talk, any account of drinking till the drinkers become so elevated as to send the voices ringing through the ample hall? "Pocula," indeed, are laid on the table with the dishes, and after the removal of the dishes, large "crateres," full of wine, necessary in order that each individual of so numerous a company may have even so much as one single sip; but there is not one word of drinking, except the grace cup after supper, of which Dido but tastes, and of which those present partake no more than once each. So little are the company elevated with drink, so little is it over a carousing party, a Carthaginian Lord Mayor's feast, Dido presides, that no sooner has the grace cup gone round, and the minstrel, accompanying himself on his harp, sung to his delighted audience an explanation of the motions of the heavenly bodies, of the long nights and short days of winter, of the origin of the elements, animals, and of man himself, than Dido requests her guest to tell, and her guest tells the story of his seven years' adventures by sea and land, and is listened to not merely decorously, but attentively, and without a stir during his, at least four hours' long, discourse. No, no; STREPITUS is not the *ομαδος* of the Homeric *μηστῆρες*, not the rioting of the company over their wine; it is the bustle of the attendants hurrying to and fro in the discharge of their various duties ("strepitus moventum," says Silius in his imitation of this very banquet, see below), viz., the setting

of the "crateres" on the table, the crowning of the wine, the bringing in and announcing of the light [compare Amm. Marcell. 16. 8 (ed. Erfurdt): "Malignitate simili quidam agens in rebus in Hispania, ad coenam itidem invitatus, cum inferentes vespertina lumina pueros exclamasse audisset ex usu," 'vincamus perun . . .', solemne interpretatus atrociter, delevit nobilem domum"], and the kindling of the chandeliers. See Silius, 11. 275:

"praecipuis multoque procul splendentibus ostro
accipitur sublime toris; non una ministri
turba gregis. posuisse dapes his addita cura,
his adolere focos, his ordine pocula ferre.
necnon et certis struitur penus. aspera mensa
pondera caelati fulgent antiquitus auri.
eripiunt flammae noctem, *strepituque morendum*
murmurat alta domus;"

with which compare Stat. *Theb.* 1. 510 (ed. Müller):

. . . "sic fatus [Adrastus] et ambos
innectens manibus tecta interioris ad aulae
progredditur. canis etiamnum altaribus ignes
sopitum cinerem et tepidi libamina sacri
servabant; adolere focos epulasque recentes
instaurare iubet. dictis parere ministri
certatim adcelerant; *rario strepit icta tumultu*
regia: pars ostro tinctos auroque sonantes
emunire toros altosque inferre tapetas,
pars teretis levare manu ac disponere mensas.
ast alii, tenebras et opacam vincere noctem
adgressi, tendunt auratis vincula lychnis.
his labor inserto torrere exsanguia ferro
viscera caesarum pecudum; his cumulare canistris
perdomitam saxo cererem. laetatur Adrastus
obsequio fervere domum, iamque ipse superbis
fulgebat stratis solioque effultus eburno."

Senec. *de Tranquillit.* 15: "Domus haec sapientis angusta, sine cultu, sine strepitu, sine apparatu, nullis observatur ianitoribus, turbam venali fastidio digerentibus." Ovid, *Heroid.* 19. 53 (Hero to Leander):

"auribus interdum voces captamus, et omnem
adventus strepitum credimus esse tui."

Aen. 6. 866:

“qui strepitus circa comitum!”

TECTIS, over the house generally. Compare 7. 460:

“arma amens fremit, arma toro *tectisque* requirit”

[seeks for arms, not merely in his bed but through the house, over the whole house]. Also, 12. 591:

“volvitur ater odor *tectis*: tum murmure caeco
intus saxa sonant”

[the bad odour is rolled through the whole house, *i. e.*, the whole hive]. The word is used in the same sense only five verses further on: TUM FACTA SILENTIA TECTIS: silence was made not merely in the hall, but over the whole house, in order that the company might hear the prayer the queen was about to offer up.

VOCEMQUE PER AMPLA VOLUTANT ATRIA. “Initio enim convivii silentium quod amor edendi facit; qui ubi compressus, sermonibus et clamoribus omnia resonare incipiunt,” Burm. “Loquuntur quae audiri possent per totum coenaculum,” Heyne. “VOCEM VOLUTANT, of the talkers,” Conington. But is it “the talkers,” *i. e.* the company, who set the great *crateres* on the tables? Is it the talkers, *i. e.* the company, who crown the wine? Is it not on the contrary perfectly plain that CRATERAS MAGNOS STATUUNT, VINA CORONANT, FIT STREPITUS TECTIS VOCEMQUE VOLUTANT, DEPENDENT LYCHNI ET NOCTEM FUNALIA VINCUNT, are substantially so many co-ordinates, describe the stir of, and offices performed by, the attendants (“moventum,” Silius, quoted above), and that the narrative passes from the account of Dido’s emotions, finished at CORDA, to the account of Dido’s acts, begun at HIC REGINA—the four verses, POSTQUAM . . . VINCUNT, relating solely to the attendants, being Virgil’s usual interruption of the direct narrative by the intercalation of a subsidiary (see Rem.)? And all this equally **whether** we adhere to the ordinarily received structure: VOCEM VOLUTANT [*illi*] PER AMPLA ATRIA, **or**, writing PER and AMPLA into one word [“Nonnulli codd. antiqui PERAMPLA unica dictione legunt. Sed in Longobardico,

et aliquot aliis PER ALTA legitur," Pierius. "PERAMPLA, una voce, primus Moreti, . . ." Burn.], **understand** the structure to be PERAMPLA ATRIA VOCEM VOLUTANT.

VOCEMQUE PERAMPLA VOLUTANT ATRIA. Not VOLUTANT PER AMPLA ATRIA, but PERAMPLA ATRIA VOLUTANT, exactly as 5. 148:

"tum plausu fremituque virum, studiisque faventum
consonat omne nemus, *vocemque* inclusa *volutant*
littora,"

where "plausu fremituque virum studiisque faventum" corresponds to the STREPITUS TECTIS of our text, and "vocemque inclusa volutant littora" to the VOCEMQUE PERAMPLA VOLUTANT ATRIA; and where the clause "vocemque inclusa volutant littora" so closely matches the clause VOCEMQUE PERAMPLA VOLUTANT ATRIA of our text as to leave little rational doubt that the structure of the two clauses is the same, and PERAMPLA ATRIA, the subject of VOLUTANT, as "inclusa littora" is the subject of the other.

As peramplus here, so perexiguus, Liv. 7. 37: "Nec procul ab hoste locum perexiguum . . . castris cepit."

FIT STREPITUS TECTIS, theme; VOCEMQUE PERAMPLA VOLUTANT ATRIA, variation; the great racket (STREPITUS), made by the attendants, rolls along the ceiling and walls of the spacious hall.

DEPENDENT LYCHNI INCENSI. The reader must not understand the meaning to be that the banquet was held by night. The meaning is that the banquet was held by daylight, and that only after the banquet was over (POSTQUAM) the "crateres" of wine were set on the table, the drinking and noise began, and the chandeliers were lighted.

Was not Dido's feast present to the mind of Prudentius when he composed those exquisite verses of his "Hymnus ad incensum Lucernae" (*Cathem.* 5. 137)?

"nos festis trahimus per pia gaudia
noctem conciliis; votaue prospera
certatim vigili congerimus prece;
extructoque agimus liba sacrario.

pendent mobilibus lumina funibus,
 quae suffixa micant per laquearia,
 et de languidulis fota natatibus
 lucem perspicuo flamma iacit vitro;
 credas stelligeram desuper aream
 ornatam geminis stare Trionibus,
 et qua Bosporeum temo regit iugum
 passim purpureos spargier Hesperos."

NOCTEM FLAMMIS FUNALIA VINCUNT. Allusion is perhaps in these words to a custom which appears from a mutilated passage of Annian (16. 8) to have prevailed at entertainments, of saying "vincamus noctem," or "vincamus vesperum," when lights were introduced: "Malignitate simili quidam agens in rebus in Hispania, ad coenam itidem invitatus, cum inferentes vespertina lumina pueros exclamasse audisset ex usu *Vincamus perun.* . . . [*Qu?* vesperum] . . . solemne interpretatus atrociter, delevit nobilem domum." It is no doubt a remnant of this custom which is to be observed at the present day in some parts of Germany and Italy, where when, at daylight going, candles are set on the table, the guests salute each other with the words "guten abend," "buona sera."

740—743.

DIXIT ET IN MENSAM LATICUM LIBAVIT HONOREM
 PRIMAQUE LIBATO SUMMO TENUS ATTIGIT ORE
 TUM BITIAE DEDIT INCREPITANS ILLE IMPIGER HAUSIT
 SPUMANTEM PATERAM ET PLENO SE PROLUIT AURO

VAR. LECT.

IN MENSAM I *Rom., Med.* "In Oblongo, in Longobardico et aliquot aliis pervetustis, IMMENSUM legitur. In Romano, in Mediceo et nonnullis emendationibus, IN MENSAM habetur," Pierius. II § 4. III Donat.; Serv.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Phil.; Heyne; Wagn. (1832, 1841); Haupt; Ribb.—Out of IN MENSAM grew:

INMENSAM OR IMMENSAM II $\frac{3}{6}\frac{9}{6}$. III Mil., 1475; which, in order that it might agree with HONOREM, was arranged into:

IMMENSUM II $\frac{3}{6}\frac{9}{6}$. III Pr.; Venice, 1472; Mod.

IN MENSA II $\frac{3}{6}\frac{9}{6}$. III Venice, 1470, 1471, 1475; Mil. 1492; Bresc.; P. Manut.

INMESSUM II $\frac{1}{6}\frac{6}{6}$.

O Vat., Ver., St. Gall.

SUMMO TENUS ATTIGIT ORE, *put the cup to her lips*; did not swallow any of the liquor, only touched it with her lips.

SUMMO ORE, *lips*, exactly as Propert. 4. 7. 10:

“summaque Lethaeus triverat ora liquor.”

TUM BITIAE DEDIT INCREPITANS. INCREPITANS, “Inclamans, ut (*Georg.* 4. 138) ‘aestatem increpitans seram.’ Aut certe arguens familiariter segnitiam tarde accipientis, cum esset avidus in bibendo,” Servius (ed. Lion). “Simpl. adhortans ut et ipse biberet, nil amplius; . . . obiurgandi hic nec locus, nec dignus vel reginae vel epici poetae persona talis sarcasmus,” Heyne. “Reicht’ ihn sodann auffordernd dem Bitias,” J. H. Voss. “Bitias totum os inseruit, a Didone etiam admonitus, ut strenue rem gereret,” Peerlkamp. “Exhortans, ut 3. 454,” Gossrau. “Inclamans Bitiam et ut biberet adhortans,” Wagn. (1861). “Gewiss hat Heyne recht, wenn er sagt INCREPITANS bei Virgilius, 1. 742, enthalte keinen tadel. Tadel enthält ja auch die urbedeutung nicht. INCREPITANS steht wahrscheinlich für das unfügsame *incitans*,” Koene, *Ueber die Sprache der Römisch. Epiker*, p. 181. “INCREPITANS, bidding him be quick (IMPIGER) . . . There is playful humour in the contrast, which is too lightly touched to be undignified, as some have thought, even if Virgil could not appeal to the example of Homer in speaking of the Phaeacian court,” Conington.

I entirely agree with Heyne that it had been undignified in Dido to gibe or scold (“obiurgare”) Bitias for being slow to take the cup; nay, I go so much farther in the same direction, as to search in vain for occasion or opportunity for such behaviour on

the part of Dido (even had it not been undignified)—Bitias not only not being represented as either slow or loth to take the cup, but being actually represented as taking it the moment it is presented to him, and drinking it with avidity. But I as entirely disagree with Heyne and those who think with him, that therefore *INCREPITANS* is to be regarded not as inculpatory, but only as hortative. On the contrary, the more I have inquired into the meaning of that word, the more convinced have I been, not merely that it is inculpatory, but that it is so in the only example which it has as yet been attempted to produce of its being hortative, viz., 3. 454: "*Quamvis increpitent socii*," where, to depart from the acknowledged meaning of the word, as used not only by all other authors but by Virgil himself elsewhere, is to enfeeble the passage in the direct proportion in which *exhort to go* is weaker than *chide for not going*. What then? Dido "*increpitat*," chides. But Bitias has done nothing for which to be chided; nay, has done nothing at all. And **even if** he had done something, had been slow to drink, and it had not been undignified in Dido to chide him as a boon companion might have chided him for his slowness, **how** had such chiding been consistent with Dido's own abstinence, with Dido's own doing that very thing for which she chided Bitias? No, no; Dido "*increpitat*," chides, but it is not Bitias she chides, but the wine. Let us see: Dido is not libating singly in the name of the whole company; she is only, as queen, libating first **of** the whole company, who all follow her example, and libate each for himself. Compare 8. 273:

"*quare agite, o iuvenes, tantarum in munere laudum
cingite fronde comas, et pocula porcite dextris,
communemque vocate deum, et date vina volentes.*"

Dixerat: *Hercules* bicolor quum populus umbra
velavitque comas, foliisque innexa pependit;
et sacer implevit dextram scyphus. ocius omnes
in mensam laeti libant, divosque precantur;"

or, if this be objected to as an example of a feast at an altar, let us take the social entertainment given by Helenus to the same Aeneas and the same Trojans, an entertainment corresponding in all respects to Dido's feast (3. 352):

"nec non et Teucri socia simul urbe fruuntur.
 illos porticibus rex accipiebat in amplis:
 aulai in medio libabant pocula Bacchi,
 impositis auro dapibus, paterasque tenebant;"

OR the feast given by the Capuans to Hannibal and his Carthaginians, Sil. 11. 301:

. . . "ante omnes ductor honori
 nominis augusto libat carchesia ritu,
 caetera quem sequitur Bacchique ex more liquorem
 irrorat mensis turba, ardescitque Lyæo."

As little as either Evander, or Helenus, or Hannibal libates for the whole company, or sends round his cup for each one of the company to drink out of, so little does Dido either libate for the whole company or send round her cup. The sole difference in the case of Dido is, that Dido—being a woman, and it being, at least according to Roman manners, shocking for a woman to drink wine at all—does not drink after libating, but only puts the cup to her lips, and then hands it to Bitias, *INCREPITANS* (*ἐπιτιμών, ἐπιτιλλέσσω*), finding fault with, rating, carping at, not him at all, but the wine which she has been obliged even so much as to taste. "Here, take this, Bitias," I think I hear her say, "and drink it for me. I do not like it at all, and will have no more of it. I wonder you men are so fond of wine;" and Bitias answers: "As it pleases your Majesty," and drinks it off at a draught, and smacks his lips, and has got two cups instead of only one. **This** explanation, by which is preserved on the one hand her royal dignity and decorum to Dido, and on the other, its true meaning to *INCREPITANS* [compare 10. 900:

"hostis amare, quid *increpitatus* mortemque minaris."

Georg. 4. 138:

"aestatem *increpitatus* seram zephyrosque morantes."

Sil. 13, p. 212 (ed. Amst. 1628):

"sic prior *increpitat* non miti Scipio vultu:
 'italiane, o fraudum genitor, sunt foedera vobis?
 aut hæc Sicania pepigisti captus in ora?'"

Sil. 13, p. 196, *ibid.*:

"hic modo primores socium, modo iussa deorum,
 nunc sese *increpitat*: 'dic, o cui Lydia caede
 creverunt stagna, et concussa est Daunia tellus

armorum tonitru: quas exanimatus in oras
 signa refers? qui mucro tuum, quae lancea tandem
 intravit pectus?
 imbres, o patria, et mixtos cum sanguine nimbos
 et tonitrus fugio; procul hanc expellite gentis
 femineam Tyriae labem, nisi luce serena
 nescire ac liquida Mavortem agitare sub aethra"]

is all the more probably correct, because the wine to which Dido manifests so strong a dislike is not common table wine (*i. e.* wine largely diluted with water), but pure undiluted wine (IMPLEVIT MERO PATERAM).

This Remark and the Remark on FIT STREPITUS TECTIS VOCEMQUE PER AMPLA VOLUTANT ATRIA, illustrate and establish each other, each tending to show how little Dido's feast had of the character generally attributed to it, *viz.*, that of a London or Dublin Lord Mayor's feast, or other vulgar carouse.

I remember my late daughter to have once suggested to me, that the custom she and I so often observed on the continent of Europe, especially in inns and low life, of rinsing the glass with wine and spilling the rinsings on the floor before drinking, is not improbably a relic of the ancient libation, as the modern grace before and after eating is; it can hardly be doubted, a relic of the prayer by which the libation was accompanied. Commander Markham, R.N., in his *Cruise of the Rosaria amongst the New Hebrides and Santa Cruz islands*, London, 1873, ch. 12, informs us that the natives of Anouta, or Cherry Island, South Pacific Ocean: "On being given anything to drink, such as wine or spirits, which, by the way, they did not seem at all to relish, would, before putting it to their lips, spill a little on the deck; this was evidently a custom, or perhaps part of their religion, as it was faithfully performed by all, and on every occasion they had of drinking."

ILLE IMPIGER HAUSIT SPUMANTEM PATERAM, theme; PLENO SE PROLUIT AURO, variation. With the clause TUM BITIAE—PROCERES, compare Hom. *Hymn. in Apoll. 10*:

τω δ' ἄρα νεκταρ ἔδωκε πατήρ, δειπαὶ χερσίν,
 δεικνυμένος φίλον υἱὸν ἐπειτα δὲ διαμονῆς ἄλλοι
 ἐνθα καθίζουσιν,

very plainly the original of which our text is the copy.

PLENO AURO, the full gold cup, exactly as Val. Flacc. 1. 148:

. . . "acclinisque tapeti
in mediis *caeco* condit caput Hippasus *auro*"

[an empty gold *crater*]; also Val. Flacc. 1. 336 (Aeson speaking):

. . . "o si mihi sanguis,
quantus erat, quum signifero cratere minantem
non *leviore* Pholum manus haec compescuit *auro*!"

The expression *auro*, in the sense of gold cup or goblet—or rather in that of cup or goblet, without any allusion to the material of which the cup or goblet is made—seems sufficiently strange to us, to whom the expression *glass*, in the sense of glass cup or goblet, or rather in that of cup or goblet, without any allusion at all to the material of which the cup or goblet is made, does not, such is the force of habit, seem in the least degree strange.

SE PROLUT. Compare Steph. *Plat. Symp.* p. 176, B: *Και γαρ και αυτος ειμι των χθες βεβαπτισμενων*. Lucian. *Bacch.* 7: *Καρηβαρουντι και βεβαπτισμενω ειικεν*. Liban. vol. 4, p. 167: *Βεβαπτισμενων δ' ηδη των δαιτυμονων, και ουδε ορθουσθαι δυναμενων*.

744—747.

CITHARA CRINITUS IOPAS

PERSONAT AURATA DOCUIT QUEM MAXIMUS ATLAS

HIC CANT ERRANTEM LUNAM SOLISQUE LABORES

UNDE HOMINUM GENUS ET PECUDES UNDE IMBER ET IGNES

VAR. LECT.

QUEM I *Rom., Pal., Med.* II $\frac{8}{9}$. III N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Wakef.; Jahn; Voss; Lœd.; Haupt; Wagn., *Lect. Virg.* (ed. 1861); Ribb.

q II $\frac{1}{4}$.

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QUAE II 37; cod. Canon. (Butler). III Serv.; Donat.; Rome, 1469; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475, 1492; Mod.; Bresc.; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; Phil.; Burm.; Heyne; Brunck; Wagn. (1832, 1841, 1845). This reading derives support from Silius, 4. 509: "haec personat ardens."

O Vat., Ver., St. Gall.

DOCUIT QUEM MAXIMUS ATLAS. QUEM, not QUAE, is the true reading; first, because all the first-class MSS. not defective in this place read QUEM; secondly, because *what* it was that Iopas sang is sufficiently made known in the immediately succeeding verses, HIC CANIT, &c.; and, thirdly, because it is a greater distinction for Iopas to have been the pupil of Atlas than merely to sing Atlas-lore—learned, nobody knows how. Compare 5. 704:

"tum senior Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas
quem docuit, multaque insignem reddidit arte."

Apollon. Rhod. 1. 65:

ἤλυθε δ' αὖ Μοῦνος Τυταρησῖος, ὃν περὶ πάντων
Ἀητοῖδης ἐδίδαξε θεοπροπίας οἰωνῶν

Apollon. Rhod. 3. 528:

χοῦρη τις [Medea] μεταφοῖσιν ἐντρέφει' Ἀητωῖ,
τὴν Ἐκάστη περιμύλλα θεὰ δαί τεχνήσασθαι
ἡερμαχ', ὃς ἠπείρος τε γυνὴ καὶ νηχέτον ὑδῶρ

Lycophr. Cass. 573:

... τριπτεχὸς χοῦρας
αὖ δὲ Προβλαστὸς ἐξεπαιδεύει θρασυς.

Cicer. *ad Famil.* 9. 22: "Socratem fidibus docuit nobilissimus fidicen."

PERSONAT.—*Suonare* is the term commonly used throughout Italy at the present day to express *playing upon a musical instrument*, the Italian derivative, in this instance as in so many others, retaining not merely the general sense, but the special application of the Latin original.

HIC CANIT ERRANTEM LUNAM, &c.—The calm and philosophical subject of Iopas's song contrasts finely with the subsequent romantic and exciting narrative of Aeneas. In this respect, as in so many others, Virgil has improved upon his

master, who, making his minstrel sing, and his hero tell, similarly romantic stories, loses the advantage of contrast. See *Od.* 8 and 9.

ERRANTEM LUNAM, the wandering moon, the devious moon, the moon going about without fixed scope or purpose. Compare Parmenides, *Carminum Reliquiae*, 133 (Mullachii, *Fragm. Philos. Graec.*):

εἰση δ' αἰθερὴν τε γυῖον τε δ' ἐν αἰθερὶ πάντα
σημαῖα, καὶ καθάρως εὐαγέως ἡελίοιο
λαμπάδος ἐργ' αἰδηλα, καὶ ὀλλοθεν ἐξεγίνοντο,
ἐργα τε κυκλώπος πεύσῃ περικλοῖτα σέληνης
καὶ γυῖον

(where *περικλοῖτα ἐργα* is the ERRANTEM of our text). Nonnus, 4. 279 (of Cadmus):

ἀστατα κυκλα νοήσῃ παλιννοστοῖο Σέληνης

(where *ἀστατα κυκλα παλιννοστοῖο* is the same). Sen. *Troad.* 387:

"quo bis sena volant sidera turbine,
quo cursu properat saecula volve
astrorum dominus [the sun], quo properat modo
obliquis Hecate currere flexibus;
hoc omnes petimus fata"

(where "obliquis currere flexibus" is the same). Also, Manil. 5. 7: "te, luna, vagantem;" and Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 21:

. . . "simul ac vaga luna decorum
protulit os"

(in which last two passages "vagrantem" and "vaga" are likewise equivalent to our ERRANTEM). Also, Shakesp. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, 4. 1:

"we the globe can compass soon
swifter than the wandering moon;"

and, above all, Virgil himself, *Georg.* 1. 337 (of the planet Mercury):

"quos ignis caelo Cyllenius erret in orbes,"

where the meaning of errare, as applied to a heavenly body, is placed beyond doubt by the subjoined "quos in orbes."

SOLIS LABORES. "Eclipsim," Cynthius Cenetensis, Gesner (*in roce labor*), Heyne, Forbiger, Conington. But, **first**,

why "eclipses of the sun" so immediately subjoined to "wandering moon?" Does not "wandering moon and eclipses of the sun" suggest the idea that the sun alone, and not the moon, is subject to eclipse? **Secondly**, in "wandering moon and eclipses of the sun," where is the desiderated contrast of moon and sun, that contrast which so much pleases in "wandering moon and labours of the sun," *i. e.* the moon idly wandering about, pleasing herself, vagans, and sun ever laborious, *αζαματος*? Compare the not very dissimilar contrast between errare and labor, Ovid, *Heroid.* 19. 95:

"non ego tam ventos timeo, mea vota morantes,
quam, similis vento ne tuus *erret* amor;
ne non sim tanti, superentque pericula causam,
et videar merces esse *labore* minor;"

and the very similar contrast between the errare of Actaeon, sauntering about without any fixed purpose in the intervals when he was not hunting, and the labor of the same Actaeon while he was actually engaged in the hunt, Ovid, *Met.* 3. 174:

"ecce nepos Cadmi, dilata parte laborum,
per nemus ignotum non certis passibus errans,
pervenit in lucum."

And, thirdly, where are the examples of labor in the sense of *eclipse*, applied to the sun, which we shall set against the following examples of labor applied to the sun in the sense of *labour*, or work, *i. e.* ordinary, daily, or annual journey, course or revolution? Ovid, *Met.* 6. 486:

"iam labor exiguus Phoebæ restabat; equique
pulsabant pedibus spatium declivis Olympi"

(with which compare Stat. *Theb.* 3. 1:

"at non Aoniae moderator perfidus aulae
nocte sub ancipiti, quamvis humentibus astris
longus ad Auroram superet labor, otia somni
accipit").

Ovid, *Met.* 2. 386 (Phoebus himself speaking):

. . . "pigetque
actorum sine fine mihi, sine honore, laborum."

Claud. *Prob. et Olybr. Cons.* 268 (addressing the year):

"incipi quadrifidum Phoebi torquere laborem"

(where “quadrifidum laborem” is the *four seasons*). Lucan,
1. 89 (ed. Weber):

“dum terra fretum, terramque levabit
aer, et longi volvent Titana labores,
noxque diem caelo totidem per signa sequetur.”

Prudent. *Contra Symm.* 1. 310:

“ausus habere deum Solem, cui tramite certo
conditio imposita est vigilem tolerare laborem.”

Hom. *Hymn. in Sol.* 7: *ἡλιον ἔ' ακαμαντ'.* Sil. 3. 58:

“Cymothoes ea regna vagae, pelagique labores
Luna movet, Luna immissis per caerula bigis,
fertque refertque fretum, sequiturque reciproca Tethys.”

But, say the commentators: SOLIS LABORES in our text is eclipses of the sun, because “lunae labores,” *Georg.* 2. 478, is eclipses of the moon (“defectus eorumque causas; cp. *Georg.* 2. 478: ‘defectus solis varios lunaeque labores,’” Heyne). On the contrary, the legitimate deduction from the passage of the *Georgic* is point-blank the opposite, viz.: that, inasmuch as the preceding “defectus solis varios” proves the “lunae labores” of the *Georgic* to mean not the courses or revolutions, but the eclipses of the moon (else the composition had been slovenly, not to say incorrect: see above), the preceding ERRANTEM LUNAM proves the SOLIS LABORES of our text to be not the eclipses of the sun, but the revolutions of the sun, else the composition had been slovenly, not to say incorrect.

Virgil’s HIC CANIT ERRANTEM LUNAM SOLISQUE LABORES is, therefore, as nearly as possible, Lucretius’s (5. 77):

“praeterea, solis cursus lunaeque meatus
expediam, qua vi flectat Natura gubernans.”

UNDE HOMINUM GENUS ET PECUDES, *i. e.*, whether from the *anima mundi*, or from what other source, as appears from a comparison of 6. 728: “Inde hominum pecudumque genus,” where the reference in “inde” is to the *anima mundi* spoken of in the immediately preceding lines.

UNDE IMBER ET IGNES. There being more than one kind of imber, and more than one kind of ignes, and the context affording no very decisive indication which kind of either is

here meant, it is here (as so very often elsewhere) our author's own fault that his meaning has been so differently represented by different translators and commentators: that with one half of them his IMBER and IGNES are the so-called elements, *water* and *fire*, while with the other half, they are *rain* and *lightning*. Compare:

"how mankind was begoon and beast, wherhence the *fier* and *shoures* proceeds, and how the stars arisen and fallen in certein houres." (Phaer).

"th' original of men and beasts; and whence the *raines* arise, and *fires* their warmth dispense." (Dryden).

"com' or si fan le *pioggie*, e i venti, e i *folgori*." (Caro).

"woher menschen und vieh; woher *platzregen* und *leuchtung*." (Voss).

"Quomodo imbres existunt, unde mittuntur fulgura," Donat. "UNDE IMBER, sciz. de nubibus quae . . . emittunt . . . pluvias; ET IGNES, sciz. ex nubium collisione," Serv. (ed. Lion). "Imber generatur ex sicca nube; ignis generatur ex motu," Cynth. Cenet. "Per IGNES fulmina et tonitrua intelligo," Burn. "IMBER ET IGNES, *i. e.*, fulgura ex nubium afflictu," Heyne. "IGNES, quum IMBER addatur et de rebus caelestibus in seqq. sermo est, de fulminibus intelligendum," Forbiger. "IGNES caelestes, fulmina," Wagn. (ed. 1861). "IMBER, the element of water," Conington.

Let us see if there is not, after all, something to incline the balance. The use of ignes in the sense of the element of fire, if indeed there be such a use of the plural of ignis at all, is it not as rare as the use of ignes in the sense of *fulmen*, or lightning, is frequent? *ex gr.*, 4, 167: "fulsere ignes et conscius aether;" 3. 199: "ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes;" 4. 209: "caecique in nubibus ignes terrificant animos;" Lucr. 2. 213 (ed. Lachm.):

"transversosque volare per *imbris fulmina* cernis,
nunc hinc nunc illinc abrupti nubibus ignes
concursant: cadit in terras vis flammea volgo."

Senec. *Agam.* 545 (of Ajax Oileus):

"tandem occupata rupe, furibundum insonat,
superasse nunc se pelagus atque ignes."

And whether it is by the plural ignes, or by the singular

ignis, our author himself designates the element of fire, which enters into the composition of the "*fulmen*" (*ignes*, see just quoted examples) manufactured for Jupiter in his Cyclopiian workshop, let 8. 426 say:

"his informatum manibus iam parte polita
fulmen erat, toto genitor quae plurima caelo
 deiecit in terras; pars imperfecta manebat.
 tres imbris torti radios, tres nubis aquosae
 addiderant, rutili tres *ignis* et alitis Austri."

For these two reasons, therefore—neither of them indeed separably of much, but still both taken together of some, weight—as well as for the further reason that *IMBER ET IGNES* in the sense of thunderstorm have a more immediate connexion than the elements water and fire both with the preceding sun and moon and the succeeding *Arcturus*, *Hyades*, and *Triones*, and at the same time afford *Iopas* a more substantial and picturesque subject for his song, I place myself unhesitatingly at the side of *Servius* and the ancient commentators.

749-753.

QUID TANTUM OCEANO PROPERENT SE TINGERE SOLES
 HIBERNI VEL QUAE TARDIS MORA NOCTIBUS OBSTET
 INGEMINANT PLAUSUM TYRII TROESQUE SEQUUNTUR
 NECNON ET VARIO NOCTEM SERMONE TRAHEBAT
 INFELIX DIDO LONGUMQUE BIBEBAT AMOREM

QUID—OBSTET. "TARDIS, non longis, sed aestivis, *i. e.*, tarde venientibus," *Servius*, *Forbiger*, and still more explicitly *Wagner* (1861): "QUAE MORA OBSTET NOCTIBUS (*aestivis*), easque tardas (ut tarde veniant) efficiat." "Cur dierum spatia decrescant ac crescant per diversas anni vices," *Heyne*.

. . . "what cause delays
 the summer nights, and shortens winter days." (*Dryden*).

—**All** equally wrong, and totally misunderstanding the passage. **TARDIS** is not the slowly coming on nights of summer, but the slowly departing nights of winter—the only season spoken of, as Ovid, *Ep. ex Pont.* 2. 4. 25:

“longa dies citius brumali sidere, noxque
tardior hiberna solstitialis erit”

[“we shall have long days in winter, and the night at the summer solstice shall be slower (viz., slower to set or to plunge into the sea; 2. 8: “et iam nox humida caelo praecipitat”) than the winter night]; **and** Lucan, 4. 525:

. . . “nec segnis mergere ponto
tunc erat astra polus; nam sol Ledaëa tenebat
sidera, vicino cum lux altissima Cancro est;
nox tum Thessalicas urgebat parva sagittas”

[“at that time the sky was not slow (‘segnis,’ the *tardus* of our text) to plunge the stars into the sea (in other words, the nights were not slow to sink into the sea), for it was then summer, and the nights were at the shortest,” *i. e.*, sank into the sea quickest]. The structure, therefore, is **not** “**QUAE MORA OBSTET NOCTIBUS** (*aestivis*) easque tardas (ut tarde veniant) efficiat,” **but** “**QUAE MORA OBSTET NOCTIBUS** (*hibernis*, suggested by the immediately preceding **HIBERNI**) easque tardas (ut se tarde ponto mergant) efficiat.” **or**, with a stricter adherence to the Virgilian paradigm, “**QUAE MORA TARDIS NOCTIBUS** (*hibernis*) OBSTET quo minus properent se tingere oceano;” and the meaning is **not** “what makes the winter days so short, and the summer days so long,” **but** “what makes the winter days so short, and the winter nights so long.” Compare Hom. *Od.* 23. 241:

καὶ νῦν ἔ' οὐδ' ὀφρ' ὀφρ' οἰοῖται γὰρ ἡ ῥοδόδακτυλος Ἥως,
εἰ μὴ ἀρ' ἀλλ' ἐνοήσῃ θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.
νύκτι μὲν ἐν πελάτῃ δολιχὴν σχεθεῖν, Ἥω δ' αὖτε
ῥιπαστ' ἐπ' Ὠκεανῷ χρυσόπορον, οὐδ' ἐκ πολλοῦ
ἔγγ' ἔνθα' ὠκυπόδας, γαῖος ἀνδρωποιοῖσι γέροντας,
Λαμπὸν καὶ Φαειθόνθ', οὐτ' Ἥω πολλοὶ ἀγοῦσιν

(where Minerva is the “mora” which on a particular occasion makes the night “tarda” (δολιχὴν), keeps it from plunging into the ocean (ἐν πελάτῃ σχεθεῖν)). Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 147 (Chorus, of the time spent by Jove with Alemene):

"falsa est de geminis fabula noctibus,
aether quum tenuit sidera longius,
commisitque vices Lucifer Hespero,
et solem vetuit Delia tardior."

(where Jupiter's convenience is the "mora" which on a particular occasion keeps the stars twice as long in the sky as usual—TARDIS MORA NOCTIBUS OBSTET). Val. Flacc. 3. 210:

. . . "neque enim ignea cedunt
astra loco; lentis haeret nox conscia bigis"

(where we have the same slowness of the stars and night to depart from the sky—"tardis noctibus quo minus properent se tingere oceano"). Lucret. 5. 695:

"aut quia crassior est certis in partibus aer,
sub terris ideo tremulum iubar haesitat ignis,
nec penetrare potest facile atque emergere ad ortus.
propterea noctes hiberno tempore longae
cessant, dum veniat radiatum insigne diei"

(where we have not only the same slowness of the long winter nights to set and make way for the sun, but the cause of that slowness). Auson. *Idyll.* 8. 49:

"aestivos impelle dies, brumamque morantem
noctibus acceleret promissus Caesaris annus"

[the long days of summer, and winter delaying with its nights, *i. e.* the long days of summer and the long nights of winter]. Senec. *Agam.* 53:

"sed cur repente noctis aestivae vices
hiberna longa spatia producunt mora?
aut quid cadentes detinet stellas polo?
Phoebum moramur: redde iam mundo diem"

(where the summer nights which should set quickly make as long a "mora" as the winter). Ovid, *Heroid.* 18. 113:

"oscula congerimus properata, sine ordine, raptim;
et querimur parvas noctibus esse moras"

(where the speaker complains that the "mora" of the night is not long enough, that the nights are too short); and especially Paulin. *Natal.* 9:

. . . "breviatas
cogit hyems horas, cita lumine, pigra tenebris"

(where we have again the precise sentiment of our text, viz., the speed of the winter day, and the lingering slowness of the winter night—"hyems cita lumine" being exactly Virgil's OCEANO PROPERENT SE TINGERE SOLES HIBERNI, and "pigra tenebris" exactly Virgil's TARDIS MORA NOCTIBUS OBSTET).

The ancients, and particularly the poets, always pictured the night **as** following the course of the sun or day; rising like him out of the ocean in the east, as *Aen.* 2. 250:

"vertitur interea caelum et ruit oceano nox,
involvans umbra magna terramque polumque
Myrmidonumque dolos;"

and traversing like him the whole sky, as *Aen.* 5. 835:

"iamque fere mediam caeli nox humida metam
contigerat;"

and setting like him in the ocean in the west, as 2. 8:

. . . "et iam nox humida caelo
praecipitat, suadentque cadentia sidera somnos;"

Ovid, *Met.* 2. 142:

"dum loquor, Hesperio positas in littore metas
humida nox tetigit."

See Remm. on 2. 250; 4. 246.

INGEMINANT: διπλοῖζονσι, *repeat again and again*, as Aesch. *Eumen.* 1012, ed. Weil (Chorus):

χαίρετε, χαίρετε δ' αὖτις, ἐπὶ διπλοῖζω,

where χαίρετε, χαίρετε is a repetition of a previous χαίρετε, χαίρετε.

PLAUSUM, not *plausu*; as 11. 811, "hastas" not *hastis*, because ingeminare has always elsewhere the accusative of the thing repeated; *Georg.* 1. 410:

. . . "ter gutture *roces*
aut quater *ingeminant*."

Aen. 5. 433:

"multa viri nequicquam inter se vulnera iactant,
nulla cavo lateri *ingeminant*."

5. 457:

"nunc dextra *ingeminans ictus*, nunc ille sinistra."

Ovid, *Met.* 3. 368 (of Echo):

. . . "tamen haec in fine loquendi
ingeminat roces, auditaque verba reportat."

The applause is begun by the Tyrians, and only taken up by the Trojans, the Tyrians being at home and the Trojans their guests, and it being customary in entertainments (as appears from Petron., ed. Hadrian, p. 124: "Damus omnes plausum a familia inceptum") that the applause should be commenced by the household. From the separate applauses, as well as the separate entrances (vv. 703 and 711), it appears clearly that the two parties sat separate and distinct from each other.

NOCTEM TRAHEBAT. "Trahebat Dido moras, et ex studio differebat sermonem usque ad multam noctem," La Cerda, followed by Heyne (if I rightly understand Heyne's "NOCTEM SERMONE TRAHEBAT doctius quam alterum, sermonem trahere in noctem") and Lemaire. This is not the meaning. "Trahere noctem sermone" is not to protract the discourse into the night, but to pass the night in discourse, to pass the night discoursing, as 6. 537:

"et fors omne datum *traherent* per talia *tempus*;"

3. 646: "*vitam* in silvis *traho*;" 2. 92: "*vitam* in tenebris luctuque *trahebam*." Ovid, *Trist.* 5. 7. 65:

"sic *animum tempusque traho*, meque ipse reduco,
a contemplatu summoveoque mali."

Ovid, *Met.* 7. 2:

"perpetuaque *trahens* inopem sub nocte *senectam*
Phineus visus erat,"

and especially Prudent. *Cathem.* 5. 137:

"nos festis *trahimus* per pia gaudia
noctem conciliis,"

a passage imitated (see Rem. on 1. 730) from our text. Also, Tacit. *Annal.* 13. 20: "Provecta *nox* erat, et Neroni per violentiam *trahebatur*, cum," &c. *Ibid.* 3. 37: "Huc potius *intenderet*, *diem* editionibus, *noctem* conviviiis *traheret*, quam solus

et nullis voluptatibus avocatus, moestam vigilantiam et malas curas exerceret." Sil. 12. 20 (ed. Rup.):

"queis gelidas suetum *noctes* thorace *gravatis*
sub Iove non aequo *trahere*."

Propert. 1. 14. 9 (ed. Hertzsb.):

"nam sive optatam mecum *trahit* illa *quietem*,
seu facili totum ducit amore diem,
tum mihi Pactoli veniunt sub tecta liquores
et legitur rubris gemma sub aequoribus."

Lucan, 10. 332:

"sic velut in tuta securi pace *trahebant*
noctis iter mediae"

[were passing the midnight hours]. Plin. Jun. *Ep.* 3. 1:
"Nemini hoc longum est, tanta comitate *convivium trahitur*"
[*not* is protracted, or drawn out, *but* is passed, spent]; and—
where we have not only the "*noctem trahere*" and the "*sermo*"
of our text, but even the same subject of the "*sermo*," viz.,
heroic "*virtus*"—Ovid, *Met.* 12. 157:

"non illos citharae, non illos carmina vocum,
longave multifori delectat tibia buxi;
sed noctem sermone trahunt, virtusque loquendi
materia est."

The expression is exactly **tantamount** to *ducere noctem*, 9. 166:

. . . "*noctem custodia ducit*
insomnem ludo;"

Georg. 3. 379: "Hic *noctem ludo ducunt*;" Propert. 4. 6. 85:

"sic *noctem* patera, sic *ducam* carmine, donec
iniiciat radios in mea vina dies;"

and both expressions are **weaker than** *educere noctem*,
which is to pass the *whole* night, as Val. Flacc. 1. 250:

"hanc vero, o socii, venientem in littore laeti
dulcibus alloquiis ludoque *educite noctem*."

Compare Ter. *Adelph.* 4. 2. 52:

. . . "cyathos sorbillans paulatim hunc *producam diem*."

It is worthy of remark, and an example of the ambiguity of

language, that both expressions, both *trahere noctem* and *ducere noctem*, have also the very different meaning: to bring on or bring in the night, lead the night in, introduce the night (Ovid. *Met.* 1. 219:

. . . "*traherent cum sera crepuscula noctem*:"

Georg. 3. 156:

"*sole recens orto, aut noctem ducentibus astris*"),

very nearly the meaning which La Cerda and Heyne and Le-maire have, incorrectly as I think, attributed to the "*trahere noctem*" of our text.

754-756.

MULTA SUPER PRIAMO ROGITANS SUPER HECTORE MULTA
NUNC QUIBUS AURORAE VENISSET FILIUS ARMIS
NUNC QUALES DIOMEDIS EQUI NUNC QUANTUS ACHILLES

SUPER PRIAMO.—A Greek form, used occasionally by other Latin writers (Cic. *ad Att.* 10. 8. 10: "*sed hac super re nimis*"), as well as elsewhere by Virgil himself, 10. 839; *Georg.* 4. 559; Aelian. *Var. Hist.* 12. 52: *Ἰσοκράτης ο ῥητωρ ελεγεν υπερ της Αθηραιων πολεως, ομοιαν ειναι ταις εταιραις.*

NUNC QUIBUS AURORAE VENISSET FILIUS ARMIS.—What was there so remarkable in the arms of Memnon, that not only was Dido inquisitive about them, but that they are placed by Virgil in the same category with the horses of Diomede, and even with Achilles himself? Heyne replies, either there must have been some myth about them (and Servius's intimation that they were made by Vulcan deserves more attention than it has yet received), or Dido was curious, not about Memnon's own arms, but about the arms of Memnon's army, which, being barbaric, should have arms very different from the Trojan; or, finally, the arms of Memnon and the horses of Diomede are mere variations of Memnon and Diomede: "*Nisi itaque poeta fabulam parum nunc notam secutus est, nec commentitium est,*

quod in Servianis legitur, a Vulcano facta fuisse ei arma, ad barbaricum exercitus Memnonii apparatus, a Troiano more diversum, referendum est: cf. Dictyn, 4. 4 et 5. Quod nisi probare malis, accipienda verba sunt simpliciter, ut sit variata oratio pro vulgari: *multa rogans porro super Memnone, et Diomede, et Achille*—an answer as misty, uncertain, and bewildering as the answer of the Wakefield to the same question ("De his armis rogat, utpote divini artificis solertia elaboratis, quum ex Vulcani prodierint officina, ipso Virgilio teste, 8. 384:

‘te potuit lacrymis Tithonia flectere coniunx’)

is clear, decisive, and, even without the testimony of Servius (ed. Lion), *ad* 8. 384 ("Aurora [quae petivit] pro Memnone"), undoubtedly true.

NUNC QUANTUS ACHILLES. "Quam magnus corporis viribus et animi virtute," Heyne. I think not; because such a question bears no resemblance to the other questions asked by Dido, all of which concerned particularities about which a woman was likely to be curious, and which were capable of being answered in a few words, whereas the question, "quam magnus Achilles corporis viribus et animi virtute?" was too comprehensive to be answered in less than an *Achilleis*. The question relates solely to the great stature for which Achilles was remarkable; see Hom. *II.* 21. 108 (Achilles himself speaking):

οὐχ ὅραας, οἷος καγὼ, καλὸς τε, μέγας τε.

Propert. 2. 9. 13:

. . . "et tanti corpus Achilli
maximaque in parva sustulit ossa manu."

Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 860 (ed. Potter):

πενθεῖν τον εἰσαπλῆεν, Δίατον τρίτον,
καὶ Ἰωρίδος, ἀρηστήρου δαίτου μάχης.

Philostratus, *Heroic*. p. 204 (ed. Boisson): *παρρηγυῖς δὲ το σῶμα εἰφαινετο, ἀνξήθεις τε ραον ἢ τα πρὸς ταις πηγαις δένδρα*. Quintus Calaber (3. 60), describing Achilles wounded by Apollo:

ὡς αὖ ἐφη, καὶ αἰστος ὅμου νεμεσσιν εὐχθῆ.
ἦρμ δ' ἐσσημενος, στύγερρον προσηκε βέλτεμον.
καὶ εἰ θῶος οὐτήσε κατὰ σῆμρον. αἰνὰ δ' αἰνὰ
δυσαν ὑπο χροαδὴν· οὐ δ' ἀντιματ' ἤτε περὶος.

Also the account given by the same author (3. 709) of the vastness of the funeral pyre required to burn the corpse of Achilles. Also Hor. *Carm.* 4. 6. 9:

"ille [*scilicet*. Achilles], mordaci velut icta ferro
pinus, aut impulsa cupressus Euro,
procidit late, posuitque collum in
pulvere Teucro."

So understood, the question is in the most perfect harmony with the context, but should any one still doubt that it is solely to the physical build, and not at all to the valour or other moral qualities of Achilles, Dido's question refers, let him compare Hom. *Il.* 24. 629:

ἦτοι Ἀφροδίτης Πρίαμος θαυμάς' Ἀχιλλέα,
οσσοῦ τέην, οἷος τέ θεοῖσι γὰρ ἀντα ἔωκει,

where οσσοῦ (exactly Dido's QUANTUS) can mean nothing else than *of how great stature*, exactly as Philostr. *Heroic.* (ed. Boisson), p. 30, καὶ εἶδον, ξενε, Ἀλεσας ἐς τὸ Σίγειον, αὐτο τε τὸ παθος τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὸν Γίγαντα οσος ἦν. Compare also Val. Flacc. 5. 209:

. . . "quam magnus Enipeus,
et pater aurato *quantus* iacet Inachus antro."

Aen. 2. 592:

. . . "confessa deam, qualisque videri
caelicolis et *quanta* solet."

Ibid. 2. 644: "*tantus* in arma patet." *Ibid.* 3. 641: "qualis *quantusque* cavo Polyphemus in antro." Ovid, *Met.* 13. 842 (Polyphemus recommending himself to Galatea):

"aspice, sim *quantus*. non est hoc corpore maior
Iupiter in caelo."

Ibid. 3. 284:

. . . "*quantusque*, et qualis ab alta
Iunone excipitur."

Ibid. 15. 661 (Aesculapius speaking):

"vertar in hunc [anguem]. sed maior ero, *tantusque* videbor
in quantum vorti caelestia corpora debent."

And *Aen.* 12. 701, where Aeneas himself is described to be

“*quantus* Athos, aut *quantus* Eryx, aut ipse, coruscis
cum fremit ilicibus, *quantus*, gaudetque nivali
vertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras”

See Rem. on “*ingenti manu*,” 5. 487:

DIC . . . NOBIS INSIDIAS . . . DANAUM. See *Aen.* 2. 65,
and Rem.

END OF VOLUME I.



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